



# MUNTAKHABU-T-TAWĀRĪKH

BY

'ABDU-L-QĀDIR IBN-I-MULŪK SHĀH

KNOWN AS

## AL-BADĀONI.

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VOLUME I.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN,

AND EDITED BY

GEORGE S. A. RANKING, M.D. (CANTAB.), M.R.A.S.

SURGEON-LIEUTENANT-COLONEL, INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE

*Secretary to the Board of Examiners, Fort William,*

*Fellow of the Calcutta University.*

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*Printed for the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

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CALCUTTA :

BAPTIST MISSION PRESS

1898



## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

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In presenting this translation of the first volume of Badaoni's *Muntakhabu-l-tawārikh* (Selections from Histories) I cannot but be conscious of its many defects.

No one who has not attempted to translate from Persian into English can form the slightest idea of the special difficulties of the task.

The inherent differences of idiom in the two languages, the rich expansiveness of the one, and the rigid inflexibility of the other, render the attempt to fitly represent the glowing colours of Persian in the dull monotone of modern English, all but hopeless. It has been said that the test of a translation is not its literalness but its truth: that is to say, not its fidelity to the author's expression, but its response to his inspiration. It must not merely reproduce the letter, it must embody the spirit of the original composition.

How great is the demand thus made upon the translator must be evident to anyone who is acquainted with both Persian and English: and the difficulties which appear so formidable in prose translation, become insurmountable in the case of poetry.

The various metres of Persian poetry are so entirely characteristic and essential in their nature, that it has appeared to me futile, if not impertinent, to attempt similar metrical renderings in English.

Even where it is possible to reproduce by conjunction of English words, the rhythm and accent of any Persian metre, such a composition no more recalls the original, than does the skeleton of the anatomical museum summon up the living and breathing animal.

For this reason, the poetical portions of Badaoni's work have, in the present translation, almost without exception

been rendered, not in verse but in prose, thus preserving the substance while sacrificing the form, as the transparent cube of salt may be crushed so as to be unrecognisable by its crystalline form, but still retains its chemical composition. To render poetry satisfactorily a translator must be both linguist and poet; if he be only a linguist he should not tamper with the finished work of the poet; he can, at best, only hope to outline the subject, leaving the colour-scheme untouched.

I am aware that a high authority\* has expressed himself in favour of the translation of Persian poetry into English verse, but the qualifications which shall render a translator competent to undertake such a task must fall to the lot of very few.

With this full knowledge of the difficulties to be encountered, the present translation was undertaken, and it is presented in the confidence that those who are the best judges of the nature of the task will be the first to make allowances for defects in its performance.

قدر زر زرگر شناسد قدر جوهر جرهري

CALCUTTA : }  
July 18th, 1898. }

GEORGE RANKING.

For a life of Bādāoni reference should be made to page 117 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. III, 1869, where an excellent biography will be found written by the late Professor Blochmann.

The sources from which this translation has been made are the following :—

1. The “Muntakhab Al-Tawārikh,” edited by Maulavī Ahmad Ali, printed at the College Press, Calcutta, 1868, and published in the Bibliotheca Indica of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. I, referred to in the translation as the Text.

\* Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, C.B., K.C.S.I., “on Translations from and into Persian.” Transactions of Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, 1892.

2. Manuscript No. 1592 of the *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh* of 'Abdu-l-Qādir Mu'lūk Shāh Badaoni, in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Written by one Muhammad Saiyyid (?), in the year 1255 H. (1839 A.D.). This is referred to in the translation as MS. (A).

3. Manuscript No. A. 44, also from the above library. This is referred to in the translation as MS. (B). The transcriber of this Manuscript is one Muhammad Nāzim. It bears no date.

The printed text has been carefully collated with these two manuscripts, and all variant readings noted.



## TRANSLATION

### OF THE مختَب التوارِيخ OF AL-BADAONI.<sup>1</sup>

IN THE NAME OF GOD THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL.

Oh thou<sup>2</sup> from whose name spring all other names,  
Kings at thy door are suppliant as I at theirs—  
When once the impulse of zeal for thee was felt,  
No foot remained ehad, no head remained crowned.

Emperor of the world! with this unprofitable soul of mine  
which has become the abode of demons and wild beasts,<sup>3</sup> in what  
way can I conceive thy praises, and with this worn and foolish  
tongue of mine, which has become as it were food for cats and  
dogs, how can I chant thy enlogy.

How can the miserable dnst proclaim the Unity of God.  
How in this state of defilement praise the Divine Being.

Moreover, the foot of search limps feebly in this unknown  
road, because of my constant anxiety and habitual fear, while in  
this limitless desert, my stammering tongue finds the sphere of  
epecch always contracted.

That which my soul knows is but secondary,<sup>4</sup> what my tongue  
speaks are bnt particles—(and therefore unintelligible).  
How can I know thee in my soul or express thee with my  
tongue.

<sup>1</sup> Al-Baddoni. Vide Preface.

<sup>2</sup> This invocation is to the Almighty in whose name all literary works are  
commenced.

مَذْلُولٌ دِيْنُ وَدَدَ شَدَّدَ

<sup>4</sup> حَدُوث That which is dependent for its existence upon some pre-exist-  
ing state or object, opposed to حَرْف—قَدْم Particles, which alone convey no  
intelligiblo meaning—حَرْف also signifies a letter which is also per se meaning-  
less.

This seems best, that I should restrain my pen from travelling in this valley, and having hidden the head of bewilderment in the cloke<sup>1</sup> of meditation on men and regions<sup>2</sup> should open the eye of my understanding to the knowledge of Thy all-perfect works and unsading kingdom, and proceeding, through the vicissitudes of affairs of created beings, to the Unity of thy exalted personality, should end with the world of proclaiming and confessing the Unity of God,<sup>3</sup> so that I may see with the eye of certainty—nay more than I may recognize that

In thy excellency there is no room for duality;<sup>4</sup>  
Thou and thy majesty make up the universe.

and I have moistened my lips with the pure water of the praise of that chieftain whose name is "praised" whose end is lauded;

حَدُوثٌ زَمَانِيٌّ is of two kinds: حَدُوثٌ زَمَانِيٌّ which is A thing's being preceded by non-existence, and حَدُوثٌ ذَاتِيٌّ which is A thing's being dependent upon another for its existence. Vide Lane, art حَدُوثٌ. 1.

**گریدان** Lit. Collar or hood.

**سُنُورِهِمْ آيَاتِنَا فِي الْأَفَاقِ وَفِي النَّفْسِهِمْ ۚ** Cf. Qur'añ xli. 53 **أَنفُسِي وَآفَاتِي ۚ**  
we will show them our signs in the regions and in themselves.

<sup>5</sup> The Unity of God is the fundamental proposition of the faith of Islam.

**سورة الاخلاص - قل هو الله اَحَدُ اللَّهُ الصَّمَدُ لَمْ يَلِدْ وَلَمْ يُوْلَدْ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَّهٗ**

**كَفَوْا احَدٌ** Say. He is God alone. God the eternal. He begetteth not, nor is begotten—and there is none like unto him. Qurán—Sûrat-ul-Ikhlas,

<sup>4</sup> That is to say, no one can stand beside him in this position of excellency  
Cf. Qurán xxvii. 61.

**أَرَاللّٰهُ مَعَ اللّٰهِ بَلْ هُمْ قَوْمٌ يَعْدِلُونَ** Is there a God with God? Nay! but they  
are a people who make peers with him.

See also Súra vi. 1. Also tho Súra quoted in note 3.

<sup>b</sup> ~~وَ~~ Muhammad—the literal meaning of which is “Praised.” He was thus named by his grandfather ‘Abdul-Muttalib, who when desired to give the child a name after some member of the tribe of Quraish to which he belonged, said, “I wish that God who has created the child on earth may be glorified in heaven” and he called the child Muhammād. Vide Hughes, Dictionary of Islām Art, “Muhammad.”

Lord of the promised fountain,<sup>1</sup> and of the praise which is on every tongue<sup>2</sup> (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him and his family) because the mantle of the honour of eternal and everlasting empire lies gracefully upon his noble figure, and the proclamation<sup>3</sup> and stamp of undiminished power and glorious sovereignty of right belongs to his exalted name.

The monarch of Arabia of whom the world is a manifestation.

The Lord of the earth, whose servant he is, swears by his name

He was the near neighbour of the Truth for this reason  
had no shadow<sup>4</sup>

To the end that no one should place a foot on (the shadow  
of) his head—

Countless<sup>5</sup> praises and enlogies on the elect family and the truth perceiving companions of the Prophet, especially upon the rightly-guided Khalifahs<sup>6</sup> (may the favour of God be on them all) who, for the elevation of the standard of religion and the promulgation of the word of evident truth<sup>7</sup> risked their lives and laid down their heads as a ransom, and thus cleared the thorns

۱. M.S. (A) has, &c حوض کوثر و ورد مورد ملى a river in Paradise  
 کوثر Verily we have given theo al Kaurar Quran cnu 1 إِنَّا أَعْطَيْنَاكَ الْكَوْثُرَ  
 literally means "abundance"

مکالمہ

خاتمة و سکه ۳

The coronation ceremony of Muhammadan monarchs consist chiefly in the recital of the *Mufa* and issuing coin (*sikka*) stamped with his name.

<sup>4</sup> Muhammad was said to have no shadow.

## **5 Thousands upon thousands**

<sup>6</sup> خلفاً راشدین The four immediate successors of Muhammad, Abū Bakr, A H 11 'Umar A H 13 'Usman, A H 23 'Alī, A H 35, acknowledged by the Sunnis. The first three of these are rejected by the Shias who hold that 'Alī was the first legitimate Khalifah.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Quran xxvii, 81. **فَتَوَكَّلْ عَلَى اللَّهِ إِنَّكَ عَلَى الْحَقِّ الْمُبِينِ**

Rely then upon God. Verily thou art standing on obvious truth.

of infidelity and the undergrowth of heresy from the plain of the kingdom of the sacred law.<sup>1</sup>

After the praise of God and of the Lord the protector of the divine missive (may the blessing of God be upon him, his family and his companions, a blessing safe from all termination), we have to declare that the science of History is essentially a lofty science and an elegant branch of learning, because it is the fountain-head of the learning of the experienced, and the source of the experience of the learned and discriminating, and the writers of stories and biographies from the time of Adam to this present time in which we live, have completed reliable compositions and comprehensive works, and have proved the excellence thereof by proofs and demonstrations, but it must not be supposed that the reading and study of this science—as certain inkewarm religionists, and the party of doubt and dissent, shortsighted as they are, are wont to affirm—has been or will be a cause of wandering from the straight path of the illustrious law of Muḥammad (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him and his family), or become the entry into and way of ascent to the fountainheads of scepticism, and drinking places of defilement of the licentious and heretical, and those who have gone astray; because for a body of men who in the very essence of their constitution are devoid of any share in religious principle, the reading of the eternal word which is the key of evident happiness and “*a healing and a mercy for the worlds*,”<sup>2</sup> becomes a cause of misery

**لَكُلٌّ جَعَلْنَا مِنْكُمْ شَرِيعَةً وَّعِيَاجًا**  
الشرع<sup>1</sup>. The sacred law. Cf. Qurán v. 52  
For each one of you have we made a law and a pathway. The Mosaic law  
is always called التوراة At-Taurát (Hebrew תּוֹרָה.)

The word in the text is always used for the sacred canon of the Qurán  
الشرع is divisible into five sections عِيَادَاتٍ beliefs—أَدَابٍ moralities عِبَادَاتٍ  
devotions معاملاتٍ transactions—عُقُوبَاتٍ punishments. Cf. Kashsháf. Isti-  
láhát-nl-Funún, art شرع.—

**وَنَزَّلْنَا مِنَ الْقُرْآنِ مَا هُوَ شَفَاءٌ وَّرَحْمَةٌ لِّلْمُوْمِنِينَ**  
and  
we will send down of the Qurán that which is a healing and a mercy to the  
believers. Vide also Qurán xl. 44.

and everlasting loss "and if they are not guided by it they say—  
"this is an antiquated lie"<sup>1</sup>

If this is the case with the Quran<sup>2</sup> what chance has History?

"When any man has lost his hearing through melancholia,<sup>3</sup>  
He cannot participate in the music of David and its harmony"

But I address my words to those who are endowed with the qualities of sound intellect and brilliancy of genius, and natural equity—not to those who are not led by the sacred law and who deny all principle, fundamental or derivative,<sup>4</sup> because such men are not worthy of this discourse, nor are they within the pale of the wise, and discreet, and understanding, and how can one absolutely refuse to admit a science which is one seventh of the 4

1 *Qurán xlvi 10* In the original we read—<sup>سرچن و ملکون</sup> فسید و ملکون In both this and the former quotation there are verbal errors which lead to the conclusion that the author was not thoroughly at home in the Quran

<sup>تاریخ چه رسد</sup> ۲ I have inserted these words as the only means of giving an adequate rendering of the phrase مالیکولیا

۳ ماحولنا ملائکھولیا The orthography of this word is Sadid gives the etymology سلطان الاسود (الشوح في المور) of the black humour, but gives no hint of deafness as one of the symptoms of the disease. Deafness is not a concomitant of melancholia as known to modern medicine, but the cases of so called hysterical deafness with mental depression are not uncommon. The *Bahr ul-Jauahir* says إنما يقال ما يحولنا لها كان حدوثه عن السداد السوداء غير مقدرة وهو تغير الطبع والمعنى المترى الطبيعي إلى القساad والشوح لمزاج سوداوي بروح الروح It is only called "málíkhulía" where it is the result of (the humour called) "Sauda" (black bile) which is not inflammatory. It takes the ideas and thoughts out of their proper channel and tends to despondency and fear because of a melancholic temperament which depresses the mind

۴ اصل و منع The two chief divisions of *Jurisprudence* According to the *Iqulahat al Funun* علم الفقة treats of the soul and of all that appertains thereto thus including all theological science, (*Kashsháf Iquláhat al Funun* art ۱۰۷ al Ashbah wal Nazair cf فقهاء) الفقهاء شریف العلوم قدراً .. و أصوله ثابتة و قروده ثابتة (II A 774) i.e. Its fundamentals are firmly established and its derivatives evident

seven sections<sup>1</sup> upon which the foundation of the establishment of Faith and Certainty is laid.

“And all that we relate to thee of the tidings of the prophets with which we have established your hearts”<sup>2</sup> tells us of this, and a large body of the learned expositors of the traditions and commentators on the Qurán, as for example Imám Bukhári<sup>3</sup> and Qází Baizáwí<sup>4</sup> up to our own times have occupied themselves in writing about this heart-entralling science, and their words and practice have become an authority for the nations both East and West, in spite of the diversity of their origins and the distinction of their various degrees. While on the other hand an insignificant band of innovators and inventors who with the disgraceful partisanship of greedy mindedness and importunate desires, and shortsightedness as regards both outward and inward qualities, have placed their feet in the valley of audacity, and have introduced interpolations and errors into true and memorable histories, and having abandoned

<sup>١</sup> سبع المثاني <sup>٢</sup> سبع المثاني The first chapter of the Qurán which contains seven verses; so called in Súra xv. 87. <sup>٣</sup> ولقد أتيناك سبعاً من المثاني و القرآن العظيم.

<sup>٤</sup> مثاني being plural of مثني repeating or reiterating. The number seven relates to the *manzils* or divisions of the Qurán each one of which is to be read so that the whole is completed in a week. See also *Tafsír ul Baizáwí* <sup>٥</sup> الْمُلْك

<sup>2</sup> Qurán xi. 121. This quotation is correctly given.

<sup>3</sup> Háfiz Abú‘Abdullah Muḥammad ibn Abil Ḥasan Isma‘íl ibn Ibráhím ibn-al-Mughair ibn-al-Ahnaf Yezdibah, or Yezdezbah according to Ibn Mákúla a Maula of the tribe of Jáfí. (Slane Ibn Khalliqán, ii. 595.) The last named was a Magian and died in that religion, his son Al Mughairat embraced Islám.

He was the author of <sup>صحيح البخاري</sup> *Sahíl-ul-Bukhári*, a collection of authentic traditions—in which an account of Imám Bukhári is given. He was born A.H. 194 and died A.H. 256, and was buried at the village of Khartang.

near Samarcand leaving no male issue. The <sup>صحيح البخاري</sup> is held in great esteem by Muslims.

<sup>4</sup> Qází Násir ud-Dín Abul Khair Abdulláh Baizáwí, ibn Umar ibn Muham-mad, was born at Baizá, a village of Shíráz, and was appointed Chief Qází. He was the author of many works, among others *Algháyatu fil fiqh. Sharh ul-Masábih wal mandhij*. His most celebrated work was a commentary on the Qurán called *Anváru-t-tanzíl*. He died A.H. 685 and was buried in Shíráz. See also De Sacy: Anth: Gram: Arab: notes on Baizáwí, p. 37. See also Elliott and Dowson, Vol. II., 252 and note.

recognised constructions<sup>1</sup> and explanations, and interpretations of obvious nature, and estimating the conflicts and discussions of the noble companions and mighty followers (of the Prophet) by their own condition, attributed them to mutual contradiction and hatred, and to rivalry in the splendour and amount of their property and family, and having seduced simple minded people of elementary belief, have led them, by their own error and by attributing error to others, to Gehenna, the house of perdition

"When the crow<sup>2</sup> becomes leader of a tribe, he will surely lead them along the path of destruction"

And if the eye of a man be instilled with the collyrium of the Divine guidance, and illuminated by the light of truth, and guarded from every calamity which happens in the world of existence and evil, he passes to the Unity of the Creator, the Ancient of days, the Glorious, freed from the stain of innovation, and purified from the blemish of change and alteration. And when I look carefully, I see that the world is itself an ancient archetypal which has neither head nor root its pages are a confused record, and in each page thereto is a list of the affairs of a section of mankind who have had the reins of the management of affairs entrusted to their hands

This ancient Shushnama relates the affairs of the Kings of the world

Do thou always look and read therein with circumspection

<sup>1</sup> *عَدَّلَ* is the plural from *عَدْلٌ* an inf e.g. *أَحْسَنَ عَدَّلَ*  
He put the best construction upon it namely a saying (Lane s.v. *عَدَلٌ*)

<sup>2</sup> *عُرَابٌ* The Arab proverb runs thus

مَنْ يَكُونُ الْعُرَابَ لَهُ دَلِيلٌ نَمُوذِجٌ عَلَى حَقْبِ الْكَلَابِ

'He who has the crow for a guide will be led by it to the carcasses of dogs'  
The crow was considered as the most inauspicious thing on earth, thus the  
Arabs say *أَشَمُّ مِنَ الْعُرَابِ* More ill omened than a crow

Its appearance is thought to be ominous of separation, therefore they say  
also *عُرَابُ الْمُنْدَيِّ* The raven (or crow) of separation

The spell of this narrative brings sweet sleep to him  
Who is in delirium, and has become distracted with mad-  
ness of the brain.

But it also wakens him who on account of pride, has fallen  
into the slumber of carelessness and whom the devil has  
deceived.

And inasmuch as the invoker of blessing upon all mankind,  
'Abdul Qádir ibn Múluk Sháh Badáoni (may God erase his  
name from the book of sins) in the beginning of the year 999<sup>1</sup>  
in accordance with the fateful order of his excellency the  
Khalífah of the time, the shadow of the Deity, Akbar Sháhí<sup>2</sup>  
when he had finished his selection from the History of Kashmír<sup>3</sup>  
which, by the soul-inspiring order of that world-conquering  
Emperor whose throne is the heaven, one of the incomparable  
doctors of India had translated from the Hindí into Persian,  
yielded to a liking which he had for this science from youth  
to maturity, and as it was seldom that he had not been occupied  
in reading and writing it, either of his own free will and accord  
or in obedience to orders, it used often to occur to him to write  
as well an epitome of the affairs of the Emperors of the metro-  
polis of Dehli, from the time of the commencement of Islám to  
the time of writing, in a concise manner,——

All the world is but a village that (city of Mecca) is the  
central point<sup>4</sup> (of Islám).

that it might be a memorandum comprising a portion of the  
events of each reign in brief form, and a memorial for my  
friends, and a conspectus for the intellectual, and although it

<sup>1</sup> 999 of the Hijra (1590 A. D.)

<sup>2</sup> The Emperor Akbar, who about this time employed Badáoni "to make  
translations from the Arabic and Sanskrit as in the case of the Mu'jamul-  
Buldán, Jámiu-r-Rashídí, and the Rámáyana," (Elliott and Dowson, v. 478.)

<sup>3</sup> Said to have been translated from the original Hindí by Mullá Shah  
Muhammad Sháhábádí—but not apparently the Rájá-taranginí, for the trans-  
lation of that work is usually attributed to Mauláná Imád-ud-dín. Cf. Áín-i-  
Akbarí, Blochmann, I. pages 105-106—footnote 1.

<sup>4</sup> Mecca, as being the central meeting place of all Muslims. The Arabic  
phrase is *السُّوَادُ الْأَعْظَمُ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ* The collective body of the Muslims.

might not be a book to be relied upon, or a notable composition, still in accordance with the saying —

6

“ Theso ancient pages of the sky whoso beauty the stars are,  
Are an ancient history of many Emperors whose armies  
excel the stars in number,” .

it may be that from the perusal of this hook a messenger from the world of spirits and invisible mysteries may cast a ray of light upon the receptive mind, and thus being a eruso of abstraction and seclusion, may wean the soul from the love of this transitory world, and may aid the compiler of these pages in the prosecution of his task, and his hopes may not be blighted , and inasmuch as each day some new grief used to appear, and some vexations annoyancce used to show itself, helps being few and hindrances many , moreover by reason of flesh toils and temporal changes it was difficult to remain in one place

“ Each day would bring a different place, each night a different roof ”

And besides all this, my sustenanco was by no means assured, hanging as it were between heaven and earth, and my heart utterly distracted hy separation from kindred and friends , accord ingly that commission was only accomplished by fits and starts,<sup>1</sup> until a kind and complaisant man of wealth, orthodox and reli giously disposed, and happily furnished with this world's goods, who was very devoted to me, and for whom I too entertained an indescribable affection, having completed the writing of the *Tarikh-i-Nizamu*<sup>2</sup> which is a bulky volume, and which is here being completed by me—removed the furniture of life to the sublime abode of Paрадiso

در حدود تعریق و تسویق می آمد ۱

2 Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad son of Khwaja Muqarrin Harawi diwan of the household of Babar is said in the *Zekhratu'l Qawansir* (E D v 178) to have been appointed diwan of Akbars household He was subsequently appointed bakhsh of the province of Gujarat

The history referred to in the text is one of great repute and authority, it was called by the author *Tabaqat-i-Albar shahi* by which title Badaoni himself also styles the work Its name is also known as *Tabaqat*

"He has departed—I too follow him.  
Each one at last must go the self same way."

At this juncture, when Time departing from its usual custom, has treated me in the matter of leisure with some sort of liberality, it has come about that I have been able to steal a morsel of the chequered<sup>1</sup> hours of my life from his grasp, so that I renewed my intention and confirmed my purpose, and on this ground that there is no bygone event which has not left something for the present,

"If the peasant thoroughly clears under the sheaves of wheat  
He leaves the sparrow's portion on the ground,"

I have selected and transcribed accurately a portion of the circumstances of some of the autocrat Emperors of Hindustan from the *Tárikh i Mubárak Sháhí*<sup>2</sup> and the *Nizámú-t-Tawárikh* of Nizámí<sup>3</sup> which is as it were a drop in the ocean and a bubble of the turbulent floods, and have also added somewhat of my own, and have kept before me the desirability of conciseness and have

i-Akbari. Firishta states that of all the histories he consulted this is the only one he found complete. (Elliot and Dowson, v. 177-178.)

Nizámú-d-dín died in 1003 A. H., 1594 A. D. From the author's preface in the text above it would appear that he had had the work in hand some considerable time, but had not been able to give his undivided attention to it until after the death of Nizámú-d-dín. In the space of a year from that event he had completed his abridgment so that, it must have been fairly far advanced at the time of Nizámú-d-dín's deceas.

<sup>مَعْوِجٌ</sup> <sup>مَعْوِجٌ</sup> see Lane, Art. *عوج*. The days are apt to decline from the right course apt to return <sup>رَاجِعٌ</sup> <sup>رَاجِعٌ</sup> <sup>اللَّيَامَ عَوْجٌ</sup> <sup>العوج</sup> *رواجِع* and *اللَّيَامَ عَوْجٌ*. The days.

<sup>2</sup> This work was written by Yahyá ibn-Alhmad ibn-'Abdullah Sirhindí according to Firishta with the express purpose of recording the reign of Mubárak Sháh. It commences with the reign of Muhammád Sám, founder of the Ghori dynasty; the only known MS. terminates abruptly in the middle of the reign of Sultán Sayyid Muhaminad, 852 A. H.—(1448 A. D.).

<sup>3</sup> This must be the work already referred to, i. e., the *Tabaqát-i-Akbarí* although the name *Nizámú-t-Tawárikh* does not appear to be given to it elsewhere.

The name *Nizámú-t-Tawárikh* is generally restricted to the work by Baizáwí (*vide* Elliott and Dowson II. pp. 252-253.) Its date is about 674 H. (1275 A. D.)

imposed upon myself the necessity of avoidance of all affectation of style and metaphor, and have named this model composition *Muntakhabu t Tawarikh*<sup>1</sup> I hope that this imperfect collation and composition, whose object is the perpetuation of the auspicious names of the Emperors of Islam, and the transmission of a memorial thereof in this changing world until the final consummation, may lead to the pardon of the author in the world to come, and not be an augmentation of the crimes laid to his charge

" And do thou, O Nightingale, as thou roamest through this garden,  
 With all thy sweetness, abstain from blaming the defects of  
 the crow "

Since the object of my ambition is to write correctly, if I should by accident let fall from my pen the instrument of my thoughts, or commit in my thoughts, which are the motive agent of my pen, any slip or error, I hope that He (may He be glorified and exalted) in accordance with His universal mercy which is of old, will overlook and pardon it

By speaking evil do not change my tongue,  
 And do not make this tongue of mine my wrong<sup>2</sup>

And since the first of the Emperors of Islam who were the cause of the conquest of Hindustan—(after Mahomed Qasim,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This title is common to works by many other authors (Elliott and Dowson v 477) specially given to a history by Haran ibn Mu'hammad al-Khakash Shirazi completed A H 1019 (1610 A D) The work of Badoni is known better as *Tarikh-i-Badaoni*

<sup>2</sup> There is a play on the words *evil*, wrong and *evil*, tongue which cannot be preserved in translation

<sup>3</sup> The incidents of Mu'hammad Qasim's engagements and victories are related in the Chach Nama extracts from which will be found in Elliott and Dowson (Vol 1 pp 131-211) See also I'tuhi'l-Buldan of Al Bilazuri (E and D 1 113) His full name was Muhammal ibn Qasim ibn Mu'hammad ibn Hakim ibn Abi 'Uqail and he was sent during the Khalifati of Walid ibn Abdul Malik 705-715 A D, to command on the frontiers of Sind (E and D Al Bilazuri Vol 1 p 119)

See also E and D Vol 1, Appendix 432, &c

cousin and son-in-law of Hajjáj-ibn-Yúsuf Ṣaqfí,<sup>1.</sup> who in the year, 93 A.H., (711 A.D.), conquered the countries of Sind, Multán and Gujrát, and, by the order of Walíd ibn-‘Abdul Maṭlík Marwání<sup>2</sup> who on an important occasion wrote to him from Damascus and summoned him to his presence, starting from Oodypur in India, and wrapping himself in a raw hide, while on his journey yielded up his life to God, and after him the affairs of Islám in that

<sup>1</sup> Abú Muḥammad al-Hajjáj was son of Yúsuf-ibn al-Ḥakam ibn-‘Uqail ibn-Masúd ibn Aumir ibn Miattib ibn Málík ibn Ka'b, ibn ‘Amr ibn Sa'd ibn ‘Auf ibn Qassí (called also Ṣaqíf). He was governor of Irák and Khorásán for ‘Abdul Maṭlík ibn Marwán (692-705 A.D.) and was confirmed in that office by Walid ibn Abdul Malik (705-715 A.D.) For an account of him see I. K. (Slane) I. 356 and seqq. He founded the city of Wásit between Basra and Kufa (75 A.H.) He died on 21st Ramazán A.H. 95, at the age of fifty-four and was buried at Wásit. Ibn Khalliqán states, "His malady was a cancer in the stomach for which he called in a physician, who, having examined into his case, tied a piece of meat to a string and passed it down his throat; after a lapse of some time he drew it out, and found a swarm of worms adhering to it: God gave also a cold ague power over him and although vases filled with lighted coals were placed around him so close as to scorch his skin he felt them not. (I.K. Slane loc. cit.).

He was a brutal ruler, and at his death it was said in thanksgiving "O my God ! thou hast caused him to die: let his example also die from among us."

"The tribe of Ṣaqíf was a great and well-known tribe dwelling at Táif, who before their conversion to Islám were devoted to the special worship of the idol Lát ; the founder of the tribe was Qássí (called also Ṣaqif) whose descent from Ma'dd is supported by two different genealogies." (Caussin de Perceval, Hist. des Arabes, i. 272). After refusing to hear the prophet in a personal appeal made to them, they made war against him, but eventually embraced Islám in 630 A.H., shortly after the return of Muḥammad to Medina.

<sup>2</sup> Walíd ibn-‘Abdul Maṭlík Marwání, became Khalífah in the year 86 A. H. and died in the year 96 A. H. His father was his predecessor in the Khalífaté, his name was ‘Abdul Maṭlík ibn-Marwán whence Walíd is called Marwání. It was during the Khalífaté of Abdul Maṭlík that al-Hajjáj pulled down the Ka'bah and restored it to the condition in which it was in the time of As Suyútí. Walíd was ignorant, despotic and tyrannical, but withal discharged the duties of Khalif well, he built the mosque of Damascus and during his Khalífaté many foreign conquests were achieved. (See Jarrett's translation of As Suyútí's Táríkhу-l-Khulafá, pp. 227-230.)

The incident in the text relates to the vengeance taken for their father's death by the two virgin daughters of Rájá Dáhir, who were taken captive when he was killed at the siege of the fort of Ráwar, 93 A. H. Muḥammad Qásim had sent them to Baghdád under the charge of his negro slaves.



came the seat of Government, so that Islám never again lost its hold on that country—accordingly I deemed it right to commence this history with an account of that monarch whose end was glorious, so that it may be fortunate from the first, and lauded at the last—and God is the best of helpers and defenders.

### THE GHAZNIVIDE DYNASTY.

From Sultán Násiru-d-dín Subuktigín to Khusrau Malik, who, prior to the conquest of Dehli, proclaimed Islám in Hiudustán, from the year 367 A.H. (977 A.D.), to the year 582 A.H. (1186 A.D.). Their sovereignty thus lasted two hundred and fifteen years under the sway of fifteen monarchs.

#### SULTÁN NÁSIRU-D-DÍN SUBUKTIGÍN

Was of Turkí origin, the slave of Alptigín who was a servant of Amír Mansúr-ibn-Núh Sámání.<sup>1</sup> In the year 367 H. after the death of Abú Isháq, the son of Alptigín, by common consent of the soldiery and populace he succeeded<sup>2</sup> to the imperial throne and in the city of Bust<sup>3</sup> and raised the standard of conquest, and

<sup>1</sup> The eighth prince of the Sámání dynasty who reigned 22 years. (D'Herbelot).

The Sámání dynasty was founded by Asad bin-Símán. It held sway over Khurásán and Transoxiana, holding its court at Bulkhárá—from 279 A. H. to 395 A. H. See *Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, Raverty pp. 26, 27 and 53. Amír Abul Hírs Mansúr died at Bulkhárá 366 A. H. and was succeeded by his son Abul Qásim-i-Núh. (*Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, Raverty 44.) For an account of the Sámání dynasty, see D'Herbelot III. 193. Abú Isháq was appointed by Mansúr as governor of Ghaznín upon the death of his father Alptigín in the year 365 A. H., and died in 367 A. H.

According to the *Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, Alptigín died in 352 A. H. and Isháq succeeded him, dying in 362 A. H. after him again Pírey obtained the government, but was deposed in 367 A. H. when the Government passed to Subuktigín. (See Raverty *Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, pp. 71-73.)

<sup>2</sup> The *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* states that Subuktigín succeeded Alaptagín in Ghaznín (Raverty pp. 46-74.)

<sup>3</sup> Bust, the capital of Zábulistán (vide *Abul Feda* II., ii. 201) which includes Kábúl and the adjacent territory as far as Ghazna and even beyond. Described by Yákút from Zábul, grandfather of Rustam. (*Aín-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) Vol. II. p. 115, and p. 408). "According to the Qánum Bust is situated in 91°33' long: and 32°15' lat: according to the Atwál in 90° long. and 33° lat. Third climate [see *Aín-i-Akbari*. Vol. II. 115, footnote 4] Chief

girding up the leas of energy and effort for faray and religious war, he invaded Hindnstan on the frontiers of the country of Koh-i-Jud<sup>1</sup> and having fought a severe battle with Jaipal who was the ruler of Hindnstan, concluded peace with him. Jaipal, however, broke the treaty. Accordingly Nasiru d din Subuktigin equipped an army composed of 10,000 cavalry and numberless elephants huge as mountains, and engaged in conflict with him a second time, fought a great battle with him in the neighbourhood of Lamghānat,<sup>2</sup> the breeze of victory stirred the banners of Amir Nasiru d din, the army of Jaipal suffered defeat, and he himself took to flight and sought refuge in Hindustan. Thus Lamghānat came into the possession of Amir Nasiru d din, the Khutbah was read and the coin struck in his name.<sup>3</sup> Then he proceeded to the assistance of Amir Nuh ibn Mansur Samanī<sup>4</sup> and was the means of procuring several victories in Khurasan and the regions beyond the river.<sup>5</sup> Finally in the month of Sha'ban<sup>6</sup> of the year 387 A.H. (997 A.D.) he obediently submitted to the summons of the Almighty, having reigned for twenty years.

### YAMNU D DAULAT SULTÁN MAHMÚD IBN NÁSHIRU D DIN GHAZNAVI

When Subuktigin, in the month of Sha'ban 387 H., while on the road to Ghaznī, receiving the summons of the Almighty

place of the district of Bost. Bost is situated on the banks of the Hend mand and is part of Sistan. From Bost to Ghazna one reckons about 14 marches (Abul Feda II n 103) Abul Feda farther states that at Bost on the Heddmand (Helmand) there is a bridge of boats similar to those of the rivers of Iraq (II 76).

<sup>1</sup> The Koh-i-Jud includes the mountainous region between Ghaznah and Lahore.

<sup>2</sup> Lamghan See Abul Feda II n 201 According to the Lobāb this is the general name of a collection of places in the mountains of Ghaznah (See Abul Feda I ccxlvii) Lamghan Long 101°50 Lat 34°3 A n : Albari m 89

<sup>3</sup> The reading of the ﷺ (Khutba) and striking the سکہ (sikka) that is stamping the currency were the usual accompaniments of the accession of the sovereigns of Islam and constituted a proclamation of their authority

<sup>4</sup> See History of the Cal phs As Sayūfi (Jarrett) pp 432 433

<sup>5</sup> موارد ماء ماء Mawārad mānahr Transoxiana

According to Yaqt in his Muštarik Turan is the name given to the collection of countries situated beyond the Oxus. See Abul Feda Transoxiana for a full account of the countries included under this name

<sup>6</sup> The eighth month of the Muhammadan year

responded "Here am I," he appointed his young son Isma'il as his successor.<sup>1</sup> When this news reached Maḥmūd who was the elder son of Subuktigín, he wrote a letter of condolence to his brother and sought a peaceful solution of the difficulty on the following terms: That Isma'il should give up Ghaznín to Maḥmūd, receiving in its stead the governorship of Balkh: Isma'il refused these terms, and eventually war was declared between the brothers. Maḥmūd was victorious, and after defeating Isma'il, kept him closely besieged in Ghaznín for a space of six months, at the expiration of which time certain of their friends intervened and made peace between them. Isma'il then came and had an interview with Maḥmūd, and the sovereignty devolved upon Yamínu-d-Danlat Maḥmūd. After this a quarrel arose between Maḥmūd and Mansúr ibn-Núh Sámání and also his brother 'Abdu-l-Malik ibn-Núh.<sup>2</sup> Eventually Maḥmūd got the upper hand. The Amírs of 'Abdu-l-Malik also, Fáiq and Baktúzún, who engaged in contest with Maḥmūd, were defeated by him, and the sovereignty of the whole of Khurásán, of Ghaznín, and the frontiers of Hindustán came into the hands of Maḥmūd.

Maḥmūd's mother was the daughter of the ruler of Zábul<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The question of the right of succession of the two brothers admits of some doubt. From the text it would appear that it was the intention of Subuktigín to nominate his younger son Isma'il. The author of the *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* ignores Isma'il's succession (see Raverty, note 6, page 75, and Briggs, note on Ferishta, page 29). Subuktigín died in 387, and Maḥmūd succeeded according to Fanákatí in 388. It appears uncertain how long Isma'il held the Government, but probably the six months during which he was besieged by Maḥmūd in Ghazní, represents his whole reign.

<sup>2</sup> The origin of this quarrel is stated by Ferishta to have been a protest lodged by Maḥmūd against the nomination of Bak-Túzún to the governorship of Khurásán (see Briggs, p. 84, see also Raverty, *Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, pp. 49, 50).

Mansúr was deprived of his sight after dethronement by Fáiq and Baktúzún who then by agreement with Maḥmūd were to hold Merv and Níshápúr.

Shortly after this (in 388 A. H.), the Sámání dynasty came to an end after the defeat of Abd-ul-Malik by Ilák-i-Nasr. It had lasted one hundred and eight years. See Raverty, pp. 53, 54. (see also D. Herbelot iii. 194).

Maḥmūd is related to have assumed the title of Sulṭán and to have been the first Oriental potentate who appropriated this term (Thomas, *Coins of Kings of Ghazní*, J. R. A. S. IX. 270. see also Elliott II. 480-481).

<sup>3</sup> She was the daughter of Alptagín, governor of Ghaznín, which is here meant by Zábul, the words "that is Qandahár" only occur in one copy and are probably interpolated.

[that is to say Qandaháí \*] accordingly, he is called Mahmúd Zabúlī—as Firdausi<sup>1</sup> says

The auspicious court of Mahmúd Zabúlī is an ocean,  
An ocean such that no shore can be found for it  
I went to the ocean—I dived but found no pearl  
The fault is my fortune's—not that of the ocean.

In the early part of his reign he had some unpleasant correspondence with the Khalifah of Baghdad Al Qadir billahí 'Abbasi<sup>2</sup>. Eventually the Khalif despatched a magnificent robe of honour, and many presents of precious things and gems, and conferred on him the title of Amán al Millat Yaminu d Daulat

Leaving Ghaznín he went to Balkh and Herát, and in 387 A H, (997 A D.) he returned to Ghaznín after having settled those provinces, and thence made repeated incursions and forays into Hindustán, and took several fortresses. 'Asjádi<sup>3</sup> composed the following *qasida* in honour of this expedition

When the king of kings marched to Somnat<sup>4</sup>  
Ho made his own deeds the standard of miracles

In the month of Shawwal, 391 A H, (1000 A D.) Mahmúd 10 turned to Hindustan from Ghaznín with ten thousand cavalry,

\* Not in MSS (A) or (B)

<sup>1</sup> Firdausi. For an account of this famous poet see this volume page 32 Note 1 and Majma ul Fusaha I 382

<sup>2</sup> Al Qadir billahí Abul 'Abbas Ahmad ibn Ishák ibn al Maqtadír was born in 336 A H His Khalifate lasted from 381 A H to 422 the year of his death, a period of forty one years. As Suyuti quoting from Al Khatib says that he was distinguished for his rectitude and nobility of character (History of Caliphs (Jarrett, p 431)

<sup>3</sup> Hakim Abu Nazar 'Abdul 'Aziz ibn Manáfir contemporary of Hakim Ansuri, Hakim Farrukhí and Hakim Firdausi. He died in 432 A H (Majma ul Fusaha, Vol I p 340) The *qasida* in which the lines quoted occur is given at length in the Majma ul Fusaha, loc cit MS (A) quotes them wrongly, MS (B) is the same as the text which reads عـ for گ 'Asjádi was a celebrated poet of Merv. The *Tabaqat-i-Nasirí* gives another couplet in addition to the above and attributes the poem to 'Ansuri (p 82 note 1)

<sup>4</sup> Somnát Situated according to the Qanún in 97° 10' long and 22° 15' lat Somnát is on the shore, in the land of pirates which is part of India Ibn Said says that travellers often speak of it and it forms part of Guzerat or the country of Lar (See Bayley, History of Guzerat p 18, etc, Afn-i Akbari Vol II (Jarrett) 246, etc Abul Feda II n 116)

See also Albruni India (Saclani I 205, and Index Somanatha

See also p 27 of this volume &c

and reduced Pesháwar. He also again drew up his forces on these frontiers for battle with Jaipál who confronted him with large forces of cavalry and infantry and three hundred elephants. Sultán Mahmúd gained the day and Jaipál was taken prisoner together with fifteen of his relatives, his brothers and his sons; and five thousand infidels fell by the sword. Great spoils fell into the hands of the Gházis, among them a pearl necklace which was on the neck of Jaipál, which was worth some hundred and eighty thousand dínárs,<sup>1</sup> and the necklets of the others too, on the same.

<sup>1</sup> Note 1. Dínár.

There is some uncertainty as to the actual value of the Dínár, as there were different coins, one of silver and the other of gold bearing this name—

It was during the Khalifate of Abdul Málik ibn Marwán (A.H. 73 to A.H. 86, A.D. 692 A.D. 705) that a separate coinage was introduced. Thus As Suyútí gives the following account: "Yahyá-b-Bakayr narrates:—‘I heard Málik say that the first who coined dínárs was Abdul Malik and he inscribed on them a verse of the Qurán. Musa'b states that Abdul Malik inscribed on the dínár “Say, God is One.” (Qur. exii.) and on the reverse, “there is no God but God;” and its circumference was a rim of silver and he inscribed outside the rim, “Muhammad is the Apostle of God, whom he hath sent as a guide unto Salvation and the true faith.”" (Jarrett, History of the Caliphs p. 222.)

Abdul Malik had introduced the custom of writing at the head of letters the formula, “say there is one God.” This was a cause of offence to the Grecian Emperor who wrote saying that unless Abdul Malik abandoned this habit “there will reach you on our dínárs the mention of what you will not like.” Abdul Malik consequently decided upon coining his own dínárs which he did in the year 75 A.H. (A.D. 694.)

The origin of the word dínár is attributed to the Latin *denarius* the words فلس *fals* and درهم *dirham* being in the same way derived from *follis* and *drachma*. (Prinsep I. 19-246.)

The *denarius*, a silver coin was worth approximately 8½d. its average weight being according to the authorities 60 grains. It was first coined B.C. 269.

Its relation to the *drachma* was at first as 8·5 to 9·75, but owing to a falling off in weight of the *drachma* they at one time were practically equal in value. The *drachma* was a silver coin and occupied among the Greeks the place of the *denarius* among the Romans. Both these coins then, the dínár and the *dirham*, were silver originally, and were in all probability of equal values, but there is another dínár mentioned in the Rájá Taranginí and elsewhere which was a gold coin—this answers almost exactly to the Roman *denarius aureus* of which Pliny speaks, the average weight of which was 120 grains. The gold coins of Chandragupta mentioned in the Sanchí inscription weigh from 120 to 130 grains and are indubitably copied from Greek originals in device as well as in weight. Prinsep I. 246.

scale. This victory was won on Saturday,<sup>1</sup> the 8th of Muharram, 392 H., (1001 A.D.) Leaving this place Mahmud proceeded to the fortress of Tabarkindah<sup>2</sup> which was the residence<sup>3</sup> of Jaipal, and conquered that country.

After this in the month of Muharram 393 A.H. he left Ghazni and proceeded to Hindustan by way of Seistan and assaulted Bhatia<sup>4</sup> which is in the vicinity of Multan. The Raja of that place, Beji Rai, fearing the punishment of the Sultan killed himself with a dagger, and they brought his head to the Sultan. Many Hindus, more than one can number, were hurried along the road to non-existence by the pitiless sword, and Mahmud took as spoil two hundred and seventy elephants while Daud ibn-Nasr<sup>5</sup> the renegade ruler of Multan, being reduced to submission by the Sultan, agreed to pay twenty times twenty thousand dirhams<sup>6</sup> annual tribute.

We may thus take it that the golden dinar was double the weight of the silver dinar and taking the ratio of gold to silver as 10 to 1 this would give us the relative values of the gold and silver dinar in terms of dinars of silver as 20 to 1.

This relative value is rendered more probable still by a comparison of our author's statement of the tribute paid by Daud ibn Nasr (page 11, line 18 of the Text) with that of Firishta (see note 6 below).

Against this however is the statement in the *Ain-i Akbari* (Blochmann I p. 36) that "the Dinar is a gold coin weighing one musqal, i.e., 1½ dirhams" but as both the dirham and the musqal were variable the accuracy of this statement is open to question.

See Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities (Art.) Denarius

<sup>1</sup> Firishta says Monday, the 8th of Muharram

<sup>2</sup> Tabarkindah Firishta calls this Betundah which is also the name given to Jaipal's capital in a history of the Rajas of Jammu. As to the identity of this with Wazirabad, see Avery's *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, pp. 76-80 footnote, see Tiefenthaler's map, Vol III. See also L and D II 438

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) has **جای خانی** Text has **خانی** which is evidently an "improvement" on the author

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) has **بھاتا** MS (B) has **بھٹا** The real name of this place is according to Elbott *Bhera* which lies on the left bank of the Jhelum under the Salt Range—see C and D, Vol II, Appendix pp. 439-410

<sup>5</sup> Grandson of Shaikh Ilamid Lodi, first ruler of Multan (Briggs, p. 40).

<sup>6</sup> Firishta says 20,000 golden dirhams. According to the *Ain-i Akbari*, Vol I 35, the dirham is a silver coin, and no mention is made of a golden dirham. Taking the value of the golden dirham at twenty times that of the silver dirham the text would give the same amount as that given by Firishta (see note 1 p. 18)

As he was advancing to Multán, Anandpál, son of Jaipál, rose up against him to oppose the advance of the Sultan, but fled after the battle to the mountains of Kashmír, and the Sultan reached

2. Multán by way of Hindustán.<sup>1</sup> Those events occurred in 396 A.H. (1005 A.D.) In the following year 397 A.H. (1006 A.D.) a battle was fought at Balkh between Mahmúd and Ilak Khán<sup>2</sup> king of Máwará an-Nahr.<sup>3</sup> Sultan Mahmúd was victorious; Ilak Khán finally died in the year 403 H. (1012 A.D.)

In the year 398 H. (1007 A.D.) Mahmúd entered Turkistán, and having settled the affairs of the Turkis, pursued Súkhpál<sup>4</sup> Nabsa, Rájá of Sind (who having embraced Islám had been released from his captivity to Abú 'Alí Sinjúri but had again joined the idolators and apostates) overcame him<sup>5</sup> and threw him into prison where he died.

In the year 399 A.H. (1008 A.D.) Mahmúd a second time entered Hindustán and engaging in battle with the aforesaid Anand Pál defeated him, and betaking himself with his vast spoil to the fortress of Bhúnnagar<sup>6</sup>—which nowadays is known

<sup>1</sup> Firishta says by way of Ratindah. In the text we find by way of Hindustán and MSS. (A) and (B) have the same. According to Elliott (II. 438) we should here read Bihand or Waibind, a place of considerable importance on the western bank of the Indus about fifteen miles above Attock.

<sup>2</sup> See Rauerty's *Tabaqat-i-Nasir*, p. 52 and note. Ilak son of Bughrá Khan took Bukhárá 10th Zí-Qa'dah, 389 H. See also pages 84-85, footnote 9.

<sup>3</sup> See also Briggs' Firishta, pp. 42-44.

<sup>4</sup> Transoxiana.

<sup>5</sup> Firishta calls him Sukhpál, a son of one of the Rájás of India. MS. (A) and (B) have Súkpál Naba سوکپال نبا According to Elliott his name was Sukhpál-Nawása Sháh, the name Nawása denoting his relationship to Jaipál whose grandson he in all probability was (see E and D, II. App. 444.) He is called Rájá inasmuch as Mahmúd when leaving Multán to fight Ilak Khan had (according to Firishta) left his Indian possessions in his charge. See also Elphinstone, Hist. of India, p. 280.

<sup>6</sup> This fortress is situated about a mile from the town of Bhím. The fort itself was called Nagarkot (Firishta) and is the same as Kot Kangra. In Tiesenthaler's map Nagarkote is placed some 25 miles N. W. of Kot Kangra, but at page 107, Vol I, he says, "Côtgangra nommée aussi Nagar cett est une ville munie d'uno forteresse et située dans les montagnes." See E and D, Vol. II. 34 and App. 445.

"The Town of Bhím which is about a mile from the fort, is now on a spot called Bhawan which means a temple raised to a Sakti or female deity, and Bhím is probably a mistake arising from its presumed foundation by the heroic Bhím."

as the Thana of Bhim—reduced it by promising quarter to the garrison, and gained possession of the treasure and valuables which had been buried and stored there since the time of Bhim, and in the early part of the year 100 H he caused several golden and silver thrones to be placed in his court, and ordered that all that boundless and incomparable wealth should be scattered at the foot of his own throne that the people might gaze on it. In the year 101 H (1010 A.D.) he left Ghazni and again marched towards Multan, and took possession of the remainder of the country and put to death the greater part of the Karmatians<sup>1</sup> and heretics of that region, and sent the remainder whom he did not put to death to the fort,<sup>2</sup> where they died. He took Dind ibn Nasr, the heretic ruler of Multan, to Ghazni and kept him a prisoner in the fortress of Qhoris,<sup>3</sup> where he died.

In the year 102 H (1011 A.D.), he set out for Thanesar<sup>4</sup> and Jaipil, the son of the former Jaipal offered him a present of fifty elephants and much treasure. The Sultan, however, was not to be deterred from his purpose, so refused to accept his present, and seeing Thanesar empty he sacked it and destroyed its idol temples, and took away to Ghazni, the idol known as Chakar.



<sup>1</sup> A heretical sect of Muslims, so called from the founder Karmat, who rose about the year 278 H. They sought to attain their ends by violence and in the year 310 H under Abu Tamer took the city of Mecca with fearful slaughter, plundered the temple and took away the black stone which they retained for twenty years.

(Elliott and Dawson II 673) (See also Salo's Qursu, 1<sup>st</sup> Discourse pp 130-131) D Herbelot (Carmate).

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) درج

<sup>3</sup> Firishta كورس MS (A) و

<sup>4</sup> Thanesar 76° 02' E. 29° 30' N. 1<sup>st</sup> Map, Tiefenthaler, Vol. III

Tiefenthaler describes it as a large and populous town one mile in length, having a pond surrounded by buildings towards the east. The Hindus he states, claim that when gold is thrown into this lake it increases in weight. He naively, goes on to say, however, "Mais c'est un fable ridicule car celui qui y jette son or n'en recouvre rien" The water is accounted holy.

He places Thanesar at a distance of 66 miles from Delhi giving the stages—Narela 12 miles, Sonpat 6, Gonor 6, Panipat 12, Garela 14, Asamibid 7, Thanesar 9. It lies N.W. of Delhi and is now called Thaneswar. See Cunningham, Anc Geog. of India, pp 330-332. See Alberuni I 100.

súm,<sup>1</sup> on account of which the Hindus had been ruined; and having placed it in his court, caused it to be trampled under foot by the people. In the year 403 H. (1012 A.D.), he conquered Ghurjistán,<sup>2</sup> and in the selfsame year an ambassador arrived from the ruler of Egypt, and when the Sultán heard that he was of the Bálíní sect,<sup>3</sup> he exposed him to public ridicule<sup>4</sup> and expelled him.

In the year 404 H. (1013 A.D.), he prepared an expeditionary force to attack Nandana,<sup>5</sup> a city situated on the mountains of Bálnáth. Jaipál II<sup>6</sup> left a force to defend that fortress, and himself proceeded to the Kashmír pass. The Sultán gained possession of that fortress with promise of quarter, and left Sárégh Kotwál to defend it, while he pursued Jaipál. He took the vast spoils of that mountainous region and put many infidels to death by the sword of holy war, and honoured the rest by admitting them to Islám—a certain number he led captive to Ghaznín.

In the year 406 H. (1015 A.D.), he contemplated the conquest of Kashmír, and besieged the fortress of Loliar Kot,<sup>7</sup> which was a very high fort, but was forced to abandon the siege on account of the severity of the cold and rain, and the constant reinforcements available to the Kashmíris, and returned to Ghaznín. In that year he entered into a contract for the marriage of his sister

<sup>1</sup> Chakrasvámīn, or the lord of the Chakra. For an account of this idol, see Alberuni, I. 117.

"The city of Taneshar is highly venerated by the Hindus. The idol of that place is called Cakra svámīn, i.e., the owner of the Cakra."

<sup>2</sup> Gharjistán, or Gharshistán, the country bounded on the west by Horát, east by Ghor, north by Merv, and south by Ghazní. See Jācut in voc. Gharshistán.

<sup>3</sup> Esoterics, a sect of the Shí'a Muslims. For an account of them see Cureton's كتاب الملک والملک pago 147 —They were variously called لقراءطہ بلاطیہ - الملکة - العلیمیۃ - المزدکیۃ

<sup>4</sup> تشهیر کردن Exposing to ridicule by seating on a donkey with the face to the tail, and thus leading him through the city.

<sup>5</sup> Nandana, a fortress of brick situated on a mountain. Tieffenthaler I. 105, in lat. 32°. (Alberúni, Sachau trans, 317). In Rennell's map (1782) the Belnáti mountains are placed in long. 72° E., lat. 32° N. For a full description of this mountain, see Cunningham, Ano. Geog. of India, pages 164, 165.

<sup>6</sup> Son of Anandpál, grandson of Jaipál I.

<sup>7</sup> Called also Lohkot by Firishta. MSS. (A) (B) لوهکوت.

with Abul Abbas ibn Mūmūn Khwārazm Shih,<sup>1</sup> and sent her to Khwārazm.

In the year 407 H (1016 A D), a band of russians murdered <sup>14</sup> Khwārazm Shih, and Mahmud leaving Ghaznīn, proceeded first to Balkh and thence to Khwārazm, where a furious battle took place between his forces and those of Khamātash, the commander-in-chief of Khwārazm. The Sultan's forces gained the day and Mahmud appointed Altān Tush governor of that country, investing him with the title of Khwārazm Shih, he also took vengeance on the murderers of Khwārazm Shih, and returned (to Ghaznīn) after having arranged those important affairs.

In the year 409 H, he marched with the object of subduing Qanauj,<sup>2</sup> and having crossed the seven<sup>3</sup> dangerous rivers of Hindustan, upon his arrival in the neighbourhood of Qanauj, Kurah,<sup>4</sup> the ruler of Qanauj, offered his submission, and sued for quarter, offering presents. Leaving that place he arrived at the

<sup>1</sup> For a full account of this dynasty, see Rāverī & Tabaqat-i-Nāfirī pp 231 &c., (note 2) Khwārazm is a country on both banks of the Oxus of which the capital is Gorgang (Jorjān) see Ahal Feda II n 209 Chorasmia of Strabo Herodotus &c. The Chorasmia are coupled by ancient authors with the Daco Massagetae and Soghdī (Smith's Dict of Geog.)

<sup>2</sup> Qanauj or Qanaj, was for a long time the Hiadā capital of Northern India Firishta states that when Mahmud approached Qanauj, 'he saw there no city which raised its head to the skies and which in strength and beauty might boast of being unrivalled. (Briggs I 57) See also Alberuni (Sachau tr I 109) (For a full account of this city consult Cunningham, op cit, 376, &c.)

Tieffenthaler states that in ancient monuments Qanauj is called Cannia coubadj ce qui signifie la tierce bosseue Vol I pp 193 194

<sup>3</sup> These in the order Mahmud met with them were the—

Indus Skst Sindhu Gr "Ivōs Indus incolē Sindus appellatns (Pliny)

Jhelam Hydaspes or Bidaspes Skst Vitasta (Vihut) or Viyatā

Chenah Acesines called in Sanskrit Ghandrahaga

Ravi Hydراotes (Arrian) Skst Iravati Hyarotis (Strabo)

Brah Hyphasis or Hypanis Skst Vipāsa

Satlej Zaradrus Hesydrus (Pliny) Skst Shatladar

Jamuna Jaun or Yamunā

(See also Afr. & Alberi (Jarrett) n 310) Alberuni Chaps xxiv xxv

<sup>4</sup> MSS (A) (B) كوراھ Kurah According to Firishta the name of the prince of Qanauj was Kunwai Rai see Elliott Vol II p 461

fortress of Barnah<sup>1</sup> whose governor Barwat, having entrusted the defence of the fortress to his kinsfolk, retired into seclusion.

The garrison of the fort not being able to withstand Maḥmúd's assault sent a present of a lakh and fifty thousand<sup>2</sup> rupees, with thirty elephants, and thus obtained quarter. From thence Maḥmúd proceeded to the fortress of Maháwun<sup>3</sup> on the banks of the river Jon,<sup>4</sup> where the governor of the fort named Kal Chandar<sup>5</sup> attempted to escape by crossing the river riding on an elephant, but in the meantime the troops of the Sultán arrived, and he destroyed himself by stabbing himself with a dagger—

By that same watery path he went to Hell.

When to live is to fulfil the desires of one's enemies

Death is infinitely preferable to life.

At the taking of the fortress of Qanauj eighty-five elephants and a boundless amount of spoil fell into the hands of the troops. From thence he went to Mathra<sup>6</sup> which is a place of worship of the infidels, and the birth place of Kishan, the son of Basudev, whom the Hindus worship as a divinity—where there are idol temples without number, and took it without any contest, and rased it to the ground. Great wealth and booty fell into the hands of the Muslims, among the rest they broke up by the orders of the Sultán, a golden idol, the weight of which was

<sup>1</sup> Barnah. Firishta gives Hardat as the name of the governor and calls the place Mírath. Baran. See Elliott II. 458, on the reading بَرَنْه. MS. (A.) has بَرْتَه Bartah and gives بَرْدَه Bardat as the name of its ruler.

<sup>2</sup> According to Firishta 250,000 silver dinars. This gives the value of the silver dinár as  $\frac{1}{25}$  of a rupee. In the *Aín-i-Akbarí* we find no mention of a silver dinár, but the dirham is stated to be  $\frac{1}{10}$  of a dinár; as the dirham varied in weight it seems almost certain from the above that the dirham and silver dinár were identical. (see note 1 p. 18.)

<sup>3</sup> Vide Tieff. 166. Mahában avec une forteresse en brique.

<sup>4</sup> The river Jumna. Alberuni "the river Janu (Yamuna) p. 199.

<sup>5</sup> Kul Chand (Firishta) Elliott I. 462. MS. (A) كُلْ‌چَانْد Kulchand.

<sup>6</sup> Vide Tieffenthaler I. 201 et seq.

Muthra or Mâhurâ, celebrated as a holy place, the birthplace of Vasudeva,—see Alberuni, ii. 147 i. 199; famous also in the history of Krishna as the stronghold of his enemy Râjâ Kansa. Arrian calls it Methoras while Pliny states that the river Jomanes (Jumna) passed between the towns of Methora and Clisobora (Kalikavartta or Vrindâvana) Cunningham *op. cit.* pp. 374-375.

ninety eight thousand three hundred *mugals*<sup>1</sup> of refined gold and a piece of sapphire<sup>2</sup> whose weight was four hundred and fifty *mugals* besides a celebrated elephant of huge size, like a mountain, belonging to Rájí Gobind Chund, one of the Rajás of Hindustan, which the Sultan had long earnestly sought to buy, but which was not to be had. By chance one night, when they were returning, this elephant broke loose and came into the Sultán's camp without a keeper. The Sultan was greatly pleased with its capture, and gave it the name of Khudádad.<sup>3</sup> When the spoil reached Ghaznín it was found to amount to over twenty million and fifty three thousand dirams, and three hundred and fifty odd elephants.<sup>4</sup>

In the year 110 H. (1019 A.D.), Mahmúd again turned his footsteps towards Hindustan and encountered and fought on the banks of the river Jon with Nnudí the Rája of Kalinjar,<sup>5</sup> who

<sup>1</sup> The *Mugál* = 1½ dinars = 6 danga = 96 barley grains in weight. It is a weight used in weighing gold and is also the name of the coin (Aba-i Akbari, I 30) Cf Hebrew *shekel* شکل see also Alberuni I 160-164

<sup>2</sup> احمد لزرق الیعنی — یاقوت ازرق ياقوت کحلی : Firishta says a blue gem. The stone was in all probability a sapphire. There are four kinds of آسمانستونی : red, blue, white, and coerulean.

<sup>3</sup> The gift of God

<sup>4</sup> From collating the MSS. A and B., I think the reading here is quite plain. It is و چون نه زین رسید شمار آن عدایم بیست و اند نار هزار هزار درم و پانصد و سه هزار درد و سیصد و پانصد و اند فیل دود -

Both MSS. have دوده but we must read درد as in Firishta, Vol I p 51, line 9 *et seq.* we read thus:-

و چون نه زین رسید عدایم سفر قدوح را شمار کردند بیست هزار دهار و هزاران هزار درم شهار درآمد و پانصد هزار درد و سیصد و پانصد و فیل و دیگر عجائب خارج اس دود -

and when he reached Ghaznín they counted the spoils of the expedition to Qanauj twenty thousand dinars and thousands of thousands of dirams and fifty thousand slaves and 300 elephants besides other booty in addition to these (Firishta, Vol I p 51, 1 0 *et seq.*)

<sup>5</sup> Kalinjar in Dangnya Bundelkhan. A description of this fortress with two plates will be found in Siegenthaler, Vol I p 214. He states that the fort was taken by Sher Shíkh and passed into the possession of the Rajah of Dangnya (Bundelkhand) from the time of Muhammad, king of Delhi (1718 to 1748) Lat. 25 N, Long 85 5 E (See Aba-i Akbari (Jarrett) II 158 159)

had with him 36,000 cavalry and 15,000<sup>1</sup> infantry and 610 elephants, and who had put to death the Rájá of Qananj on the occasion of his submission to the Sultán, and who had also come to the help of Jñipál, who had several times fled from before the Sultán. The servants of the Sultán who had gone forward to 16. the attack, found the city deserted, and sacked it. A terrible dread overwhelmed the heart of Jñipál, so that leaving all his property and material of war just as they stood, he took to flight with some selected companies. Five hundred and eighty elephants during the pursuit, emerging from a forest, fell into the hands of the Sultán's troops. He then returned to Ghaznín.— Many regions passed from the possession of the infidels to the Muslims, moreover the people of that country, either willingly or perforce, made profession of Islám.

In the year 412 H. (1021 A.D.), Mâlîmud proceeded to Kashmîr and laid siege to the fort of Loharkot for a month, but it held out being exceedingly well fortified. Leaving Loharkot he went to Lahore, and in the beginning of spring returned to Ghaznín.

In the year 413 H. (1022 A.D.), he again made an attempt on the country of Nandá, and when he arrived at the fortress of Gwâliár, having reduced it peaceably and accepted presents from its governor, confirmed him in his governorship. As part of that present there were thirty-five elephants. Leaving that place he went to the fort of Kâlinjar, the commander of which first made an offering of three hundred elephants and sought his protection.<sup>2</sup>

He also composed a poem in Hindî in praise of the Sultán, and sent it to him, wherupon the Sultán read the poem in the presence of the eloquent men of Hindustán and the poets of his own country. They were all loud in their praises of the poem, and the Sultán was so proud of it, that he wrote a patent conferring upon him the governorship of fifteen forts as a reward for the poem. Nandá also sent large quantities of property and jewels,

Firishta gives the date of this expedition as 412 A.H. See Elliot, Vol. I. 462, for an account of the various statements.

<sup>1</sup> The text has و چهل و پنج هزار Firishta says 45,000. MS. (A) likewise says 45,000. MS. (B) is same as the text, which says 145,000, but 45,000 is no doubt correct.

<sup>2</sup> Abul Fazl (*Afn-i-Akbari*, Text I. 423) says this was in 416 A.H.

and countless articles of value as an offering to Mahmud. The Sultan victorious and triumphant returned to Ghazni.

In the year 413 H (1024 A.D.), Mahmud went to Balkh, and passed the river Juhūn<sup>1</sup>. The chieftains of the regions beyond the river,<sup>2</sup> hastened to meet him, and Yūsuf Qadī Khān King of the whole of Turkistan, came to it to receive him, and visited the Sultan. They held great banquets and gave presents to each other, and Ali Tagīn, of whose oppression the people of the regions beyond the river had complained, learning what was happening took to flight. The Sultan pursued him and having captured him sent him a prisoner to one of the fortresses of Hindostan, then he returned and spent the winter in Ghazni.

Once more<sup>3</sup> he led his army against Somnāt, which is a large city on the coasts of the ocean,<sup>4</sup> a place of worship of the Brah-

<sup>1</sup> The Amū Daryā or Oxus. *Jahūn* is the name of the great river which separates Khwārezm and Khurasan from Bokhara, Samarcand and that country; all the region on the Bokhara's side of the river is called the country beyond the river (*ma warā' an-nahr*). It is in 229° according to Abul Fazl Balkh is situated in Long 101° Lat 36°. The Juhūn is also called "the river of Balkh". See also Abul Fazl (Balkh 11 H 103 19).

<sup>2</sup> *Mālikīya* = Transoxiana. The country lying between Khwārezm on the west and the Oxus on the south from Balkhshān to the frontiers of Khwārezm. See Abul Fazl (Balkh 11 H 212 and seq.)

<sup>3</sup> The accounts of this celebrated expedition are given in great detail by most authors. Those who follow Ibn' Asir and Mirkhwānd make it commence with 416 H. Those who follow Firdausi with 415 H (Elliot, II 469).

<sup>4</sup> Somnāt, South west of the peninsula of Gaurat. Long 107° 10' Lat 22° 15' (Afn. & Albert (J) III 54) on the sea shore. At a distance of 60 furlong from Balkhā, (Alb.) The river Srasht falls into the sea at the distance of a bowshot east of Somnāt (Alb 261). It was here that the Yādavas killed each other (Alb 105).

The Idol of Somnāt is stated by Alberuni to have been the image of Mahadeva erected to remove the leprosy of the moon. The word Somnāt means master of the moon. The image was destroyed by the Prince Mahmud, may God be merciful to him! — A H 410' Alb H 103. Alberuni gives an account here of Somnāt, and states (p. 176) that the day of full moon in the month Sravana is a fast day holy to Somnāt.

See also Elliot, II 408-476 also Linlithgow 250, note 16-17, Briggs' Fir. I 68, 73-74 Afn. & Albert, Vol II 216 and note.

Qazwīnī in his *Aṣr al-Bilāl* gives an account of the idol of Somnāt and states that it was suspended in mid air without support of any kind, and

mans who worship a large idol. There are many golden idols there. Although certain historians have called this idol Manát, and say that it is the identical idol which the Arab idolators brought to the coasts of Hindustán in the time of the Lord of the Missive (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him), this story has no foundation, because the Brahmins of India firmly believe that this idol has been in that place since the time of Kishan, that is to say four thousand years and a fraction. Its name too, in the Hindi language, is really Sobha Náth, that is to say Lord of Beauty, and not Manát.<sup>1</sup> The reason for this mistake must surely be the resemblance in name, and nothing else. In this expedition, having taken the city of Patan<sup>2</sup> which is known as Naharwála, a city of Gujerát, and having obtained a great supply of provisions from thence, he arrived at Somnáth where the garrison closed the gates of the fort against him, and reaped their reward in rapine and plunder. The fort was taken and Maḥmúd broke the idol in fragments and sent it to Ghazní, where it was placed at the door of the Jámi' Masjid and trodden under foot<sup>3</sup>.

18. At the time of his return, not considering it expedient to fight with Bairám Dev,<sup>4</sup> one of the mighty Rájás of Hindustán who stood in his way, Maḥmúd turned towards Multán by way of

further states that it was supposed to be kept in this position by magnetic action. Qazwíni died A. H. 682, (A. D. 1284.)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Quráu LIII. 19, 20. Zamákhshári in the *Kashsháf* states that Manát was an idol worshipped by the tribes of Huzail, Khuzán and Ṣaqíf, and that it was called Manát ماناتٌ كَانَتْ تُهْنِي عَذَابَ النَّاسِكَ (Calcutta Edn., Vol. II., page 1422).

<sup>2</sup> Pattan. Tieffenthaler I. 385, states that Pattan was a very ancient city founded even before Guzerát, 20 miles from Radhanpur, 40 miles north of Guzerát. Its ancient name was Nehréala. It was originally called Anhalpur. See *Aín-i-Akbarí* (J) II. 262, III. 59, 60. Compare Briggs' *Firishta*, I., 69., &c., Anhalwára (Elphinstone).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Alberuni II. 103.

<sup>4</sup> Firishta calls this Rájá Brahma Dev, and states that having fled from Maḥmúd he shut himself up in the fort of Gandaba (*Kandama Tárikh-i-Alfi*). Briggs states that the position of this place has not been ascertained, but it appears to me to be the place Canda mentioned by Tieffenthaler I. 402. "Canda est une bonne forteresse à 40 milles de Semnath elle est entourée d'eau comme une île : mais on pent y aborder à gué en quelques endroits." This description tallies exactly with Firishta's that there can be little



utterly destroyed the Turkomans of that country, and thence he hastened to Rai<sup>1</sup> and laid hands on the treasures and hidden valuables of that country which had been there for many years, and eradicated the false religionists and Karamanians of that place, and bestowed Rai and Isfahán on Amír Mas'úd his elder son. He then returned to Ghazní and shortly afterwards became attacked by consumption,<sup>2</sup> his weakness day by day increased. Nevertheless he used to take great pains to pretend that he was well and strong, and in that condition went to Balkh and in the spring came to Ghazní, and died of that disease on Thursday, the 23rd of Rabi'ul Awwal,

tude et 37° 20' de latitude. On la nomme encore, dit le Lobâb, Abâward et Bâward (Abul Feda (Reinaud) II. ii. 185-186). Firishta calls it Badward (see also Meynard (Dict. de la Perse) p. 13, Abiwerd).

<sup>1</sup> A district of Persian Iráq, situated according to Abul Feda quoting from the *Akwâl*, in long. 76° 20' and latitude 35° 35'. Its original name was he states, Râzî.

Ibn Hawqal in his article on Dailam, speaks of Reyy as a large city at a distance of eight marches from Azarbaiján. It is the ancient Rhages or 'Payâ' of Arrian, the capital of the province of Rhagiana, first known to us in history as the place to which the Jewish exiles were sent. It was the birth place of the famous physician Abu Bakr Muhammâd ibn Zakarîya Ar-Râzî, familiar to the medical world as Rhâzes who lived in the tenth century. His treatise on small-pox and measles (فِي الْبَدْرِيِّ وَالْمُجْنِدَةِ) was published in a Greek translation περὶ λοιμικῆς in 1548, and an English translation from the Arabic by Dr. Greenhill. (Sydenham Society, 1847) It was ten days' march from Ecbatana (Hamadân). It was called at different periods Europas and Arsacia. In modern times the ancient name has returned, and its ruins lie now to the south of Teherán and north of Ispahán. The famous jurisconsult Muhammâd ibn al-Hasan, and al-Kisâyî the reader of the Qurân, are buried there. Persian Irâq comprised the regions of Reyy, Qâshlân, Ispahán and Hamadân. (Dict. of Greek and Roman Geog., Vol. II. art Rhagæ), (Abul Feda, (Reinaud) II. ii. 169, &c.) also see I. K. (Slane), iii. 311 *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Briggs, Vol. I. p. 83, states that Mahmûd died of stone, but a reference to Firishta in the original shews that this is not the case. The words are مَوْضِعُ سُوَّالْقَنِيَّةِ يَا سَلْبَقَنِيَّةِ &c.

The disease سُوَّالْقَنِيَّةِ Sú-ul qinya which literally means an undesirable acquisition, is thus defined by Vüller *sub rôce* قنیت "pravus habitus corporis, gr. καχέξια, while the following translation from the MS. copy of *Bahrul-Jawâhir* in this Library will show how it is there defined:

"The disease is so called because the skin which surrounds a man and changes with his changes (i.e. contracts and expands as necessity arises) is diseased, it is the beginning of dropsy, but inasmuch as the term dropsy is specifically

421 A H,<sup>1</sup> and was buried at Ghazin. His age was sixty years, and he had reigned thirty-one years. They say that when he was restricted to another disease, this term *Su ul qinya* is made applicable to this condition<sup>2</sup>

In the *Istilahdtu l Funin* we find the disease described as "the commencement of dropsy due to weakness of liver and derangement of that organ". The quotation however is an erroneous transcription from *Al Muqas* of *Sadufs* a translation from which follows—he writes 'the commencement of dropsy due to weakness and derangement of the liver, with resulting pallor and whiteness owing to defect in the formation of good blood from disorder and weakness of the liver, it also arises from disorder of the stomach and weakness of that organ'

The face and extremities, that is the hands and feet, and especially the eyelids become swollen owing to the weakness of digestion and the rising of moist vapours, and their effect upon the eyelids and extremities and at times it extends to the entire body, so that the body becomes like dough. One of its symptoms is flatulence and borborygmus, with irregularity of the bowels. All of these are due to indigestion. The gums also are affected with pustules from the evil vapours which arise.

Its care is a gentle course of treatment for the dropsy. Means must be taken at first to secure a minimum of excrementitious products and drinking much water must be forbidden, and the patient directed to bathe in borax and alum water, or in sea water, as bathing in fresh water is harmful. Drinking wormwood and dianthus and uards is beneficial. The food must be appetising and strengthening to the liver, as for instance partridges, Cantharides flavoured with cloves and cinnamon and mastic and saffron are beneficial. The vomiting must be treated with aperients, when it will cease, but if more energetic treatment be required we may add agaricum and rhubarb which do no harm in this disease" (*Al Muqas* of *Sharki Majaz* by Sadufs)

It is evident from the above description that the disease from which Mahmud died was not either hectic fever (Baduni) or phthisis (Firishat), but an anaemia, very probably "idiopathic anaemia" or "progressive pernicious anaemia". The condition of the gums points to a possibly scorbutic taint, though it was probably ulcerous stomatitis so common at the close of wasting disease. Malaria may have shared in the causation of the illness. There is just a possibility that the disease may have been myœdema, the increase in bulk of the body with the alteration and sweating of the skin, the turgescence of the mucous membrane of the mouth—all point in this direction. Against this supposition however, is the sex and the age, both of which are in favour of pernicious anaemia. His age was 61.

The question of stone nowhere appears in the original authorities, and it is difficult to see why Briggs should put forward such a statement. See also Elliott, IV 188 note 1.

<sup>1</sup> This date is the same as that given by Firishat.

<sup>2</sup> Ravery in the *Tabaqat i Nasiri*, p. 87, note 9, gives Thursday, the 14th of

dying he ordered them to bring all his wealth and treasures and property before him, he lay looking at them from time to time regretfully sighing at having to part with them. He would not give the smallest trifle to any one.

He had made the journey to Hindustán and engaged in holy war, twelve times. Verily his reckoning is with his Lord ; and the story in connection with him and Firdansi<sup>1</sup> the poet is well known, and the holy Jámí<sup>2</sup> says :

It is well to recognize merits for when the arched sky  
At last discharged the arrows of misfortune,  
The glory of Maḥmúd passed away, nothing remained in the  
world  
Save only this saying “ He recognized not the worth of  
Firdausi.

Rabī'u-s-ṣanf, 421 H. (A.D. 1030) quoting the *Magámát of Amíd Abú Naṣr* by Al-Baihaqí as his authority.

The *Tubaqát-i-Naṣirí* gives his age at the time of his death as 61, and states that he had reigned 33 years.

<sup>1</sup> Abul Qásim Firdausi the celebrated poet, author of the *Sháh Námah*, was a native of Tús in Khorásán where he was born about 339 A.H. (950 A.D.) He died in 411 A.H. (1020 A.D.) or 416 A.H. (Gnzida). He was appointed by Maḥmúd to complete the *Sháh Námah*. As a reward for this labour he was promised a thousand *misqáls* of gold for every thousand distichs. However by the machinations of Aiyáz one of Maḥmúd's favourites who bore Firdausi a grudge for a fancied slight, the poet was represented to Maḥmúd as being a schismatic and heretic, and eventually was put off with 60,000 silver *dirhams* instead of the promised 60,000 *misqáls*. This so enraged him that he divided the 60,000 dirhams among the attendants of the bath where he was at the time of receipt. Finally he wrote a brilliant satire on the Sultan in the very copy of the *Sháhnámah* which he had presented to him on its completion, and fled from Maḥmúd's court to Mázinderán and thence to Baghdád. Maḥmúd at last relented, and sent Firdausi the 60,000 *dínárs* with a robe of state and apologies for his former harsh treatment, but when the presents arrived the body of Firdausi was being carried out for burial. See *Atashkada 'Ázur* p. 92 et seqq, also Atkinson's *Sháhnámah*, Preface : also Elliott, IV. 191. See also Hunter's Indian Empire, p. 219. and Beale's Dict. of Oriental Biography.

<sup>2</sup> Mulla Núrud-Dfn Abdur Rahmán (Jámí) author of " Yúsuf and Zulaikha " Beháristán, &c., was born at Jám in 817 H. (?) He died in 898 H. See *Atashkada-i-Azur* p. 78.

He was called عارف the holy from his position as one of the greatest divines of his day. He was the spiritual guide of the Vazír Amír Alf Sher. He performed the Hajj in 877 A.H., and died at Herát twenty years later.

And in the *Tarikh* of Muhammad Ufi,<sup>1</sup> the following *Qata'ih* has been attributed to the Sultan Mahmud

From the dread of the world winning sword and the fear of the fort crushing sceptre,

The world became subject to me as I am subjected to reason,  
At one time there would I sit sereno in my splendour and riches

At another time following Avarice roamed I from country 20  
to country,

Oft would I boastfully say Lo ! I am a man of importance,  
But now I clearly perceive that the King and the beggar are equals

I, with one wave of my hand, have conquered a myriad of castles

With one firm plant of my foot I have broken lines without number

When Death made the final assault, naught then did my splendour avail me

Nothing continues but God, God's kingdom alone is a kingdom

### SULTAN MUHAMMAD IBN SELJUK MAHYUD GHAZNAVI,

Who was styled Jalalu d Danlat, in the aforesaid year, by the provisions of his father's will, and with the acquiescence of Ibn Arsalan<sup>2</sup> a relative of Sultan Mahmud, succeeded to the royal throne in Ghaznin, and a month and a half after his accession Amir Ayaz<sup>3</sup> came to terms with the servants, and having mounted horses from the royal stables took the road to Bust with the object of entering the service of Shahabu d Daulah Mas'ud who was at

<sup>1</sup> Muhammad Ufi author of a biography or *Tarikh Tabib al Adab*, and of another work called *Jami' al Hikayat*. The latter he compiled in 128 A.D. (625 A.H.) He was a native of Merv which under the Saljuq princes was the capital of Persia. He was also known as Nuru'din Muhammad Ufi (Beale O B D) See also J R A S Vol IX 113

Hajj Khalfa calls him Jamalu d Din Mahammatal al Ufi See J R A S, Vol V, p 111

<sup>2</sup> Called in the *Ta-kirat ul Muluk* Ali son of Iyal Arsalan a relative of the late Sultan Mahmud (Raverty Tabqat-i Nasir 83 note 8)

Firishta calls him Amir Ali son Kizil Arsalan father in law of Mahmud (Briggs 93) See Lliliott IV 193 Ali kurbat (Raverty) or Ali khishawandi

<sup>3</sup> Abu Nasr Amir Ayaz (Firishta)

Sipáhán.<sup>1</sup> Amír Muhammád despatched Súndhí<sup>2</sup> Rái the Hindú with a large army in pursuit of them. Amír Áiyáz was victorious in the fight, and put to death Súndhí Rái the Hindú with a large number of Hindús, and sent their heads to Amír Muhammád. Amír Áiyáz joined Amír Maṣ'íd at Níshapúr,<sup>3</sup> and four months later Amír Muhammád moved his camp in the direction of Bust,<sup>4</sup> and came out in full force from Ghaznín with the intention of fighting with his brother, and when he reached Takínábád<sup>5</sup> all his Amírs having revolted against him, put out his eyes and threw him into the fort of Bujj<sup>6</sup> in Mázbaristán<sup>7</sup> and having gone over to Amír Maṣ'íd with the whole army and treasures, went to Herát and met him there. The blinded Amír Muhammád reigned five months, but according to Qázi Baizáví<sup>8</sup> it was fourteen years, and the period of his imprisonment was nine years. God knows the truth. The author of the *Nizámu-t-Tawárikh* writes that Muhammád ibn Maḥmúd wielded sovereignty in Ghazná for four years in the first instance, during the reign of his father, afterwards he was imprisoned for nine years by the command of his brother Maṣ'íd, and after the murder of Maṣ'íd he reigned for another year and then died.

An Amír in whose palace thou seest thousands of sentinels  
Now on the vault of his tomb thou seest ravens keeping watch;

<sup>1</sup> Ispáhán, see Abú Feda II., ii. 170. (Reinaud).

<sup>2</sup> Seward Rai (Firishta).

<sup>3</sup> The finest city of Khorásán situated at an equal distance from Merv, Herát, Jurján and Damaghán. See Abú Feda II. ii. 189. (Reinaud).

<sup>4</sup> Fourteen marches from Ghazná in Sijistán, between Herát and Ghazná. Abú Feda II. ii. 108. (Reinaud).

<sup>5</sup> Takínábád, see Elliott ii. pp. 271, 293 iv. p. 193 note 1. Briggs places it 30 miles N. of Ghazná; see *Aín-i-Akbarí* (J) III. 68. Long. 101° 5, Lat. 33°.

<sup>6</sup> The reading طبرستاچ in the text is absolutely without authority judging from the two MSS. I have before me. These both read,

<sup>7</sup> در قلعه فوج که از بحر سناب میل کشیده I am unable to elucidate this, but it certainly gives no countenance to the reading in the text which, how ever I have translated, as it stands, *faut de mieux*.

<sup>8</sup> Variously called Walaj (Firishta) Mangsál (*Nizámu-t-Tawárikh*) See Elliott IV. 193 note 3.

<sup>9</sup> Abú Saíd Abdulláh ibn 'Abdul Haṣan Alí Baizáví. See Elliott, II. 252.

<sup>10</sup> Táhyá ibn 'Abdul Laṭíf Qazwíní Dimishqí. Died 960 A. H. (18th December, 1552) (Háji Khalfá).

Thou didst see the head of Alp Arslan<sup>1</sup> reach the sky in its  
grandeur,  
Come to Marv that thou mayest see the body of Alp Arslan  
beneath the dust

SHAHABU D DAULAT SULTAN MAS'UD IBN MAHMUD

By the consent of the Amirs and Vazirs of Mahmud he ascended the imperial throne, and having come from Harran<sup>2</sup> to Balkh, spent the winter there, and summoning Ahmad ibn Hasan Maimandi whom Sultan Mahmud kept a prisoner in the fort of Kalmajar, made him a Vazir. Then leaving Balkh he came to Ghazni and thence started for Sipahan and Kai and arriving at Herat engaged in war with the Turkomans and not overcoming them, but on the contrary suffering defeat at their hands, turned back. The Turkomans increased in power day by day owing to his weakness, till affairs assumed the aspect which they eventually did.<sup>3</sup>

In the year 423 H Ahmad ibn Hasan Maimandi died, and in 22 the year 424 Sultan Mas'ud having undertaken to conquer

<sup>1</sup> Abu Shuja Muhammad son of Chakirbeg Daud son of Mikail son of Sijiq son of Duqaq surnamed Azdu d Daulat Alp Arslan (arm of the Empire the hero lion) was the third monarch of the Saljuqiyah dynasty who ascended the throne of Khorasan in 401 A.H. (see Raverty 132 note 2) Born 424 A.H. murdered 465 A.H. The lines are attributed by the author of the *Tubaqat-i-Nasir* to Hakim Sina'i a celebrated poet of Ghazni. His most celebrated work is the *Hadigat ul Haqiqat wa Sharhi atu i Tarifat* otherwise known as *Fatharnamah*. His full name was Abu Muhammad ibn Adam Sina'i Al Hakim. He died in the year 625 H (4th December 1130) (H K)

See also *Majmaul Fusul* I 204 and *Atashkada-i-Azur* p 108 cf I K (Sline) n 230

<sup>2</sup> Herat The well known city in Khurasan the ancient Aria (*Aptia*) (see D G R G <sup>I</sup>  
<sub>210</sub>) (Abul Feda II n 193,) founded by Alexander Meynard Dict de la Perse p 592 note 1, says

L'opinion generale des Persans est qu'Herat doit son nom et son origine à un des officiers de Yerimân le Pehlevân et qu'elle fut rebâtie par Alexandre  
هرات نامه است هر فرا نیاد گشته اسپ زیو نیای دیگر نیاد نهمن پس  
اران عمارت دیگر کرد اسکدرو رومش داد نداد

Le nom dont grec qu'on dérive est Harawi

<sup>3</sup> i.e. The establishment of the dynasty of the Saljuqiyah in 409 H by Tughril Beg

Hindustán marched towards the fortress of Sarsatí<sup>1</sup> which is situated in the way to Kashmír, laid siege to it and reduced it and made his way to Ghaznín with great booty. Then in 425 H. Sultan Mas'ud reduced Amal<sup>2</sup> and Sári<sup>3</sup> and sending legates to Kálinjar and Tabaristán established his authority there<sup>4</sup> and sent Tughdí Beg and<sup>5</sup> Husain ibn 'Alí ibn Maikál with a large army from Nishápúr against the Turkománs, and a severe battle ensued in which Husain was taken prisoner and Tughdí Beg fled and returned to the Amír Mas'ud.

Amír Ahmad Niyál Tigin<sup>6</sup> the treasurer of Sultan Mas'ud whom Maš'ud had fined and had sent to Hindústán,<sup>7</sup> on arriving in Hindústán revolted<sup>8</sup> and the Amír Mas'ud nominated a general of the Hindús named Náhir<sup>9</sup> to oppose him. Ahmad being overcome in battle fled to Mausúrah<sup>10</sup> in Sindh and was drowned — his head they sent to Ghaznín. In the year 427 H. (1035 A.D.) a new palace was completed in which they erected a throne inlaid with jewels, and suspended above it a jewelled crown. The

Sultān took his seat upon that throne and having placed the crown upon his head gave a public audience. And in this self same year he bestowed upon Amir Mūjud ibn Mas'ud (his son) the drum and ensign,<sup>1</sup> and despatched him to Bālgh while he himself proceeded with an army against Ilādūstīn—captured the fort of Hānsī<sup>2</sup> and thence proceeded to the fortress of Sonpat<sup>3</sup> Deipal<sup>4</sup> the commander of that fortress fled to the forest and lay hid there. They reduced the fort and captured immense booty presenting to the sword the greater part of Deipal's army, but he himself escaped alone. From thence Mas'ud turned his steps towards the valley of Ram<sup>5</sup> who sent a large offering accompanied by a written apology for his non appearance. Amir Mas'ud accepted his excuses and giving the Amir<sup>6</sup> Abūl Mūjalīd son of Mas'ud,<sup>7</sup> the drum and standard (of commission) sent him to Lahore and retraced his steps to Ghaznīn.

In the year 128 (1036 A.D.) he left Ghazni for Balkh intending to crush the rebellion of the Turkomans who evacuated Balkh and retired into the surrounding country. The Sultan then

<sup>1</sup> As tokens of his commission as a general of the army.

<sup>2</sup> According to Bribiqi this fort had been hitherto known as "Tlo Virgin" as no one had yet been able to take it. It was taken ten days before the close of Rabi' ul Awwal. Hissar a city with a ruined castle 11 miles to the east of Hissar. Tiesenthaler I 331.

<sup>3</sup> Sonpath, a city with a brick fortress. Tiefenthaler I 133. It lies North of Delhi MSS (A and B) read قلعہ سونپت

#### 4. MSS (A and B)      دعا

<sup>6</sup> Fitzsimons' account is almost identical to ours.

<sup>6</sup> Firuzta writes فرزند حوش اروا مسعود ودری also Raverty p 93, note 7 In the text we should read اروا مسعود بن مسعود

<sup>7</sup> Here I follow MS (B). The readings of the MSS vary here very considerably. MS (A) reads (agreeing with the text) سلطان ارب حبکوں گدشہ تمام میاڑا الہورا متصرف شد و دارود ترکمان کے تعددی بیگ و امیرجس را قبل اوس شکست دادہ بود لیکن عیت تمام قصہ بلحی نہ بود ۔

و سلطان از این حیثیت گذشته تمام قصد نایم نمود MS (B) reads,

Preference must be given to MS (A), the copyist evidently having mistaken his place after the first **تمام** and instead of continuing he has gone on to **قدملج** that he was a careless and incompetent copyist is shown by the next line where he writes **و درین اینا تعدی دواхи کورگان درازکرد** for **و درین اثنا عدی دست تعدی دواхи کورگان دراز کرد**

crossing the Jihún occupied the whole of Transoxiana. Dáúd the Turkomán, who had previously defeated Tughdí Beg and Amír Ijusain, marched with a large force towards Balkh. Amír Mas'ud thereupon returned from Transoxiana to Balkh and Dáúd the Turkomán<sup>1</sup> leaving Balkh went to Merv. In the meantime Tughdí Beg<sup>2</sup> had been acting oppressively in the neighbourhood of Gurgán. When the Amír Mas'ud perceived the symptoms of his rebellion he ordered him to be impaled. The Amír Mas'ud then exacted a stipulation and promise from Béghú<sup>3</sup> the Turkomán who was the chief of that tribe, that henceforward they would never attempt any lawlessness, and having delimited their boundaries in a suitable way left for Herát. While on his way thither a body of the Turkománs fell upon the army of Mas'ud, killing some and plundering the baggage. The soldiers of the Sultán who were told off to attack them made the whole of that party food for the sword, and brought their wives and families together with the heads of the slain into the presence of Amír Mas'ud who sent asses laden with the heads to Béghú. Béghú apologized, and it so happens that this is the very same Béghú in praise of whom the poet Ziaí<sup>4</sup> of Persia has composed several odes from which the following verses are selected—

4. It is wrong for me to bewail the misfortunes of others than thee,  
 It is wrong not to weep with thy sorrow.  
 My occupation day and night is to lament and bewail thy sorrow.

<sup>1</sup> See Raverty, p. 94, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) has تغدی بگ not تغدی.

<sup>3</sup> Isráil-i-Béghú. See Raverty (*Tabaqát-i-Násirí*) p. 94, note 2, page 116, note 3, for an account of the rise of the Saljuqíyah dynasty. See also Ibn Khall: (Slano) iii. 225 and seqq.

<sup>4</sup> Zéáu-d-Dín Khajandí. *Al Fársí*, a native of Shíráz who left Shíráz in his youth and took up his abode at Khajand. He was a contemporary and panegyrist of Sultán Malik Sháh Saljúqí, and died at Herát in the year 522 H. (In the *Majma'-ul Fusahá* from which these particulars are taken, the date of his death is 622 H., but this is an error as Malik Sháh died in 491 H.)

Beale (Oriental Biographical Dictionary) gives the date as 622 H., but this is in all probability copied from the above authority.

Thou did'st say, "Thou did'st weep for love of me," but  
verily there is a difference in shedding blood and shedding  
tears

At all hours I suffer a thousand pangs for the grief of the  
love of thee, nor do I weep alone

I cannot but melt with love of thee, nor is there any remedy  
for the pain I suffer for thee, save weeping

Apart from thee Fate has nothing in store for me

Save vexation, one day, and weeping the next

From thy era discord springs, for if not how comes it to pass  
that the whole world should weep from my time to that of  
the King?

Beglu Malik Shah, he who by his sword made the brave  
warriors to weep openly on the field of battle

The King Nizam Din to whom at the time of his conflict

Came from the tombs of Rustum and Dara the sound of weep  
ing

The gems in the depths of the sea or in the heat of the  
flinty rock were compelled to weep for shame at his elo  
quence,

The inhabitants of the world above were compelled to weep,  
cast down by the destroying arrow of his wrath

From envy of his splendour, which surpasses the sun in its 25  
zenith,

The Gemini were forced to weep constantly in the heavens

Oh! thou in presence of whose pearl scattering hand the  
ocean weeps like a cloud from every pore!

Who in view of thy majesty would dare or desire to weep  
over the corpse of thy enemy?

Thy sword from very fineness of temper weeps tears of blood  
over thy enemies in the field of battle,

What is prepared for thine adversary in either world?

There is the torture of hell, here he must weep

Lo' one who in the madness of his fear at thy displeasure  
Seeks to hide himself in a corner and prepares to weep

Thy enemies have many manifest and hidden projects

But the wound is hidden, the weeping is manifest

I believe that this must have come into your exalted mind,  
After all what use is praise to me with weeping

When I recite any poem in separation from thee

Both the first and last verses weep for anguish,  
 Till lovers pass from excess of grief to endurance and to weep  
 like Wámiq and 'Azrá<sup>1</sup>  
 May it be thy lot to smile after a happy life,  
 May it be the fate of thy enemies perforce to weep.

## 26. The following is also by him:—

Oh thou whose lip distils sugar<sup>2</sup> at the opening of each  
 smile !  
 Thy ruby lip when thou smilest, rebukes the soul.  
 In every movement thy curling locks ravish the heart  
 In every smile thy ruby lip scatters the life blood.  
 The trade of thy hyacinthine ringlets is to scatter perfume,  
 The habit of thy delicate lips is to smile sweetly.  
 Till thou seest not the cheek of gold thou smilest not,  
 Every flower smiles from the enjoyment of the gold.  
 When thou smilest a whole world smiles looking towards thee  
 For no one before this has seen the sun and moon to smile (at  
 one time.)  
 I have a great sorrow and lamentation, and endless grief  
 and pain,  
 I have in separation from thee all of these, but no smile.  
 What could mankind have learned of the shape of thy mouth  
 Had'st thou not given them from thine own mouth the news  
 of a smile.  
 Because of thy cruelty I do not smile, for at the time of  
 mourning  
 The wise and excellent do not approve of smiling.  
 All my disorder is due to grief on thy account,  
 Why then do you smile at me disordered as I am ?  
 It may be that from the crown and canopy of kings thy locks  
 and cheek have learned to smile both morning and evening.  
 27. King of the East Malik Sháh who in his feasting is careful  
 always to smile from joy and pride.

<sup>1</sup> The loves of Wámiq and 'Azrá form the subject of two Turkish romances, one by Mahmúd bin Aşmán, Lamáí; and the other by Mu'íd, a native of Tarkhán. (D'Herbelot).

<sup>2</sup> ای لب شکر و زن must be read here.

Conqueror of infidelity, Nizim-n-Din, whose friends are  
always engrossed in enjoyment, and only vary it by smiling  
If the seed could receive the good tidings of his approbation,  
even from the lips of his father would one begin to smile  
A father to whom a son is essential to do him service, smiles  
from the pleasure he experiences at the success of his son  
It is not strange that from the excess of his joy, the cloud of  
weeping which shrouded his moist eyes gives place to smiling

Oh ye obedient ones, since the beauty of the rose is added to  
your own charms, ye are smiling in this garden<sup>1</sup> of two doors.  
Thy charms have power to add sweetness to sugar  
Thy words have power to add brilliance to the jewel  
Thy shaft when fitted to the bow has established the custom  
In the army of battle to smile at the helmet and shield  
Following after victory when thy sword is furious  
There comes to it from the sorceries of heaven a smile  
Doubtless the enemy of thy grandeur, smiles sweetly  
If scattering his heart's blood (in envy) be to smile

In order that the saffron<sup>2</sup> may fulfil the promise of its properties,  
namely to bring smiles to the lips of all conditions of men, may  
the lips of thy enemies be saffron, that their lips may always from  
fear of thee smile from his want of success

<sup>1</sup> i.e., the world Birth and death are the two doors

<sup>2</sup> Saffron was held by the Greek physicians to cause smiling when taken internally

It is its property of inciting to mirth and laughter which is here alluded to  
With regard to Saffron the <sup>دَارِيَةُ</sup> <sup>ادوية</sup> says

فعال وخاص آن مفرح وعدي حواس وصيري وصالح وصالح ومصالح  
عفوبت حلط بلعبي وصالح وحادي آن ارتقير وساد ومدربول ودقوقه  
قائمه ومحوى دلا وعدي حور روح حيواني وحگر واحدشا والاب تنفس و  
مورث دشاط وصیک وصنای گرده ومتانه ونشره ورسانده قوت ادورة به قلب  
وسائر اعضا ومقفع شده دماغ وحگر وصیر \*

Actions and properties of Saffron Exhilarating and tonic to the senses,  
excitant and digestivo laxative and corrective of the impuro humours of  
the phlegm and preventing and preserving them from alteration and  
badness It is diuretic and constipating aphrodisiac and strengthening to  
the essence of the animal spirits, to the liver, and bowels and respiratory

29. Then Amīl Ma'ād marched from Herāt to Nishāpur and thence to Tūs,<sup>1</sup> and a body of Turkomans giving him battle met their death; the people of Herāt gave up that town to the Turkomans and the Sultan having overcome that fortress<sup>2</sup> and having put them all to death spent the winter at Nishāpur.<sup>3</sup>

Then in the year 430 H. having set out to attack Tughral<sup>4</sup> the orator. It produces mirth and laughter, purifies the kidneys and bladder and skin. It carries the virtues of midwives to the heart and to all viscera—removes obstructions of the brain, liver and spleen.

The following extract from the بترالجبرادخو gives a further account of its properties.

يمنع سيلان الماءات الى العين بطوطخا و اكتسلا [بلدين الموارة] حار في الثالثة وباس فى الاولى مفتح مثلك قابض عذبيع سن اللون وبسكر مع الشراب جدا حتى يزعن وبهدفه وينوم وبجلد البصر ويسهل الولادة و النفس فزيادي القلب ويدر ويسقط الشهوة وينفع من الوجاع البالغة ووجاع الرحم ويددب الشمار ويزده فى البلا ويزوق اعراض الطحال —

It prevents the flow of moist humours to the eye when used either as an ointment or a collyrium. It is hot in the third degree, dry in the first degree, laxative, or constipating, digestive, improving the complexion, and very intoxicating with wine causing heaviness, headache, and drowsiness, clears the sight and facilitates parturition, and respiration, is a cardiac tonic and is diuretic and controls the animal passions and cures internal diseases and uterine complaints; dispels the effects of debauch, and is a sexual tonic and cures diseases of the spleen.

وله خاصية عجيبة في تقوية جواهر الروح وتغريبة لها بحدث فيه من نورانية وانبساطة مع مثانة ويعينها العطرية الشديدة —

It has a wonderful power as an exhilarant increasing the brilliance and strength of the mental powers. It is assisted by strong perfumes.

1 Tús, a district and city of Khorásán, one of the dependencies of Nishápur, distant from the city of Nishápur about 10 farsakhs.

See Abul Fedn II. ii. 190. Dict. de la Perse, p. 396. According to Ibn Khalliqán the Saljúqs gained possession of Tús in 429 A. H. and in the month Ramazán of the same year they took Nishápur. I. K. (Slane) iii. 226.

2 MS. (B) has گذرانیدند showing clearly that the copyist was a native of Hindustán. A line or two lower he writes for قرار نمود This MS. is quite worthless for purposes of comparison. It abounds in errors and is plainly the work of an inferior copyist.

3 Tughral Beg. Abú Ṭálib Muḥammad Ibñ Mikáil Ibñ Saljúq Ibñ Dukák Ruknud-Dín Tughral Beg was the founder of the dynasty of Saljúqs (cf. Raverty, pp. 94 and 122, and also I. K. (Slane) iii. 224).

Turkoman who had raised a rebellion in Bâward, when Tughril took to flight Amu Mas'ud turned back and came to Sarakhs<sup>1</sup> by way of Mahnah<sup>2</sup> and gave orders to raise the fortress of Mahnah. Then he put to death some of the inhabitants of Mahnah, and cut off the hands and feet of many more and thence went in the direction of Zirqan<sup>3</sup> in which place the Turkomans brought together a large army and fought a severe battle with the Sultan. In this battle the majority of the generals of the army of Ghaznî maintained and went over to the enemy. The Sultan remaining all alone on the field, killed several of the Turkoman leaders with sword, spear and mace, and eventually came out of that engagement safely. This event took place on the 8th of Rûmuzan, 431 H (1039 A.D.). From thence Amir Mas'ud came to Merv, and several of the soldiery from the neighbouring country having come in at last sided with him. He went to Ghaznî by way of Ghaur,<sup>4</sup> and having fined these chiefs who had not fought and had fled, sent some of them, as for instance Ali Daya and Hajib-i-Buzurg,<sup>5</sup> and Beg Tughlî to Hindustan and imprisoned<sup>6</sup> them in fortresses. All of them died in imprisonment. Amir Mas'ud now desired to go to India and collect some forces there, and to come from thence with a large army against the Turkomans to punish them. With this intention he made Amir Ma'udud<sup>7</sup> Amir of

<sup>1</sup> Sarakhs or Sarkhas (Meynard Dict de la Perse 307) said by the Persians to have been founded by Kalkau<sup>a</sup> a city situated between Nishapur and Merv, in a plain. Abul Feda II n 193

<sup>2</sup> Mahnah Firishta says مهناہ Mahtaks but مهناہ is undoubtedly the right reading. In Persian this name is spelt مهناہ Maihana a small town of the district of Khaberan between Abiward and Sarakhs. See Meynard, Dict de la Perse 558.

<sup>3</sup> Zirqan is not mentioned by other authors I have consulted and may be a clerical error. The name of the place where this battle was fought was Dan dangan a town in the vicinity of Merv cf. Raverty p 94 note 3. Also Abul Feda II n 197 Meynard p 239. It seems to me most probable that we should read though all MSS give زرخان Zandkha: زرخان is a fortified town situated at the distance of one farsak<sup>b</sup> from Sarakhs (Meynard 288).

<sup>4</sup> Abul Feda II n 201 A province lying between Herat, Karawan and Guristan.

<sup>5</sup> Firishta حاجت شعبانی Hajib Shaibani

<sup>6</sup> MS (B) در علها حدس کرد

<sup>7</sup> Shâhâbûd Daulat Ma'udud his eldest son. Compare the account given by Firishta

29. Balkh, and having appointed Muhammād ibn Abūl-Ṣāmīd as his Wazīr despatched them thither. He then appointed the Amīr Muhammād<sup>1</sup> with two thousand soldiers to proceed to Mūltān, and sent the Amīr of that district<sup>2</sup> to the foot of the hills of Ghaznīn to restrain the Asghāns of that district who had broken out into rebellion; and having laden camels with the whole of Māhmūd's treasures which were stored in Ghaznīn and the neighbouring fortresses started for Hindustān and despatched messengers *en route* to bring his brother Amīr Muhammād who had been blinded<sup>3</sup> and was then confined in the fortress of Bazgānād.<sup>4</sup> When Sultān Maṣ'ud arrived at the frontier fort<sup>5</sup> of Mārkāla,<sup>6</sup> his slaves plundered all the treasure-camels. In the meantime the Amīr Muhammād arrived there, and the slaves who recognised that this violence would have no successful issue unless another governor were appointed<sup>7</sup> perforce, approached the Amīr Muhammād, raised him to the Sovereignty and breaking into open riot assaulted Sultān Maṣ'ud who had taken refuge in that fort. The next day the whole army becoming violent brought Amīr Maṣ'ud from within the fort of Mārkāla and made him prisoner confining him within the fortress of Kīrī,<sup>8</sup> till at last in Jamādīn-l-Awwal 432 H. they sent a false

<sup>1</sup> Firishta says امير مجدد امير Amīr Majdūd—the second son of Maṣ'ud MS. (A) has امير مجدد امير Amīr Māhdūd, which should in all probability be read مجدد Majdūd. MS. (B) agrees with the text, both are probably wrong.

<sup>2</sup> The words in the text appear to be a misprint for the following امير ایزدیار which is Firishta's version. The Amīr Izad Yār was Maṣ'ud's fifth son. Both MSS. however have امير این دیار را

<sup>3</sup> See page 21.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. (A) and (B) برغنة.

<sup>5</sup> Dozy quoting from de Slane gives casernes fortifiées qu'on construisait sur les frontières de l'empire as the meaning of لی

<sup>6</sup> Mārkāla. Firishta says Mārkāla which according to some is on the Jhilam river which in those days was called the Behāt. Raverty in his note 4, page 95 says: A pass somewhat difficult situated between Rāwal Pindi and Attock—See Elliott II. 273, note 2.

<sup>7</sup> MS. (B) این تھی از پیش In the text read غلامان دانستند کہ ایذقشم تھی از پیش Cf. Firishta تھی اور تھی از نخواهد رفت

<sup>8</sup> Firishta reads کیری (Kīrī). Cf. Raverty 95 (5). MS. (B) MS. (A) See Elliott II. 273, note 3.

message purporting to emanate verbally from Amir Muhammad ordering him to kill Amu Mas'ud and to send his head to him. The Kotwāl in obedience to this order severed Mas'ud's head from his body and sent it to Amir Muhammad.

Of the vicissitudes of time, this much pleased me  
 That I saw good and bad, right and wrong, pass away  
 He who at morning time wore on his head a jewelled crown  
 Him I saw, at the time of evening prayer, with a brick 30  
 underneath his head (in the grave)

This story is according to the relation of Nizāmi,<sup>1</sup> but the Qāzī Buzāwī relates that in the year 132 Mas'ud fled defeated from before the Seljuqs to Ghaznī, and Amir Muhammad who had consolidated his power during Mas'ud's absence sent him to a fortress whether his son Ahmad ibn Muhammad followed him and murdered him.<sup>2</sup> The Government of Sultan Mas'ud ibn Mahmud lasted eleven years, but we ought to note that the Qāzī Buzāwī (may God's mercy be upon him) assigns the year 433 H as the date of the death of Mas'ud, and writes that Muhammad ibn Mahmūd reigned in Ghaznī for fourteen years after his father,<sup>3</sup> one year after his father's death, nine years in the lifetime of his brother, and four years after his brother's death, as has already been stated. God alone knows the truth. Apparently this is due to the mistake of a copyist. Among the poets who flourished in

<sup>1</sup> Nizāmu d Dīn Ahmad, author of the *Tibaqat-i-Albārī*, Elliott v 177. Died 1003 H

<sup>2</sup> Buzāwī's account is as follows —

Mas'ud after his arrival at Ghaznī sent Yusuf to prison and became master of all the dominions of his father. In his time the Seljuqs crossed the Jihun and invaded Khurasan. He fought with them and made peace with them several times but being defeated in A H 432, he returned to Ghaznī where his brother Muhammad had regained power in his absence. On his arrival he was consigned to a fort and Ahmad, the son of Muhammad, went direct from his father to the fort, and there slew him, A H 433, Elliott II 256

<sup>3</sup> That is from 421 A H to 434 A H with interruptions during the supremacy of Mas'ud. Mahmud died in 421 A H. Mas'ud was murdered on the 11th of Jamadī al Awwal, 433 H (Raverty, pp 95 G.)

Muhammad was put to death by Maudud in revenge for his father's murder in the year 434 H. Maudud reigned seven years and died in 441 H (1049 A D.)

the time of Sultán Mas'úd is Manúchihrí<sup>4</sup> who speaks as follows in a *qasídah* concerning his Wazír.

*Couplet.*

Shah Mas'úd is as proud of his rectitude  
As is the prophet of Naushirwán<sup>5</sup> the upright.

SULTÁN MAUDÚD IBN MAS'ÚD IBN MAHMÚD,

Ascended the throne of Empire (after the murder of his i  
in Bámián<sup>1</sup>) with the consent of the Wazírs and Amírs, and with  
the object of avenging his father purposed to march towards  
Mári galah, but Abu Naṣr Aḥmád ibn Muḥammad ibn Abdus  
Samad opposed his projected expedition and brought him to  
Ghazní, whence he proceeded with a large army to attack his  
uncle the blind Amír Muḥammad. On arriving at Dípúr<sup>2</sup> he en-  
gaged in a severe battle with the Amír Muḥammad and thus  
31. passed the whole day till nightfall when both fell back upon their  
positions. The next day Sultán Maudúd induced the Amír Saiyyid  
Mansúr who was one of the trusted (generals) of the Amír  
Muḥammad to side with him, and engaging in battle took  
prisoners the Amír Muḥammad and his son Aḥmád and put them  
all to death. The Amír Maudúd founded there a city which he

<sup>4</sup> Manúchihrí Dámaghání. Hakím Abunnajm Aḥmád, a pupil of the poet 'Unṣuri, whom he is said to have surpassed in sweetness and facility of expression. He was called *كَلْمَشْتَ shast galla* because of his possessing numerous flocks and herds. He died in 432 H. (Majma'-ul-Fuṣahá).

<sup>5</sup> Náushirwán. Chosroes I. son of Kobád, one of the Sassanide dynasty, ruled over Persia from 531 A. D. to 579 A. D. (See Dict. G. and R. B., p. 720, Vol. III). The prophet Muḥammad was born in the fortieth year of his reign, April 20th, 571 (Spréngor) or August 20th, 570 A. D. (Cauſſin de Perceval I. 283). Muḥammad used to boast of his good fortune in having been born during the reign of so just a king. Cf. D'Herbelot III. 57.

<sup>1</sup> Bamián. "Situated ten days' march from Balkh and eight from Ghazní. There is a building there of a prodigious height ornamented with paintings of all the birds created by God, and containing two enormous images called سرخ بُد *Surkh bud*, the Red idol, and سُخْ بُد *Khing bud*, the White idol." Meynard, Dict. de la Perse, p. 80.

Abul Feda II. ii. 203, between Balkh and Ghazní. The district in which Ghazní and Kábul are situated.

<sup>2</sup> Toxt has Deipúr (MS. A دینور Dínúr). For the locality of this place, see Raverty 96, note 2. The name is in all likelihood Dínúr as in Baihaqí.

named Fathabád<sup>1</sup>. This victory was gained in the month Sha'bán of the year 432 H, or according to another account in the year 434 H<sup>2</sup>. And in the year 433 H being angry with Khwája Ahmad ibn Abdus Samad he imprisoned him in Ghaznín where he died in prison, and in this same year he sent Abu Násí Muhammád bin Ahmad towards Hindustán to fight with Námu ibn Muhammád<sup>3</sup> and Námu was killed in the course of that war. And in the year 434 H Artagín at the order of the Sultan proceeded with an army to Tabarístan against Da'ud<sup>4</sup> the Turko man, and having lost in battle a large number of his men came to Balkh and established the emirage and proclamation of sovereignty in the name of the Amir Maudud. Afterwards when the Turko mans attacked him several times in force not being able to contend with them, he quitted Balkh and came to Ghaznín. Then in the year 435 H Amir Maudud imprisoned Abu 'Ah the Kotwal of Ghaznín for a time, but eventually appointed him as the Diwan of the kingdom and Kotwal of Ghaznín, and imprisoned Yasu'i ibn Iyamghur the Diwan, till at length he died in confinement, he also punished Altagín<sup>5</sup> and in the year 436 H Khwája Táhir who had succeeded Khwája Ahmad as Wazír, died, and was succeeded by Khwája Imám Abú'l Fáth 'Abdu'l Razzáq<sup>6</sup>. In this same year he sent Tughral Hajib in the direction of Bust, who took prisoner Abu Mansúr Zangi,<sup>7</sup> the brother of Abú Farz and brought him to Ghaznín, he then departed for Seistan and having

<sup>1</sup> Raverty OG note 2

<sup>2</sup> The latter date must be the correct one as Mas'ud was not put to death till 433 A. H. See note 3, page 4.

The Taríkh-i-Mas'udi however writes as follows —

وَامْرُورْ مُودُودْ دَرِسْ شَعْبَانْ ٤٣٢ هـ مَكَّةَ حَطَّةَ بَغْدَادَ [٤٣٣] نَدِيْرُورْ  
آمَدْ وَحَنْكَ كَوْدْ وَعَمْ رَا بَغْرُوتْ نَا پَسْرَاشْ وَكَسَانِيْ كَهْ نَا آنْ پَادِشاَهْ دَارْ  
بُودْ هَمِيْگَانْ رَا يَكْشَ

See Thomas Coins of Kings of Ghaznín J R A S ix 270

<sup>3</sup> Firishta describes him as فَلَدْ مُحَمَّدْ مَكْوَلْ, the son of the Blinded Muhammád

<sup>4</sup> See note 1 p 38

<sup>5</sup> Alptig n Hajib

<sup>6</sup> Grandson of Hasan Maimand;

<sup>7</sup> Firishta says also Zangi Briggs in his translation has said Oozbuky'

32. engaged in conflict with the Turkománs at the Ribát Amír,<sup>1</sup> put most of them to death after which victory he went to Garm Sír, where he put to death the Turkománs of that district who were known as Red-caps<sup>2</sup> and took many of them prisoner, and brought them to Ghaznín.

In the year 438 H., he sent Tughral to Takínábád who on arrival there revolted. Accordingly Alí bin Rabí' was nominated to proceed thither and Tughral fled with a few followers. Alí plundered his army, and having captured some of them brought them to Ghaznín. In the year 439 H. the Amír Qazdár raised a rebellion<sup>3</sup> and suffered defeat at the hands of Hájib Buzurg Bártagín<sup>4</sup> and after a time tendered his submission.

And in the year 440 H. having conferred upon his two sons Abul Qásim Maḥmúd and Mansúr on the same day robes of honour and the drum and ensigns of commission sent one of them towards Lahore and the other towards Parshúr<sup>5</sup> and he sent Abú Alí Hasan Kotwál of Ghaznín to Hindustán to punish the rebels there, and when Hasan returned to Ghaznín after having done good service Maudúd made him over to Mírak ibn Hasan with orders to imprison him. He died in prison. As a sequel to this, Mírak ibn Hasan the Vakíl who had murdered Abú 'Alí Hasan without the orders of Amír Maudúd and had kept it secret, incited the King to

<sup>1</sup> Firishta ریاض امیر Ribát Amír, Long. 105, Lat. 34, *Aín-i-Akkari* (J.) iii. 68.  
Both MSS. have ریاض اسیر

<sup>2</sup> Firishta also says سرخ کلاہ and does not mention the word قزیلباش though Briggs translates "called Kuzil Búsh, owing to their wearing red caps" Briggs, Vol. I, p. 121. Qizil Red is Turkish باش Básı. Head is Turkí.

<sup>3</sup> In one copy we find بغي قصده ورزبد Firishta has the following امير قضدار بغي ورزبد so we should read hero ورزبد امير قزدار طغیان ورزید

<sup>4</sup> According to Firishta MS. (A) reads بایتگین MS. (B) reads Báitigín. Briggs says, "In the year 439 he was sent against Khoozdár, the ruler of which paid the usual tributo" but in the original of Firishta we find these words: وقزدار جنگ کرده شکست یافت which looks as if Amír Qazdár was his name. Elliott V. App., p. 558, states "Kusdar lies to the south of Bust, and is the present Khuzdár of our maps the capital of Jhálawán in Bilúchistán."

See pp. 557-559 from which the above is quoted.

<sup>5</sup> Parshúr, the modern Pesháwar, called originally Parasháwara. Cunn. Anc. Geog. of India, p. 78.

proceed to Kábul so that that misdeed of his might remain concealed. When the Amir Maudúd reached the fortress of Sankot<sup>1</sup> he was attacked with colic<sup>2</sup> and was forced to return to Gházní, and ordered Mirak to release Abú Alí Kotwal. He accordingly prayed for a week's respite, and in the interim Amir Maudúd departed this life on the 24th of Rajab A.H. 441, having reigned nearly nine years. The *Tubbu-t-Tawarikh*<sup>3</sup> states that Sultan Maudúd asked in marriage the daughter of Chughz<sup>4</sup> Beg Saljúqī, by whom he had a son whom he named Mas'úd, that he reigned seven years, and that in the month of Rajab 411 he attempted to go to Khorásan to visit Chughz Beg, but died on the journey of colic.

<sup>1</sup> Firishta writes سانکوت Sankot Both MSS. read میانکوت very plainly written

<sup>2</sup> قرلچ قرلچ<sup>5</sup> Probably intestinal obstruction which is included under the term Qulinj of which there are stated by Sadidī to be five varieties. Cf. Sadidī *Aṣṭ* قرلچ

<sup>1</sup> القولج الحقبي True or spasmodic colic

<sup>2</sup> القولج السدي n Obstructive colic—due as he says to an accumulation of لعوم or mucus in the cæcum or colon

<sup>3</sup> القولج الترسجي Flatulent colic

<sup>4</sup> ورم حار او ناره اخاء و ما مجاورها مثل الكبد والكلية An acute or chronic swelling of the bowels and neighbouring parts such as the liver and kidneys

<sup>5</sup> القولج الالتوای v Twisted colic which he defines as a twist of the distal end of the small intestine Volvulus

In the *بخاري الباهري* we find the following definition of the disease "A disease in which the bowels become disarranged on account of some unnatural obstruction (لاحداس غير طبيعى). It is very painful and increases in violence and is fatal.

Defining the Colon the author says اکثر تولک القولج فدها و قولچ بشق عدها

Colic principally arises in this bowel and is a strangulation of part of it.

<sup>3</sup> Lubbu t Tawarikh, 'The marrow of History' The author was Yahya ibn 'Abdul Latif Qazwini who composed it in 1541 A.D.

He died 18 Dec 1552 See H. K. Lubbu t Tawarikh also Elliott, Vol. iv p. 293

<sup>4</sup> Jaghar Beg See Raverty *Tabaqat-i-Nasir* p. 97, notes 3 & 4

MS (A) چغز بیگ (B) Chaghz Beg MS (B) Chaghz Beg

**SULTÁN MAS'ÚD IBN MAUDÚD IBN MAS'ÚD IBN MÁHMÚD.**

Ascended the throne in the third year of his age by the machinations of 'Alí ibn Rabí', however his affairs did not prosper and they raised his uncle to the throne after he had reigned only five months.<sup>1</sup>

**SULTÁN 'ALÍ IBN MAS'ÚD IBN MÁHMÚD.**

Ascended the throne by the consent of the nobles, and when 'Abdu-r-Razzáq ibn Ahmad Maimandi who had been sent by the Amír Maudúd towards Seistán arrived at a fort between Bust and Isfirár,<sup>2</sup> and learned that Abdu-r-Rashíd ibn Máhmúd was confined in that fort by the orders of the Amír Maudúd, he brought him back and placed him upon the throne, 'Alí having reigned for a period of about three months. This event took place in the year 443 H. (1051 A. D.).

**SULTÁN 'ABDU-R-RASHÍD IBN MÁHMÚD.**

34. Came to the throne, and with the consent of 'Abdu-r-Razzáq proceeded to Ghazní. 'Alí ibn Mas'úd fled without engaging in battle, and Tughral Hájib who was one of the household slaves of Sultán Máhmúd having conquered Seistán turned his steps towards Ghazní. Amír 'Abdu-r-Rashíd fortified himself there till Tughral obtaining an opportunity in the year 445 H. (1053 A. D.) put the Amír Abdur Rashíd with all the descendants of Sultán Máhmúd<sup>3</sup> to death and married the daughter of Mas'úd against her will. One day when he was on the throne a body of determined wrestlers inspired with hatred against him tore him to pieces. 'Abdu-r-Rashíd's reign lasted for four years,

<sup>1</sup> The account given by Firishta differs slightly from this—he says—that on the death of Maudúd 'Alí ibn Rabí' who laid claim to the throne placed Mas'úd the son of Maudúd, who was then a boy of four years of age, upon the throne of Ghazní; this arrangement was opposed by Báshtigín Hájib who fought with 'Alí ibn Rabí' wherupon the whole populace of Ghazní rose in arms, and eventually Báshtigín Hájib succeeded in deposing Mas'úd ibn Maudúd after a reign of five or six days, raising his uncle Abul Hasan 'Alí to the throne. Compare also: *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* (Raverty, p. 97 and foot-note).

<sup>2</sup> اسْفَرَارِ MSS. (A) (B) Firishta says Isfirain which is in the neighbourhood of Nishapúr, see Meynard, p. 34. (Abul Feda II. ii. 188).

<sup>3</sup> كَمْ بَوْدَنَه نَفَرَ Nine people in all. (Firishta).

but in the *Nizamî t Tûcîdrîkîh* his reign is said to have lasted for seven years,<sup>1</sup> and in the *Lubbu t Tawârîkîh* his death is said to have occurred in the year 445 H God knows the truth

### SULTÁN FARRUKH ZÁD IBN MAS'UD IBN MAMMÚB

Being released from confinement succeeded to the kingdom by consent of the nobles A body of Saljúqs came up against Ghuznín, and Farrukházad put most of them to death and overcame them, and made many of them prisoners and sent them to Ghaznín. Alp Arsulan<sup>2</sup> the Saljuq King brought an army against Ghuznín from Tráq and Khorásán, and being victorious in sight conveyed a large number of the notables of Ghaznín to Khorásán Eventually upon the arrangement of terms of peace the prisoners of both sides obtained their release, and since Zahulistan had been laid waste the Sultan remitted the usual tribute, and treated the inhabitants with kindness He used to fast three months, and used to spend the greater part of the night in prayer He died of colic in the year 450 H<sup>3</sup> The period of his reign was six years

### SAITIDU S SALÁTIN İBRÂHÎM IBN MAS'UD IBN MAMMÚB

Ascended the throne He was a just and devout king and used to write each year a Qaran with his own hand and despatch it to the holy city of Mekka He built no house for himself with the exception of a temple and a school to the honour and glory of God When the affairs of state devolved upon him, he made peace with the Saljúqs and being free from apprehension, went to Hindustan and conquered many fortresses and districts

<sup>1</sup> Firishta says "less than one year" Tabaqat Nâṣirî says two and a half years

<sup>2</sup> Alp Arsalan son of Daúd son of Mikâl son of Saljúq was the second Sultan of the family and dynasty of the Saljúqs He succeeded his uncle Tuglîq Beg in 455 A H (1063 A D) He was born in 421 A H and was murdered 466 A H and was buried at Merv

For a full account of this prince see D Herbelot pp 198-203

See also Ibn Khalliqân (Slane) in 230 and seqq where it is stated that Alp Arsalan was born in the year 424 (A D 1032 3) and died on the 10th of Rabi u l Awwal 465 A H (1072 A D)

<sup>3</sup> Firishta mentions that a year previous to his death an attempt was made upon his life while he was in the hammam

From one city<sup>1</sup> the inhabitants of which were of Khurásánían descent, whom (Afraháib) had expelled, and who had become a populous community in Hindustán, he took prisoners a hundred thousand persons,<sup>2</sup> and sent them to Ghazní, with other spoils on the same scale. He built a number of towns, among them Khirábád, and Imáubád and others. He has been described by the title of Saiyyidu-s-Salátín, and enjoyed the reputation of being a Wáli.<sup>3</sup> In his reign in Ghazní, the Dárú-i-Chashm (eye medicine) and other mixtures and medicaments and dietaries for all diseased folk used to be obtainable from his store-house. His death took place in the year 472 H.,<sup>4</sup> after a reign of thirty years. Qázi Baizáwi says that his reign extended from the year 450 H. to the year<sup>5</sup> 492 H. Mas'íd Sa'd Salmán<sup>6</sup> flourished in his time and the following verses are taken from an ode which was written in his honour.

که افراسیاب از سو کشی  
ا بشان بشک آمد بازن و فرزنه از ولایت خراسان اخراج کرده بود و پندرستان  
فرستاده .....<sup>7</sup>

In our author's text we read —— و آخر ایشان را اخراج کرده —— which is evidently corrupt. The words in the *Tabaqát Akbar Sháh* are almost identical with those quoted from Firishta and some such change as the substitution of the word افراسیاب for the words آخر ایشان which may easily have arisen from a copyist's mistake, seems necessary in our text. (MSS. (A) and (B) are like the text).

<sup>2</sup> Because they were idolaters and refused to embrace Islám, according to Firishta.

<sup>3</sup> والی Wáli. Abul Fażl (*Afn-i-Akbarí*) (Jarrett) iii. 350 gives the following definition of a wáli : "In ancient works many significations have been given tho outcome of which is that it means one who has attained to the knowledge of the Supreme Being : a lofty soul will indeed love God alone ..... A wáli in my opinion is one who acquires four great virtues and avoids eight reprehensible actions. He should always wage a victorious war by circumspect conduct against the myriad disorders of the spirit and never for an instant relax his attention from its deceits. This lofty station is attainable by the grace of God and the guidance of fortune and is sometimes to be reached through the spiritual powers of a mediator, and sometimes without it."

<sup>4</sup> Firishta says 482 H. or 492 H. *Tubaqát-i-Násiri* 492 H. with a reign of forty-two years.

<sup>5</sup> Mas'íd Sa'd Salmán Jurjání. Known sometimes as Hamadání. The son of Khája Sa'd ibn Salmán. A famous poet native of Jurján who attained

Abul Qasim Malik Mahmud Ibrahim ibn Mas'ud  
 In whom four things exult, each of them glories in him  
 Firstly, his expanded canopy, secondly, his flaunting banner,  
 Thirdly his golden pen, fourthly his brilliant dagger

This ode he finished completely in the same style, and in another place he says —

Emperor of the higher world, from the blessings of whose reign

The sword's lofty occupation is the control of things temporal and spiritual

Mas'ud (Fortunatus) hereinso from the fortune of the expanse of kingdom & conquest

He has gone beyond that which comes within the scope of the sword

*Ode*

Oh thou that hast formed the design of travel and girded the loins of conquest,

Right and left of thee the heavens have oponed for thee the doors of conquest,

Mas'ud, the world conquering for whom the age of fortune Has sent forth every moment the heralds of conquest,

Like a lance point thou hast placed thy head in the direction of battle,

Like an arrow thy waist girds up the loins of conquest, In sooth, a hundred victories thou winnest, and a hundred years hence

In Hindstan in all directions will be seen the traces of thy conquest

So many are thy conquests, that in the expanse of the world Every day in every place they tell the tale of thy conquests

Ingl distinction in the service of Mas'ud bin Mahmud and Sultan Ibrahim of Ghazni but was imprisoned for a time in the fortress of Nai owing to the spiteful rancour of Abul Firaq Rumi. He obtained his release upon the death of Mas'ud ibn Mahmud. He was however again made prisoner for some years and upon being released left the court and went into retirement in Ghazni where he died. There is a very long account of him with copious extracts from his various poems in the *Mujmū' al-Fusaha* Vol I pp 514 and seqq. See also Beale (O B D p 173) and *At-tis' kādī az-Zur*, p 162.

Thy spear and thy arrow and thy sword will be  
 If my fancy limns a line, the painter of the forms of con-  
 quest.

When thy sword said I will deal a light blow  
 Its oath lay not heavy save on the head of conquest.

The Ustád Abul Faraj Rúní<sup>1</sup> too was eulogist of Sultán Ibrahím, and also the panegyrist of Sultán Mas‘úd, and many odes in their honour are to be found in his Díwán, and Rúní<sup>2</sup> is the name of a village of the dependeneies of Láhore, and in these days it is as one may say in ruins, because not a trace of it remains, and the following *qīṣā’h* in praise of Sultán Ibrahím is by the Ustád Abul Faraj.

Hail to the might of thy powerful sword  
 Precious as the breath of life, and rare as wisdom itself.  
 Thou hast imprisoned that lifeless one, as one seizes the  
 throat,  
 Thou hast made orphan this which has no issue like a  
 peerless pearl.

38. And Mas‘úd Sa‘d Salmán with that envious nature which is peculiar to poets, bore a grudge against Ustád, who became the cause of Mas‘úd’s imprisonment for ten years, he wrote this rubái (quatrain) in prison.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Abul Faraj Rúní, a celebrated poet. The name Rúní is from the village of Rúna. (رُن) in Nísápur. He was a great favourite and companion of Sultán Ibrahím, and we learn from Mas‘úd Sa‘d Salmán Jurjání that he fell under the displeasure of that king and was imprisoned in the fortress of Nái by the calumny of Abul Faraj, as is stated in the text a few lines further on. Abul Faraj lived for some time at Láhore, so that he is known to a few as “Láhorí.” His writings were very elegant and served as a model for the poet Anwári. A Díwán of his containing about 2,000 verses is extant. (Majma‘ul Fuṣahá I, 70). See also *Atashkáda-i-Azur*, pp. 137, 138.

<sup>2</sup> Beale (O.B.D., p. 15) says that he came from “Rún a place near Lahore.” It would appear from the text above that Badíoni attributed his name of Rúní to his connection with the village of Rúín. The author of the Majma‘ul Fuṣahá gives no authority for the statement above quoted so that it is difficult to decide which of the places is to be given the honour.

<sup>3</sup> He was imprisoned in the year 572 H. by Maḥmúd ibn Ibrahím in the fortress of Nái. (Majma‘ul Fuṣahá loc. cit.). See note 5, page 52.

For thy prison such a prisoner as Mahk Sháh is necessary  
 So that thy fetter may chafo the foot of monarchs<sup>1</sup>  
 That one who springs from the loins of Sád Salman  
 Even were he a serpent would not sting thy realm

The following verses are also by him

My heart has become rent in all directions like a comb from  
 regrets  
 Because I saw a white hair in the tooth of the comb

There are extant also Diwans by him in Arabic, Persian and  
 Hindi

'ALAU D-DÍN MAS'ÚD IBN IBRAHÍM IBN SULTÁN MAS'ÚD,  
 Succeeded after the death of his father and died in the year  
 508 H (1114 A.D.), having reigned seventeen years

SULTAN SHERZÁD IBN MAS'ÚD IBN IBRAHÍM,<sup>2</sup>

By his father's order became king, and reigned for one year  
 His brother Arsalán Shah revolted against him and killed him in  
 the year 509 H (1115 A.D.)

SULTAN ARSALÁN SÁH IBN MAS'ÚD IBN IBRAHÍM,

Ascended the throne of sovereignty and seized upon the whole 39  
 of his brothers with the exception of Bahram Shah who fled and  
 went to Sultan Sinjar<sup>3</sup> who was the son of his maternal uncle<sup>4</sup>  
 In spite of all the apologies for Bahram Shah which Sultan Sinjar

ساد شاه حذفی توبایی

<sup>1</sup> Cf Raverty Tabaqat : Nasir page 107 note 7 Frishta also mentions the accession of Kamálu d Daulah Sherzad and calls the preceding monarch 'Alau d Daulah also Ellott II 278

<sup>2</sup> Sultan Sinjar Muizzuddin Abul Hâris Sinjar was the third son of Salján Mahk Sháh and the last of the Saljuq dynasty in Khurasan He was born A.H. 479 (1086 A.D.) in the environs of Sinjar and it was on account of this circumstance that he received this name See I K (Slane) I 600 He governed the province of Khurasan for 20 years He died in 552 A.H., at Merv of a colique compliquée avec un devouement D Herbelot

See also Beale (O.B.D. p 236)

<sup>3</sup> The sister of Sultan Sinjar called Mahd : 'Iraq" was married to 'Alau d Din Mas'ud father of Sultan Arsalan Shah Cf Raverty Tabaqat : Nasir, p 107, note 6

made the subject of several letters, Arsalán Sháh would not listen to him, and eventually Sultán Sinjar raised an army against him. He gave battle with thirty thousand cavalry, and being defeated went to Hindustán. Sultán Sinjar remained forty days in Ghaznín and after presenting that country to Bahrám Sháh retraced his steps. Arsalán Sháh having collected a large army in Hindustán proceeded thence to attack Ghaznín, and Bahrám Sháh not being able to withstand him sought refuge in the fortress of Bámíán and with the assistance of Sultán Sinjar having again seized Ghaznín and taken Arsalán Sháh captive put him to death in the year 510 H. (1116 A. D.). The reign of Arsalán Sháh had lasted for a period of seven years.<sup>1</sup>

### SULTÁN BAHRÁM SHÁH IBN MASÚD IBN IBRAHÍM

Succeeded to the throne. Hakím Sanáí<sup>2</sup> was his panegyrist. *Kalílah Damnah* and many other books were composed in his reign and on the day of his accession Saiyyid Hasan Ghaznaví<sup>3</sup> declaimed an ode of which this is the opening couplet.

A shout went forth from the seven heavens, saying  
“Bahrám Sháh is Lord of the world.”

And this ode he wrote in his honour, and despatched it from the sacred city of Mekka.

Should it ever be that I again behold the face of the king  
I will apply, as a thank-offering, the dust of his feet to  
both my eyes

<sup>1</sup> This account differs from that given in other authors. The *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* says that Arsalán Sháh died in 511 H., after a reign of two years. Firishta says three years. Baizáwí gives 512 A. H., as the year in which Arsalán Sháh was put to death. (D'Herbelot).

<sup>2</sup> Abú Muhammad ibn Adam Sanáí, died 525 A. H., A. D. 1130 (H. K.). A celebrated poet, author of the *Hadíqatu-l-Haqíqat*, a Persian poem commonly known as *Fakhri-námah*. Among his other works were :

طريق الحقيقة - عشق اهـ - سير العباد الى المعاد - كارناء بلخ - عش نامـ

According to Majma'u-l-Fuṣahá (I. 254) he died in 590 A. H. but, see note 1 p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Ashrafu'l-Dín Hasan ibn Násirí-l-Alaví, died 565 H. Majma'u-l-Fuṣahá I.

Bahram Shah for whom may the lives of emperors be the ransom

May it be that their lives are even worthy of the king  
The planets of the sky fall like meteors, if they but place  
a foot outside the boundary of fidelity to the king

*Another*

Bahram Shah from desire of whose sweet honied name  
The young tree of the kingdom hereafter brings forth  
parrots, (poet<sup>s</sup>)

And the *Hadiqatu l Haqlqat*<sup>1</sup> of Shaikh Sana'i is written in honour of Bahram Shah, it was written during his imprisonment, the reason of which imprisonment was Ghaznivido fanaticism with regard to Sunni doctrine, when this book having reached the capital of Baghdad received the *imprimatur* of the chief men and nobles, it attested the reality of his faith, and they wrote a memorandum which led to his being released. A short time subsequently he departed this life. It is said that when they accused the worthy Shaikh Sana'i of heresy after he composed the *Hadiqat*, he wrote the following letter to the Sultan Bahram Shah.

In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate  
Praise be to God the Lord of the worlds, and blessings upon the best of His created beings, Muhammad his family and companions all of them. To proceed, it is said in certain traditional sayings, that two things tend to prolong life, and to cause rain to fall and trees to grow, one of these is to assist the oppressed—the other to repress the tyrannical. An argument which they have advanced in support of this is that the prophet, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, declared that the heavens are established by righteousness (equity). Equity is like the bird<sup>2</sup> which, wherever it casts its shadow, secures an amplitude of

<sup>1</sup> The work mentioned in note 2 page 56. Its full title is *Hadiqatu l Haqlqat wa Shar'atu t Tariqat* (*hortus veritatis et lex viae*) and it treated among other subjects of the Imams Abu Hanifa and Shafi'i the founders respectively of the Hanifite and Shafi'i sects of Sunnis.

<sup>2</sup> کس بیاند نزدِ سانگِ دوم ور همای او حماں شود مقدم

No one would go under the shadow of the owl even if the Humā were extinct from the world. See Roebuck, Oriental Proverbs p 327. The ۴۵

wealth, and the place where it builds its nest becomes the centre of durability, and rain falls from the heaven, while tyranny and oppression is as a bird<sup>1</sup> which, wherever it flies, leads to famine and life and modesty are lost from among mankind. And God, *may He be glorified and exalted*, preserves the Emperor of Islám, and the just king Bálúrám Sháh ibn Mas'úd Sháh ibn Ibráhím Sháh ibn Mas'úd Sháh ibn Mahmúd Sháh, from iniquity and oppression, and although the whole world should combine to write and describe the stock and supply of grateful acknowledgment of this slave's heart, they would have no power to express it, and the tree which the king of the kingdom planted<sup>2</sup> for the discovery of the secrets of the unseen, even Gabriel and Michæl<sup>3</sup> were precluded from having any share therein : it is certain that in all circumstances the just man is happy and the tyrant is miserable, and the worst of all oppression is this that a small party should read a subject and not understand it, but become arrogant with regard to it and loosen the tongue of censure-against the learned. Hence it is that our prophet, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, said, Pity three people, a rich man who has become poor, the great man of a tribe who is disgraced, and a wise man among fools.<sup>4</sup> A book which is written in the language of the learned in the knowledge of God, demands an acute and discriminating mind such as that of Báyazíd<sup>5</sup> and

Humá, is a fabulous bird of good omen ; it is supposed that every head it overshadows will wear a crown.

1 The owl بومه on the other hand is the type of ill omen.

ماری تو که هر کجا را بینی بذی یا بومی تو که هر کجا نشینی بکنی e.g.

Thou art a snake biting everyone thou seest, or an owl destroying every place where thou alightest.

بلدای عزیزه بھار بیار خیر بد ببوم شوم گدار again

O nightingale bring the glad tidings of spring and leave bad news to the ill omened owl. Roebuck, Oriental Proverbs pp. 140, 349.

2 Expunge حکم from line 6 and read جبرئیل و میکائیل از

3 By this tree is meant the lotus tree of Paradise صدرة المنهل Sidratu-l-Muntahá. See Mishkát, XXIV. vii.

4 Cf. Qurán II. 90-95.

5 Báyazíd Anṣári also called Pír Roshn, founder of a Súfi sect, called the Rosháníyyah or enlightened. Beale (O.R.D., p. 70).

A good account of him will be found in The Emperor Akbar by Beveridge. Vol. II. pp. 139 and seqq.

Shibli<sup>1</sup> these men of wisdom who read that book and appreciate that which is written in it, but who have not the slightest trace of religious knowledge, it must be from spite and ignorance that they find fault with the book, and this is a proof of their blindness of heart that they call the Al-i-Marwāa contemptible, and carry their eulogy of the elect family, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon it*, beyond bounds while they exalt the commander of the faithful 'Ali, *may God be merciful to him*, above the other companions, *may God be graciously pleased with them*, and they do not see that he has been placed below Siddiq<sup>2</sup> and Farūq<sup>3</sup> and Zn' Nurain<sup>4</sup> on the ground of descent and rightful succession, and thereto is a true story related of the Lord of the Created beings Muhammad Mustafa, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, with reference to the vices of the Al-i-Marwan and the virtues of the Al-i-Muhammad Mustafa, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*. If it is a lie, and most people believe it to be so, reason tells us that it is true, and the word of the true God is this, "Oh God, adorn the world with those learned men who fear thee or who reverence thy people, and do not make me to suffer at the hands of those who are wanderers from the path of thy love, for thy mercy's sake

<sup>1</sup> Abu Bakr Dolaf Ibn Jahdar (or Jatar) Ibn Yunus (his name is thus inscribed on his tomb) surnamed As Shibli a celebrated saint was born and brought up at Baghdad, but his family belonged to Khurasan. This highly respected Sufi followed the doctrines of the sect of Malik and had for masters Al Junaid and the other holy men of that epoch. As Shibli died at Baghdad A H 334 (A D 946) and was interred in the cemetery of Al Quzurān. He was born at Surra man ras (Samarrā on the Eastern bank of the Tigris) Shibli means belonging to Shible a village in the dependencies of Osrushua a large town beyond Samarcand in Transoxiana I K (Slane) I 513 See also regarding Samarrā J R A S 1895 p 36

<sup>2</sup> "The faithful The title given by Muhammad himself to the first Khalifah Abu Bakr, who reigned two years and died A D 634 (A H 13)

<sup>3</sup> The second Khalifah Umar A H 13 to A H 23 Called Farūq or 'the Discerner' as distinguishing Truth from Falsehood in Islam

<sup>4</sup> Uman The third Khalifah A H 23 to A H 35 Called Zn' Nurain the possessor of the two lights because he married two of the Prophet's daughters Ruqaiyyah and Umm Kulsum

The above three Khalifahs the first three successors to Muhammad according to the Sunni Muslims are rejected by the Shi'ahs who assert that 'Ali was the first legitimate successor the others having been usurpers

and for thy bounty and beneficence oh Thou most merciful," and this verse is from the *Hadíqat*.

If the earth is a fit place for any court  
It is for the court of Bahrám Sháh that it is fitted.

Then Sultán Bahrám Sháh brought up several armies against Hindustán and conquered the cities which his forefathers had not taken, and leaving one of his Amírs of high rank in Hindustán returned to Ghaznín. That Amír revolted, and fought a severe battle with the Sultán in the vicinity of Multán, and a bitter conflict ensued; in the end the Sultán's enemy fell a prisoner into his hands and was put to death, and a second time the country of Hindustán came into his possession, and 'Aláu-d-Dín Hasan ibn Husain Súrí who is one of the kings of Ghor revolted against him and proceeded to Ghaznín. Bahrám Sháh fled and 'Aláu-d-Dín left his brother Saifu-d-Dín Súrí in Ghaznín. Bahrám Sháh returned and retook Ghaznín, and having seated Saifu-d-Dín upon a cow, and having exposed him to public ridicule, killed him in the worst possible way. 'Aláu-d-Dín upon hearing this news was most distressed and made for Ghaznín with a huge army—before his arrival however Bahrám Sháh had reached the other world and his son was on the throne in his stead. 'Alán-d-Dín by way of avenging his brother carried several loads of the earth of Ghaznín to Ghor<sup>2</sup> and set rivers of blood flowing, he is accordingly famous in his own country. Bahrám Sháh left this world in the year 547 H. (1152 A.D.) the period of his reign was thirty two years.

Mas'ud S'ad Salmán wrote the following hexastich in praise of Bahrám Sháh.

Bahrám Sháh became the world conquering king.

He became the Sun of the Age, and the shadow of the glory of God.

His canopy which was auspicious became the glory of the humá.<sup>3</sup>

1 Cf. Raverty, *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* p. 347 note 2.

2 Cf. *Tabaqát-i-Násirí*, Raverty p. 356. This earth was mingled with the blood of certain Saiyyids whom he took prisoner from Ghaznín, and from it several towers were built on the hills of Firúz Koh.

3 The *humá* is according to the *Ghíásu-l-Lughát* "a bird which eats bones."

God be He exalted and glorified became his guide  
 That polished dagger became of increasing authority  
 The face of his enemy became black like his canopy.  
 As long as the emperor of the world in his time sowed the  
     seeds of justice,  
 Every criminal that he detected, he passed over his crime,  
 If the sky placed his praise upon the running water  
 The flowing water retained<sup>1</sup> his image like an engraving on  
     stone  
 He raised<sup>2</sup> true religion and justice to the zenith  
 The Emperor, dispenser of justice, lover of truth, and defender  
     of the faith<sup>3</sup>

### KHUSRAU SHAH IBN BAHRAM SHAH

Ascended the throne after his father, and 'Alau-d-Din Husain ibn<sup>4</sup> Hasan Ghorī came up against him. Khusrav Shāh fled and came to Lahore, and occupied himself with the empire of Hindustān, and when 'Alau d Dīn, as has been related, returned from Ghaznī successful, he went back and recaptured that country, and after that the tribe of Ghuzz<sup>5</sup> seized Sultān Sīnjar he turned towards Ghaznī. Khusrav Shāh was not able to withstand him

and its shadow falling upon any one ensures his attaining royal dignity"  
 See note 2 page 57

<sup>1</sup> MSS (A) (B) دسته نہ not دستہ as in the text,

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) not در فراشندہ سرور شاہ as in text

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) reads دس ور حق پیغام

<sup>4</sup> The text has حسن نا حسین but the MSS A and B have علی which is the correct reading. 'Alau d Dīn Husain Ghorī Jahansoz, the first of the kings of Ghor.

<sup>5</sup> A tribe of Turks. They took Sīnjar prisoner in 558 H. From them sprung the Seljuq dynasty the founder of which was Ruknud-Dīn Tughrīl Beg. Originally from beyond the Oxus they established their power by the conquest of Tus in the year 429 A.H., when under the leadership of Tughrīl Beg and Daud they defeated the forces sent against them by Mas'ud ibn Mahmud. Ravaging Armenia they entered Diarbakr in 433 A.H. and in 435 A.H. entered Mosul but in the same year were defeated in an encounter with the Arabs and fled to Nishābūn, and thence passing through Armenia returned to Azerbaijan.

Cf D Herbelot art *Gaz* who attributes the origin of this tribe to Gaz tenth son of Japhet son of Noah, from Bulgar, one of the sons of Gaz, sprang the Bulgarians and from Perthus the other son sprang the Ghuzz tribe.

and for the second time returned to Lahore, where he died in the year 555 H., after a reign of eight years. In his time many great poets flourished and wrote odes in praise of him. The following poem is of the kind called *Tarjī-band*<sup>1</sup> and was written by one of them in his honour.

The revered Emperor Khusrau Sháh who with ease  
Conquers with sword and mace from Hindústán to Khorásán.

It must be stated, that in the historical works by Qázi Baizáwí and others<sup>2</sup> it has been written that when 'Aláu-d-Dín plundered Ghaznáh and put many of the inhabitants to death, he left there Ghiyásu-d-Dín Abul-fath Muhammád and Shihábú-d-Dín Abul Muzaaffar who were his nephews. They then with great craft put Khusrau Sháh at his ease with regard to themselves and took up their abode in his city. Khusrau Sháh<sup>3</sup> was imprisoned in the year 555 H., and died in the same year, and the days of the Ghaznévide family came to an end. After a time Ghiyásu-d-Dín died, and the whole kingdom remained in the possession of Shihábú-d-Din, but since Khwája Nizámú-d-Dín Ahmad deceased, has written in the *Tárikh-i-Nizámí* copying from the *Rauzatu-s-Safá* that Khusrau Malik ibn Khusrau Sháh was the last of the kings of the Ghaznévide dynasty, I have followed him—God knows the truth.<sup>4</sup>

#### KHUSRAU MALIK IBN KHUSRAU SHÁH.

Ascended the imperial throne in Lahore after the death of his father, and spent the greater part of his time in luxury and licentiousness, so that in his time great damage found its way into the

<sup>1</sup> The Tarjī-band consists of a series of couplets followed by a couplet in the same metre, but having a different rhyme, recurring at regular intervals.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ain-i-Akkári* (Jarrett) iii. 341. See also Elliott II. 258.

<sup>3</sup> The *Rauzatu-s-Safá* however states that Khusrau Sháh reigned at Lahore two years after he fled from Ghaznín, and on his death was succeeded by his son Khusrau Malik.

The account in the text is that given by Baizáwí and other reliable authorities.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Raverty op. cit., p. 112 note 5.

Baizáwí states that the Ghaznévide dynasty ended with Khusrú Sháh. The work here quoted is best known as the *Tabaqát-i-Akkári*, but its author called it *Tabaqát-i-Akbar-Sháhí*, and Badáoni calls it also by that name as well as by the name *Tárikh-i-Nizámí*. As has been seen the present work is admitted by the author to be merely an abridgment of the

Kingdom, and the dynasty of the Ghazaviyah was growing old while that of Ghor was in full vigour, accordingly Sultan Muizzu-d-Din Muhammad Sam, who is well-known under the title of Sultan Shihabu-d-Din Ghor, having gained the upper hand and making Ghaznín his capital, brought an army against Hindústán and came with overwhelming force near to Lahore Khusrau Malik fortified himself there and was compelled to ask for quarter in a personal interview Sultan Muizzu-d-Din Muhammad Sam took him to Ghaznín, from thence sending him to Sultan Ghiyásu d-Din, who imprisoned him in Firoz Koh<sup>1</sup> and sent an order, and after ten years' confinement made him taste the cup of destruction

Set not your heart on this world, for it is without foundation

It is a nowly wed briðo entangled with many a lover

This event took place in the year 583 H (1187 A D ) He reigned twenty-eight years; the times of the Ghazneviid dynasty came to a close, and the Empire passed from their hands to those of the Sultans of Ghor "Thou givest the kingdom to whom thou seest fit."<sup>2</sup>

#### HEMISTICH

Nothing endureth but God, God's kingdom alone is a kingdom

And Qízí Barzáwi may God's mercy be upon him states that

Tárikh : Nizámí Khwaja Nizámud Din Ahmad was the son of Khwaja Muqum Harawi Diwan of the household to Bábár, he subsequently served under Akbar (Elliott V 177 et seqq). The real facts are that the son Khusrau Malik succeeded his father and reigned till 583 (II) (1187 A D ), as is stated by our author

<sup>1</sup> The Zubaqat e Nasirí states that Khusrau Malik was imprisoned in the fortress of Balarwan in Ghurjistan Firuz Koh was the capital The story of the treachery by which Shihabu d Din Ghor took Khusrau Malik prisoner is told by Firishta

See also page 42 where the author states that Ghayásu d Din imprisoned Khusrau Shah in one of the fortresses of Ghurjistan where he died a prisoner

<sup>2</sup> Quran III 25 قُلْ اللَّهُمَّ مَا لِكَ أَنْتَ كُوَّنْتَ الْمُلْكَ مِنْ تَشَاءَ وَتَنْزَعَ الْمُلْكَ مِنْ تَشَاءَ "Say 'O God, Lord of the kingdom, thou givest the kingdom to whomsoever thou pleasest and takest the kingdom from whomsoever thou pleasest'"

16. the duration of the Ghazn  ide dynasty from Sult  n Ma  m  d to Khusrau Sh  h was one hundred and sixty-one years in the hands of twelve persons, while Q  z   Yahya Qazw  n  , *may God's mercy be upon him*, says one hundred and fifty-five years in the hands of fourteen persons, and the author of the *Tariikh-i-Niz  m  *, as has already been quoted above, says two hundred and fifteen years in the hands of fifteen persons, and God knows the real truth of the matter.<sup>1</sup>

## II. THE GHOR   DYNASTY.

Who reigned in Dehl  . This dynasty commences with Sult  n Shih  bu-d-Din Ghor  <sup>2</sup> who is known as Muizzu-d-D  n Mu  ammad ibn S  m.

### SULT  N MUIZZU-D-D  N MUHAMMAD IBN S  M GHOR  

Ascending the throne as regent in place of his elder brother Sult  n Ghiy  su-d-D  n, king of Ghor and Ir  q and Khor  s  n, in the year 569 H., in Ghazn  n, had the *khutba* read and the currency struck in his own name,<sup>3</sup> and in obedience to the command of his brother brought several armies against Hindust  n and raised aloft the standard of holy war. Dehli was reduced in his time.

<sup>1</sup> None of these estimates are exactly accurate, that of the *Tariikh-i-Niz  m  * is the nearest. The actual duration of the Ghazn  ido dynasty taking Khusrau Malik as the last representative was from 366 A. H. (976 A. D.) to 583 A. H. (1187 A. D.) a period of 217 years during which time there were fifteen sovereigns.

It is difficult to see how Bai  aw   arrives at his statement above quoted as from the accession of Ma  m  d in 387 A. H., to that of Khnsrau Sh  h in 552 A. H. is 165 years during which twelve kings reigned.

The statement of Q  z   Yahya Qazw  n   is so far from the truth as to be impossible.

If we take Khusrau Sh  h as the last Ghazn  ide king the dynasty lasted from 366 A. H. to 555 A. H., a period of 189 years.

<sup>2</sup> Who was nominated with his elder brother Ghiy  su-d-D  n to the charge of a province of Ghor by his uncle Al  u-d-D  n Husain Jah  nsoz.

<sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact the coins were struck in the joint names of Ghiy  su-d-D  n and Muizzu-d-D  n, and as Thomas remarks the superlative *اعظيم* "The greatest" is applied to Ghiy  su-d-D  n while Muizzu-d-D  n is only styled *عظيم* "Great" (Thomas, *Path  n kings of Dehli*, p. 13).

In brief, Sultan Ghiyāṣu d Dīn when he had seized Taghribat<sup>1</sup> which was one of the dependencies of Garmir and had made over the governorship of that place to Sultan Shihabu-d-Din, used continually to bring up armies against Ghazni, till at last in the abovementioned year Sultan Ghiyāṣu d Dīn brought that country within the circle of his conquests, and drove out of Ghazni the tribe of Ghuzz, who after the captivity of Sultan Sinjar had been in possession of it, and bestowed upon Sultan Muizzu-d-Dīn Muhammād, the title of Sultan Shihabu-d-Dīn<sup>2</sup> Sultan Shihabu d Dīn after one year of sovereignty as vicegerent

تکیہا واد کے از اعاظم والد گورمسود - ۱ Takhibat which was one of the chief cities of Garmir. Tilqat-i-Nisr p. 115, line 8 (Cal. Edn.), see Afnā Albari (J) in C9, also Elliott, II 232 293.

<sup>2</sup> The statement in the text forms the subject of considerable controversy as there are four those who assert that the title Shihabu d Dīn is impossible one as applied to Muizzu d Dīn popularly known as Muhammād Ghori (see Poverty's Tilqat-i-Nisr p. 416 note 5). It is true that the author of the Tilqat-i-Nisr states that Muizzu d Dīn was originally called Zangi while Ghiyāṣu d Dīn was called Ihsās—both of them being called Muhammād. He goes on to say that prior to Ghiyāṣu d Dīn's accession to the throne Chor he was called Shamsu d Dīn and that Muizzu d Dīn was called Shihabu d Dīn. The actual statement is

و پیش از من لقب او ملک شمس الدین بود و لقب درادرش شهاب الدین  
بعد از مردمتی که بر تخت نمود لقب او مسلطان غیاث الدین شد و درادرش ملک  
شهاب الدین بعد از فتوح حراسان سلطان معز الدین شد .

"Before this his title had been Malik Shamsu d Dīn and the title of his brother had been Shihabu d Dīn. Some time after his accession his title was changed to Sultan Ghiyāṣu d Dīn. From this the possibility is not excluded that the author of the Tilqat-i-Nisr intended to lay stress not so much upon the change of names as the change of dignity, the assumption that is, by both of the title of Sultan.

But whatever may be decided about this there can be no question that the name "Shihabu d Dīn" is just as applicable to the person known more familiarly as Muhammād Ghori, as is the name "Muizzu d Dīn," and Badaoni evidently held this opinion as he henceforth speaks of him constantly as "Shihabu d Dīn."

On the other hand if this really was a subsequently acquired title it is certainly strange that it does not appear on any of his coins on which he is always styled As Sultan Al Muazzam (or Al A'zam) Muizzu d Dunya wad Dīn Abu l Muzaffar Muhammād ibn Sām.

It is not however a point of serious importance as it involves no disputed question of identity.

for his brother, in the year 570 H., conquered Kardíz<sup>1</sup> and in the year 571 H., took Uchh and Multán and drove out the tribe of the Karmatians from those regions, and utterly destroyed the Bhatí<sup>2</sup> tribe who had fortified themselves in the fortress of Uchh,<sup>3</sup> and having entrusted that country to Alí Kirmáj<sup>4</sup> returned to Ghaznín.

Then in the year 574 H. (1178 A. D.) proceeding by way of Multán<sup>5</sup> he brought an army against Gujrát, and suffered defeat at the hands of Rái Bhím Dev ruler of that country, and with great difficulty reached Ghaznín and obtained relief.

And in the year 575 H. he seized Parshúr,<sup>6</sup> and in the year 580 H. (1184 A. D.) marched against Láhore; Sultán Khusrau Malik who was the last of the kings of Ghaznín, shut himself up in the fortress of Lahore as has been related, and after considerable correspondence by letter and messenger, he sent his own son with an elephant as a present, and Sultán Shihábú-d-Dín made peace with him, and set about building the town of Siálkot<sup>7</sup> and having left his deputy there, proceeded to Ghaznín; and in the year 581 H. he brought an army against Díwal by which is meant

<sup>1</sup> Kardíz a district lying between Ghazna and Hindustán, Yaqút. Or Gardaiz, the name of a large "darak of the Tájiks, *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* Raverty, p. 449, note 9.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. (A and B) agree with the text جماعتیں معاشرے For a full account of this from Firishta with a comparison of other translations, see Raverty, p. 459, note 2. Raverty's translation corresponds exactly with the original and, as he very justly remarks, the incorrect translations given by Briggs and others have placed Muizzu-d-Dín's conduct in a wrong light. Blátia a strong fort of this name was situated between Multán and Alor. Tho Rájá referred to according to the *Mir'át-i-Jahán-Numá* was chief of the Bhatí tribe. See Raverty *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* 451, note 3 last paragraph. See Elliott, Vol. I. p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Uchh. On the Eastern bank of the Panjnad 70 miles S. S. W. of Multán. See Cunningham, A. G. of India, p. 242.

According to Tieffenthaler it is 20 miles from Multán, Tieff. I. 118.

<sup>4</sup> So also Firishta علی کرماج though Briggs translates, Alí Kirmáj.

<sup>5</sup> In the text read اور را ملتان Firishta says, "came again to Uchh and Multán."

<sup>6</sup> بیشاور کے در کتب سلف بکرام و پرشور و فرشور مشہور است (Firishta) cf. Raverty *Tabaqát-i-Násirí*, p. 452, note 8. Peshawar was known as Bagrám or Farshúr.

<sup>7</sup> Siálkot is said by other authors to have been founded by one of the early Hindú rulers. Tieffenthaler. "Un chateau très fort bâti par Małymoud

Tattah<sup>1</sup> and having thrown into confusion the cities on the sea shore took a vast amount of plunder and returned.

And in the year 582 H. he came again to Lahore and plundered the surrounding country, and having provided Husain with the means of fortifying and holding Sialkot retraced his steps, and from *Tárikh-i Nizamí* which is the original source of this selection we gather that the building of Sialkot took place in this year, in contradiction to the *Mubarakshahi*<sup>2</sup> from which we learn that the building of Sialkot was two years earlier. God knows the truth. And inasmuch as the house of history is, like the house of dreams and other things of that sort, ruinous, apologies must be made for discrepancies, and in that year Khusrau Malik with the assistance of the Khukhars<sup>3</sup> and other tribes, besieged the fort of Sialkot for a long time, but had to return without attaining his object. In this year also Muizzn-d-Din again besieged Khusrau Shah in Lahore, who after striving for some days, found himself

Gasnávi . La petite rivière d'Ayek coule le long de cette forteresse en couchant" Firishta states that Muizzn-d-Din founded the fort of Sialkot which lies between the Chenab and Ravi and left Husain Kharml as governor, in the year 580 H (1184 A.D.)

<sup>1</sup> Cf Raverty 452 note 2 See also Tieffenthaler, I 121 Tatta est très ancienne , on la nomme aujourd'hui Dobal Tatta is not the same as Debal which lies between it and Karaohi See Abul Feda, (Reinand) I. ccclxxvi

The position of Debal Judging by the map given in Tieffenthaler Debal lay between Karachi and Tatta at a distance of 30 miles from the former and seventy from the latter, almost due East from Karachi and N.W. of Tatta It lay at a distance of about 20 miles from the sea on one of the large arms into which the Mehran (Indus) divided in those days, but which to judge from modern maps have now disappeared or much diminished in size It also lay a short distance to the North of Lari Bunder which was at the head of an arm of the sea which had evidently in former times been an arm of the Indus also, at a distance of about ten miles to the South, the arm of the river joining the sea from Dobal lay some six miles or so to the westward

This position tallies with that of the ruined city mentioned by Ibn Batuta, Paris Edition III 112, 113, 114, a translation of the description of which is given in Cunningham's Anc Geog p 299, 300

<sup>2</sup> By Yahyá ibn Ahmad ibn Abdulla Shirkundi Elliott, IV 6

<sup>3</sup> The Khukhars This seems to be the same tribe as the Gakkhars, cf *Ain-i Akbari* (B1) Vol I 456 note 1, and Vol II (J) 383 note 1, but see also Raverty (455 note 4), who asserts that the two tribes are quite distinct

unequal to the task, and yielded to the Sultán who conveyed him to Ghaznín and sent him to his brother Sultán Ghiyásu-d-Dín at Firoza Koh. Ghiyásu-d-Dín imprisoned him in one of the fortresses of Ghurjistán, where he died a prisoner, and the plain of Empire once for all passed to the dynasty of Ghor without the thorn of a partner or rival, as has been already mentioned.

## QITA'II.

If you saddle the piebald horse of Circumstance,  
and if the white horse of state leads thee beside him,  
And if the garden of your pleasure in happiness  
copies fair the past memories of Paradise,  
Be not proud, for this mean time will unexpectedly  
draw its pen through the writing of your fortune.  
Time is like a wind, which at the first  
draws from the cheek of the rose the veil with all respect,  
Then after a week has passed in the midst of the garden,  
drags its body with ignominy to the dust.  
The world at one time brings forward by turn in the  
narrow course, the horses of honour and disgrace.  
The crafty fowler gives the bird grain, and then draws it  
into the noose of his artfully laid snare.  
One man who has lost all hope, gains honour,  
Another who is always hopeful in spite of all is disgraced.  
Strange is it if a man who has walked in the shadow of  
poverty should court a favour from the sun ?  
19. Be content, if you have a portion of wisdom,  
that the ignorant should be oppressed by the foolish  
What of that man who, in the assembly of mirth and merri-  
ment quaffs the wine of pleasure from the cup of  
luxuriousness ?  
What of him who sitting behind the wall of sorrow suffers  
from the after effects of sorrow and the worry of  
toil ?  
At last the hand of fate takes both of them straight off to  
the brink of the pit of death.  
Happy is the brave hearted man who like Sharaf draws the  
foot of fidelity beneath the skirt of retirement.

And in this year Sultan Muizzu d Din left Ali Kirmaj<sup>1</sup> who was governor of Multan, as his Vicegerent in Lahore, and in the year 587 H coming from Ghazni he reduced the fort of Tabarhindah<sup>2</sup> which was the capital of the great rajas of Hindastan, and left Malik Ziau d Din Takhi<sup>3</sup> with a corps d'elite consisting of one thousand two hundred cavalry soldiers, and was contemplating a return. In the meantime Rai Pathurā the Governor of Ajmir, and Khandi Rai his brother who had been Governor of Delhi before Pathurā, arrived with a vast army at a place called Tarayan<sup>4</sup> on the banks of the river Sarsuti at a distance of seven krohs<sup>5</sup> from Thanesar. It is now known by the name of Tarawari<sup>6</sup> and is distant forty krohs<sup>5</sup> from Delhi. A great conflict ensued with the Sultan and the Muslim troops were defeated. The Sultan evinced great bravery on the field of battle, and in that engagement also Khandi Rai who was mounted on an elephant at the head of his army, received a spear thrust in his mouth from the hand of the Sultan. The Sultan also was struck on the head by the Rai's spear, and his arm was also wounded but both escaped in safety. The Sultan got off his horse and taking up his son Khulji upon his horse and mounting behind him took him off the field, the Sultan proceeded to Ghazni, and Rai Pathura took the fortress of Tabarhindah from Ziau-d Din Takhi on peaceable terms after a

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<sup>1</sup> Tabaqat : Nasirī says Ali Karmakl FIRISHTA Ali Kirmaj  
MS (A) على کرماج MS (B) علی کرماج

<sup>2</sup> Both MSS A and B have تبارہندہ Jarrett (*Ain-i-Albarī* trans III 360 note 2) says he is not able to determine the position of Tabarhindah and Raverty (*Tabaqat-i-Nasirī* p 457 note 3) thinks Tabarhindah is a copyist's error for Bathindah apparently relying on the Lubbu'l-Tauarisht : *Hid*. From Rennell's map in Tieffenthaler it would appear that the situation of the fortress of Tiberhind which is there marked though not described in the text, was about half way between Bilaur and Jhanjhnu in Rajputana that is to say about 100 miles north of Ajmir.

See also Raverty 458 note 3

<sup>3</sup> Malik Ziau d Din Tulaki (*Tabaqat-i-Nasirī*) Raverty p 457 note 3

<sup>4</sup> MSS (A) and (B) read نارائے See Raverty, *Tabaqat-i-Nasirī* 459 note 7 Tieffenthaler mentions this place calling it Naraun but it is not to be found in the map he gives see Vol I p 155

It is placed by Cunningham (map facing p 327) S E of Thanesar

<sup>5</sup> The کروہ شر کیڑہ Krosh is equivalent to about two miles

See also *Ain-i-Albarī* (J) n-p 116 note 2 and 414 note 2 Gunn Geog of A I, App B p 571 See also *Tarikh-i-Rashidī* Elias and Ross p 424 note 1

siege of one year and one month. And in the year 588 H. the Sultán again came into Hindustán with a large and brave army of 40,000 cavalry, and divided his forces into four army corps, and having given battle time after time in the place above mentioned gained a victory. Pathúrá was taken prisoner and Khandí Rái having been overcome in battle was killed and hastened to his resting-place in Hell. The Sultán then having reduced the fortresses of Sarsuti<sup>1</sup> and Hánsí proceeded to Ajmír the capital of Pathúrá, reduced it and plundered its environs killing and taking prisoners. From certain other sources we learn that Hazrat Khwájá Muínud-Dín Chishtí<sup>2</sup> may God sanctify his heart, that revered one who is the fountain head of the great and holy men and the dignified elders of the land of Hind, whose blessed tomb is a place of pilgrimage situated in Ajmír, was at that time in the company of the Sultán, and this victory occurred through the impulse of the blessed and divine soul of that pillar of holiness. And in this year leaving Sultán Malik Qutbu-d-Dín Aibak who was his servant and adopted son and vicegerent in the town of Kúhrám which is distant seventy *krohs* from Dchli, he invaded and plundered the Siwálik range which lies to the North of Hindustán, and proceeded to Ghaznín. In the same year too Qutbu-d-Dín having captured Dehli took it away from the kinsmen of Pathúrá and Khandí Rái. Then in the year 589 H. (1193

51. A. D.) Sultán Shihábu-d-Dín fought with Rái Jai Chand the governor of Qanauj, on the confines of Chandwár<sup>3</sup> and Atáwah,<sup>4</sup> killed him and went to Ghaznín. The fort of Kol<sup>5</sup> fell into the hands of Qutbu-d-Dín Aibak, and he made Dehli his capital and brought its surrounding districts under his sway. From that date Dehli once more became the metropolis of the Sultáns. The erection of minarets and other buildings of that kind, such as mosques, was

<sup>1</sup> The country south of the Himálaya between the Sutlej and Ganges as far south as Hánsí. (Raverty).

<sup>2</sup> Khwájah Muínud-Dín Hasan Chishtí was the son of Ghayásu-d-Dín Hasan born in A. H. 537 in the village of Sijz of the province of Sijistán.

He died in A. H 633 and is buried near Ajmír.

<sup>3</sup> Tieffenthaler I. 166 mentions Atáva and Chanouá as belonging to the Serkár of Agra. (See Raverty (*Tabaqát-i-Násirí*) also p. 470 note 1).

<sup>4</sup> Cól—ville munie d'une forteresse qu'on appelle Sábetghar et Ramghar. Tieff. I. 200, in the province of Agra 40 miles North of Agra.

commenced in the reign of Sultan Shamsu d Diu Altamash<sup>1</sup> in the year 606 H, as will be related, if God (may He be exalted) so will it, in its own place. And in the year 591 H, he took the fort of Bhaggar<sup>2</sup> and Badaon. And in the year 593 H he conquered Gujarat and took his army to Nahrwali which is known as Pattu,<sup>3</sup> and having taken vengeance for the Sultan ou Bhim Rai Dev and having taken much spoil returned, and in that year Sultan Ghayasuddin removed his effects from the transitory world to the eternal abode,<sup>4</sup> and Sultan Muzizzu d Diu having heard this news when on the confines of Tus and Sarakhs,<sup>5</sup> turned towards Badghis and performed the duties of the mourning ceremonies and having divided his brother's dominions among his kinsmen came to Ghazni and brought an army against Khwarazm, and on the first occasion Sultan Muhammad Khwarazm Shah suffered defeat, and the Sultan pursued him and fought the Khwarazmians at the head of an aqueduct which they had dug from the eastern bank of the Jaihuu and a number of the noted generals of Ghor were martyred and he could not take Khwarazm he also fought a great battle with an army of Khotan<sup>6</sup> Kings of Turkistan who had come to the help of Sultan Muhammad, on the banks of the river Jaihuu—he fought right bravely but at last was defeated, and being left with a hundred thousand cavalry soldiers he entered the fortress of Aulihud where he entrenched himself, and

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<sup>1</sup> Sultan Ul Muazzam Shamsu d Dunya was d D n Abul Muzaffar Iyal Timish the 1st of the Shamsiyah Sultans See Raverty 597 note 4

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) بھگر Thankar bat it should be بانگر apparently as in Tiefenthaler we find Banghar described as un Fort triangulaire construit de terre par ordre d'un prince Indien nomme Harcaran Banghar est à 30 milles d Aunla à 40 de Bareli et à 8 de la rive antérieure du Gange

Buddon ville ancienne elle à une forteresse au dehors de laquelle sont des maisons Elle est à 20 milles de Barda à 10 d Aunla et à 5 de Banghar

Badaon was the birthplace of the famous Nizamu d Din Auliya called Al Bahar or the controversialist and Mahfil shikan the assembly router

• 20 miles from Radhanpur 40 miles from Gazerat to the NW Tief I 385 See also Bayley Hist of Gujarat 25 &c Abul Feda (Reinaud) II n 117 Ain-i-Albari (J) II 262 and III 59

<sup>4</sup> He died at Herat

<sup>5</sup> See Raverty (Tabaqat-i-Nasir) 257 note 2 and 471 text and note 5

<sup>6</sup> The details of this partition are given in the Tabaqat-i-Nasir (Rav p 472)

<sup>7</sup> Sultan Muhammad Khwarazm Shah applied to Gu Khan of Kara Khita for assistance See Raverty (Tabaqat-i-Nasir) 473 note 2

having asked for quarter<sup>1</sup> returned to Ghaznín ; and at that time the tribe of the Khúkhars in the neighbourhood of Lahore shewed symptoms of revolting the Sultán accordingly brought an army against them, and also summoned Quṭbu-d-Dín Aibak from Dehlí, and having given the Khúkhars a severe lesson returned to Ghaznín, and while on the way back was martyred at Damyák,<sup>2</sup> which is the name of a village of the dependencies of Ghaznín, at the hands of Khúkhar bandits—the following *qitá'h* has been written to chronicle this event<sup>3</sup> :—

The martyrdom of the king of sea and land Shihábú-d-Dín,  
Whose like has never yet been seen since the world began,  
On the third day from the first of Sha'bán, in the year 602  
Happened in the road to Ghaznín at the stage Damyák.

The days of his reign from the commencement of the rule of Ghaznín to the end of his life were thirty and two years and some months, and he left no heir save one daughter, but he left behind him much treasure of gold and silver and precious stones, among these latter were five hundred *mans*<sup>4</sup> of diamonds jewels of great value, besides cash and estates and other property the value of which we may estimate on the same scale. He made expeditions to Hindústán nine times, twice was defeated and seven times was victorious.

Thou didst see Muizzu-d-Dín Muḥammad Sám, who in war  
Was stronger in heart and hand than Sám and Narímán  
He obtained, like Maḥmúd, from the elephants of Hindústán  
Governments of Sásán and many kingdoms of Sámán

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the incidents here briefly referred to see Raverty, (*Tabaqát-i-Násirí*) 478 note 6.

<sup>2</sup> A village beyond the Indus on the road to Ghaznín. Its exact situation is a matter of some uncertainty. Firishta (Bombay text) has گلہج ! Rohtak

<sup>3</sup> No author that I have seen records the name of the author. The *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* attributes it to "one of the learned men of that period."

<sup>4</sup> The Tabriz *man* must be meant, being somewhat less than 2 lbs. while the *man* of Hindustán varies from 40 to 80 lbs. (Raverty).

The *Aín-i-Akbarí* makes no mention of the *man* as a weight unit for jewels.

Two *sér*s are equal to half a *man*. As the *sér* was nearly two pounds this would make the *man* equal to eight pounds nearly. (See *Aín-i-Akbarí* (Jarrett) II. 366 note 4).

The *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* says 1500 *mans* of diamonds.

He departed this world, and they say (the writer vouches for it)

That thereto remained of his secret treasures 500 mans of dia-moads.

And in his reign many learned doctors and scientists and poets flourished, of whom was Imám Fakhrud-Din Rázi<sup>1</sup> may God be merciful to him who wrote the *Lataif-i-Ghiyāṣī* and other books in honour of his brother Soltán Ghuyāṣūd-Dín Abú-l-Fath. He remained with the army of Soltán Muizzud-Dín Muhammad Sám, and every week used to stand up to preach, and at the termination of his sermon the Soltán used to evince great emotion, and since the Imám got very wearied of this continual coming and going, and everlasting service, one day addressing the Soltán from the pulpit he said Oh! Soltán Muizzud-Dín, some time hence neither will this greatness and glory of yours remain nor the flattery and hypocrisy of Rázi: The following qigā'ī is by him:

If an enemy does not agree with you O friend  
 If he envies you to agree with your enemy,  
 If not, then have patience for a few days  
 He will not remain, nor will you, nor the pride of Rázi.

And after the assassination of the Soltán certain mischievous makers out of envy accused the Imám of having conspired with the Fidáis,<sup>2</sup> and asserted that the Imám was well aware of their

<sup>1</sup> Abú Abdulláh Muḥammad Ibn Omar Ibn al-Hazām Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Alī al-Jāmi al-Bakrī al-Tabarānī Ar-Rāzī (native of Rāz in Tabaristān) was a doctor of the Shī'a sect, he was born at Rāz A.H. 544 (A.D. 1150) and died at Herāt A.H. 606 (A.D. 1210). (Ibn Khalliqān) See D'Herbelot art Rāzī. See also *Majma'ul Furāḥā* I p. 374, where he is called Al Quraishi al Tamimi, Ibn Khalliqān does not mention the *Lataif-i-Ghiyāṣī* among Ar-Rāzī's works, while on the other hand Hāfi Khālid gives a work of this name but does not mention the author. His reference to it is as follows "11124 El-Letā'if El-Ghiyāthiyah, subtilitatis Ghiyāth ed-Dīni Liber persicus in quatuor partes divisus, quarum prima de principiis religionis, secunda de jurisprudentiā, tertia de ethicā, quarta de preceptione agit."

<sup>2</sup> The term Fidái is particularly applied to the disciples of the chief of the Mu'lāhidah heretics, at whose hands Muizzud-Dín met his death according to the express statement of the author of the *Tabaqat-i-Nāṣirī*. (See Rāverty 485 note 3) This attempt to implicate Rāzī in the responsibility for the murder is recorded also in the *Jāmi'u t-Tawārīkh*, and the *Tajūl Ma'asir*. See Elliott II p. 236

hypocrisy. They made an attempt upon the Imám and he fled for refuge to Muaiyyidu-l-Mulk Sinjarí<sup>1</sup> who was one of the distinguished generals of the Sultán; he despatched him in safety to a place of security. A poet has written an ode in praise of him of which the following are two couplets.

Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín Sháh Ghází whose sword in the world  
has become like the famous Zulfiqár<sup>2</sup> of Alí Murtazá.

The true Sultán Muhammad Sám, he whose love for  
the people is like the Sun of the friendship of Mustafá.

<sup>1</sup> *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* states that he held the office of Vazír, and was put to death by the Turkish Maliks and Amírs of Ghaznín, together with Malik Násiru-d-Dín Husain the Amír-i-Shikár.

<sup>2</sup> *Zúl Fiqár*. The following is extracted from Ibn Khalliqán (Slane) Vol. IV. p. 220.

"It is related that Hárún ar Rashíd on sending Yazíd ibn Mazyad against Al Walíd gave him Zú'l Fakár the sword which had belonged to the Prophet "Take it, Yazíd, by it you will be victorious." To this Muslím Ibn al-Walíd alludes in the following verso of a *kasída* composed by him in praise of Yazíd:

'You caused the Prophet's sword to recollect his way of acting and  
the bravery displayed by the first (Musulmán) who ever prayed and  
fasted.'

By these last words he meant Alí the son of Abú Talib for he was the person who dealt blows with it."

Lower down, quoting as his authority Hishám ibn al Kalbi, Ibn Khalliqán states that Zúl Fiqár belonged to Al-Aásí son of Nabíh, both of whom were killed in the battle of Badr; Al-Aásí being slain by 'Alí who took the famous sword from him—and he continues "Another author says that Zúl Fagár was given to 'Ali by the Prophet." I must observe that *fagár* with an *a* after the *f* is the plural of *Faqára* which means a vertebra of the back. The name of this sword is also pronounced *Zál Fiqár* the word *figár* is the plural of *figra* (Vertebra).

At Tabarí states that Zúl figár came into the possession of Hárún ar Rashíd in the following manner:

"Zul fiqár was borne by Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah ibn al Hasan ibn al Hasan ibn Alí ibn Abí Tálib on the day in which battle was given to the army of Abú Ja'far al-Manṣúr the Abbaside; when he felt death to be near he gave Zúl figár to a merchant who had followed him, and to whom he owed four hundred dínárs 'Take this sword,' said he, 'any member of the Abú Tálib family whom you may meet with will buy it from you and give you the sum to which you are entitled. The sword remained with the merchant till the Abbaside prince Ja'far the son of Sulaimán ibn Alí ibn Abd Allah ibn al Abbás ibn Abd-al-Muttalib obtained the government of Yemen and

Another poet says —

The Emperor of the age, Khusrau Ghazi Muizzu d Din  
 From whom the glory of crown and diadom gains increase,  
 The origin of victory, Muhammad ibn Sam ibn Husain  
 His very presence has become the mark for princely glory<sup>1</sup>

And Nazuki Maraghai too says in praise of him —

Shah Muizzu d Din before whose princely might  
 The heaven stands girt like a bunch of flowers  
 He came to the throne like a rose at the time when  
 The heaven brought the Sun into the Balance<sup>2</sup>

Medina, and he purchased it from the merchant for four hundred dinars  
 From him it passed to al Mahdi the Son of Al Mansur (Khalifah from 775  
 A H to 785 A H) from him to Musa al Hadid and from Musa to his brother  
 Harun ar Rashid

Al Asma'i relates that he saw Harun ar Rashid at Tus wearing a sword  
 and that he said Asma'i would you like to see Zulfiqar and on Asma'i  
 expressing a wish to see it Harun ar Rashid bade him draw the sword—on  
 doing so he found on it eighteen saqaras—The word *saqara* is said in a note  
 to the above to designate a sort of waving ornament on the blade or else  
 a notch on its edge It is doubtful which is meant probably the latter

The word *Zulfiqar* means celebrated I think it quite possible that the sword  
 in question was so called from its strength and pliability the vertebral column  
 being the type of the combination of those two somewhat incompatible  
 elements

<sup>1</sup> MS 'A) has بی سلسلہ میں MS (B) agrees with the text

<sup>2</sup> i.e. In the time of year (autumn) when the Sun was in the sign of Libra  
 (میزان)

The sun enters	Gemini	Taurus	Aries (Spring)	21st March
	حورا	ثور	درہ	
	السماء	السماء	السماء	سربطان
	Virgo	Leo	Cancer (Summer)	21st June
	السماء	السماء	السماء	سربطان
	Sagittarius	Scorpio	Libra (Autumn)	21st September
	صفران	عقرب	قوس	
	Pisces	Aquarius	Capricornus (Winter)	21st December
	دلو	دلو	دلو	

This sign Libra was a later addition to the Zodiac It was known to the  
 earlier Greek astronomers as χηλας of Virg Georg I 33

Hè in the fire of whose wrath evil doers  
 Give up their sweet lives like sugarcane.  
 The sugar of religion and the rose of sovereignty  
 The revolving sphere has mixed together ;  
 Oh Lord ! let this conserve of religion and sovereignty  
 Be the cause of health to the whole world.

And Qázi Hamíd<sup>1</sup> of Balkh says :

Gházi Muizzu-d-Dín wad-Dunyá with whom  
 On the day of battle victory marches with his auspicious  
 standard,

Qua locus Erigonen inter Chelasque sequentes Panditur.

Subsequently it was called *Zwýðs* (the yoke) by the Latins *Jugum* and was first formally called *Libra* in the Calendar of Julius Cæsar. This name seems to have been derived from the East, and must be regarded as a symbol of equality introduced into the heavens at the period when the entrance of the sun into that constellation marked the Autumnal Equinox. "In the commentary of Theon on the Almagest *Libra* is frequently represented by Λίτρα (a pound) or Λίτραι, a word originally borrowed by the Romans from the Sicilians, transformed into Libra and then restored to the later Greeks in the new sense of a balance." See Smith's (D. G. R. A.) p. 151, also *Aín-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) III. p. 13 and notes. Also Albirúní (Sachau) p. 173, where a table is given of the signs in seven languages. Sir William Jones (Jones' Works Vol. I. p. 334) leant to the opinion that "both Greeks and Hindus received their divisions of the Zodiac from an older nation" and there can be little doubt that this was the case; the almost absolute identity of the nomenclature in Arabic, Greek, Persian, Syriac, Hebrew and Sanskrit points to a pictorial rather than to a verbal original, the more so as in the case of a pictorial symbol of ambiguous shape it was possible for the name to differ in different languages. Thus we know that the sign Libra was first known as χηλαι to the Greeks from its resemblance to the claws of a scorpion, then this name was changed to ζύδι from the resemblance to a yoke, and finally called *Libra* a balance.

The same pictorial idea is applicable to all three words, and it is more than probable that we must look, for the origin of the Zodiac, to the same source whence we trace the origin of our Alphabet.

See also Albirúní [Sachau (Trübner)] Vol. I. p. 219.

1 Fakhru-l-Ulamá wa Zínu-l-Fuzalá Hamidu-d-Dín Umar ibn Maḥmúd Balkhí, a celebrated writer whose Maqámát called forth the praise of the poet Anwari. He was the author of several works written in a style of great and studied elegance. He was an accomplished poet. Several of his works are mentioned by name. See *Majma'ul Fusahá* I. 197.



Sultán from East to West, Monarch from West to East  
 Maḥmúd ibn Muḥammad ibn Sám ibn Ḫusain.

having sent to Malik Quṭbu-d-Dín from Fíroza Koh the canopy and insignia of royalty, addressed him by the title of Sultán,<sup>1</sup> and in the year 602 H. (1295 A.D.) having come from Dehlí to Láhore on Tuesday, the sixteenth of the month of ZuQa'dah in the aforesaid year, ascended the throne of empire and became proverbial for his kindness and clemency. He used to bestow upon deserving recipients rewards far in excess of their anticipations, and inaugurated his custom of *lak bakhshi* (bestowing laks). One of the learned men of the time named Baháu-d-Dín Ushí<sup>2</sup> said in praise of him.

*Quatrain.*

Oh thou that hast brought into the world the bestowal of laks;  
 Thy hand has brought the mine into great straits;  
 From envy of thy liberality the heart of the mine has seized blood drops,  
 And placed them forward pretending that they are rubies.

And after some time enmity arose between him and Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz, who was one of the slaves of Muizzu-d-Dín and had read the *Khuṭba* in his own name in Ghazní, on account of Láhore, and the fire of war and conflict blazed forth on the confines of the Punjáb; Táju-d-Dín was defeated, and went to 56. Kirmán which was his usual abode. Sultán Quṭbu-d-Dín went and took possession of the fort of Ghazní and staying there for a period of forty days, spent his time in rioting and wantonness and dissipation. Accordingly the people of Ghazní were annoyed at his behaviour and secretly summoned Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz, who arrived without warning, and Sultán Quṭbu-d-Dín not being able to oppose him came to Láhore by way of Sang Surákh<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He appears to have already possessed the title of Sultán (see note 3 page 77).

<sup>2</sup> Baháu-d-Dín Muḥammad Ushí Farghání was a very famous preacher and learned divine, very famous according to Ufí as an extempore speaker, and an extremely able poetry and prose writer. (Majma'u-l-Fuṣahá, I. 172).

<sup>3</sup> One of the routes between Ghazní and the Punjab, for he did not dare to take that through Kirmán (Raverty, 527, note). The *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* omits all reference to this, and merely mentions Quṭbu-d-Dín's death without saying where his fatal accident happened. As to the exact date of his death, see Raverty 528, note 2.

## Verse

When the head of a Sultan becomes unsteady from wine  
Without warning the crown of Empire falls from his head

And after wieldng power for some time he fell from his horse  
when playing chāugān at Lāhere in the year 607 H., and died  
and was buried in that city and his tomb is at present the resort  
of pilgrims. The period of his reign after the conquest of  
Hindustān, was twenty years, out of which period he was for four  
years a Sultan.

This ancient reviving heaven has overthrown many heroes,  
So far as you are able, place no reliance on the sun and  
moon and Jupiter.<sup>1</sup>

Seven other individuals of the generals and slaves of Sultan  
Muizzu-d-Din reached princely power in Hindustān and Ghazni  
and Beagāla and other places, whose affairs are written in their  
proper places, among others Tāju d-Din Yalduz on the confines  
of Tarāyan, otherwise known as Tarāvari, having fought with  
Sultān Shāhru d-Din Iyālāmish was taken prisoner. Another  
is Sultān Nāṣiru d-Din Qabāchā<sup>2</sup> who is also one of the slaves of  
Muizzu-d-Din, and had married one of the daughters of Tāju-d-  
Din Yalduz, the other daughter was married to Sultan Qutbu d-

قالب قلب ملحت <sup>1</sup> Literally, emptied the mould (in which he was cast).  
The word قلب though Arabic in appearance is not really so. It is in  
reality the Persian word قالب (cf. قالب) in an Arab dress.

The game of chāugān is the origin of the modern game of "polo" the  
chāugān called in Arabic صُوْلَانْ چوگان Sālān is a name applied to a  
stick with a curved extremity. Curling sticks are called چوگان سندل  
A pony which is fit for the game of چوگان is called Burhan-i-Qajī<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> In the 'Ajāibū l-Makhlūqāt of Qazwīnī we find that the astrologers con-  
sidered the sun as holding the place of king, and the stars are his courtiers  
and troops. The moon is his Varīr and Jupiter the Qāzī. The planet is  
considered to be a very fortunate one by astrologers who called it سعد (Kadr).  
The moon is also lucky so much so that everything lucky was called by the  
Hindus Somagraha, Soma being the Sanskrit word for moon. The sun was  
called 'Aditya,' i.e., the beginning as being the origin of all things. See  
Albirnī (Sachau) I 217 and seqq.

<sup>3</sup> Who on the death of Qutbu d-Din proceeded to usurp Uchh and Multān  
according to Rāverty (530 note 6). The Yibaqdī i-Nāṣīrī states that Nāṣiru d-  
Din Qabāchā married two of the daughters of Qutbu d-Din (See note 4,  
p 529) (note 2 p 532).

Din and Sultán Muizzn-d-Dín during his lifetime had bestowed upon him the governorship of Uchh and Multán. After the death of Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín, he brought the whole country from Uchh<sup>1</sup> to Sarsntí and Kuhrám under his own rule, and also took possession of Lahore, and having fought with the army of Malik Táju-d-Dín who was on his way from Ghazní, Khwája Mu'aifyidu-l-Mulk Sinjarí<sup>2</sup> being in command of that army, was defeated and went to Sindh in which country he obtained great ascendancy.

57. In the year 611 H. (1214 A. D.) a Moghul army arrived and laid siege to Multán for forty days and the Sultán Násiru-d-Dín, having opened the doors of the treasury, evinced great bravery and warded off their attacks, and at last after a reign of twenty-two years fell a prisoner into the hands of Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín and trod the way to the next world.<sup>3</sup> Another is Malik Baháu-d-Dín Tuglral, when Muizzn-d-Dín Muhammad Sám reduced the fortress of Bahankar<sup>4</sup> he entrusted the command of it to Malik Baháu-d-Dín Tuglral, and he having built a fortress in the country of Bhasiyána<sup>5</sup> elected to reside there<sup>6</sup> and used continually to

<sup>1</sup> 70 miles south-west of Multán. For the situation of Uchh, see Cunn. A. G. I., p. 242.

Tieffenthaler says that under this name are comprised seven villages the chief of which contains the tomb of Synd Bukhári. Tieff. I. 118. In Rennell's map, Vol. III. Surusty is shewn as in Long. 74°5 Lat. 28°5, Koram Long. 75°4 Lat. 29°4.

<sup>2</sup> See note 1 page 74.

<sup>3</sup> In the year 612 H. according to the *Táju-l-Máisir*, but from the text it appears to have been in 610 H. or early in 611 H.

According to *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* he was drowned while trying to escape. See Raverty 542-543, notes. cf. Elliott II. 304.

<sup>4</sup> Both MSS., but according to *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* and Alfí the name of the fort was Thankír or Thangír. (See however Raverty 544 note 1).

<sup>5</sup> MS. (B) has Bhasiyána, MS. (A) has Bhayána. *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* says "the fortress of Thankír which is in the territory of Bhiána." This fortress he built was called Sultán Kot (*Tabaqát-i-Násiri*).

Tieffenthaler mentions a place which he calls Beána and says, concerning it, *Beána etait autrefois une ville bien peuplée, aujourd'hui le nombre de ses habitans est fort diminué, apres que le Rajah Indou en a chassé, il n'y-a que peu d'années, les Mahometans, Afgans, et Saïdes, qui se vantent de descendre de la race d'Alí. Elle est au pied des montagnes, à 14 milles communs de Fatepour au Sud-Ouest.*

He mentions no fortress named Thaukír or Bahankar nor does he mention Sultán Kot.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* where this fort is called Sultánkot.

harass the environs of Gwalior, and Sultán Muizzu d Dín at the time of his return from Gwalior had promised to give that fortress to Malik Baháu d Dín who accordingly strongly fortified a position at a distance of two *Irohs* from Gwalior and harassed the garrison of the fort, so that after a year the garrison sending messengers and presents invited Sultán Qutbu d-Dín and surrendered the fort to him. On this account enmity arose between Malik Qutbu-d-Dín and Bahau d-Dín. Malik Baháu d-Dín died a short time afterwards<sup>1</sup>.

Another is Malik Muḥammad Bakhtyár Ghúrī<sup>2</sup>. He was one of the great men of Ghur and Garmsir, a man adorned with all good qualities who came to Ghazni in the reign of Sultán Muizzu d Dín and from thence went to Hindustan. He did not approve of having to live in Láhore with Sultan Qutbu d Dín, and joined hands with Malik Ihsánn d Dín Ughal Beg<sup>3</sup>, ruler of the country between the two rivers (The Doáb) and the country beyond the river Ganges, and Kanpílah and Patiala<sup>4</sup> were allotted as his reward. He proceeded to Oadh and conquered that coun-

<sup>1</sup> No date is given of these events.

<sup>2</sup> Called also Muḥammad Bakhtyár Khilji; the first to lead a Musulmán invasion of Bengal in 596 A H. He belonged to the Khilji tribe of Ghur, a Turkish tribe. Regarding him the *Aṣnā-i Akbarī* states that the astrologers had predicted the overthrow of the kingdom of Nadiya by Muḥammad Bakhtyár Khilji. He destroyed the city of Nadiya (in 1203 A D, 600 A H) and transferred the Capital to Laknauti. From that time Bengal has been subject to the kings of Dehli. *Aṣnā-i Akbarī* (Jarrett) II 148.

He was a nephew of Muhammad son of Mahmud (See *Tabaqat-i Nasirī* 549). Raverty denies his having ever been a slave but from the statement in the text there seems to be no doubt that the author so regarded him (See Raverty, p 550 note 6).

Malik I Muazzam Husainu d Dín Ughal Beg held in fief a considerable tract of country in the Doáb independently of Qutbu d Dín.

<sup>3</sup> See Raverty *Tabaqat-i Nasirī* 550 note 6.

<sup>4</sup> MSS (A.) and (B) **کنپلہ** Kanpila MS (A) پیانی Pancall MS (B) پیانی Patiala Raverty p 550 note 6, says Patialah پیانی (Lat 25° Long 82° 54') and Kuntialah **کنٹیالہ** [Lat 25° 7' Long 82° 35'] the Kunti of the Indian Atlas.

See the note above for a discussion of the question.

In the text **کنٹیالہ** is evidently a copyist's error for **کنپلہ**.

try, reduced Behár and Munér,<sup>1</sup> and having taking large booty Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín sent him royal honours and a banner of Sultánship. He then brought many presents to the court of the Sultán, and received great favours and distinctions; the grandees of the court seeing they were powerless against him, became envious of him, and instigated the Sultán to such an extent that one day he made him fight with a rogue elephant,<sup>2</sup> but he struck the elephant so hard upon the trunk with a heavy club that the elephant turned and fled. The Sultán was overwhelmed with astonishment to see this, and nominated and appointed him ruler of the whole country of Lakhnautí<sup>3</sup> in Bengála and sent him away. In the second year after this arrangement Muhammad Bakhtyár brought an army from Behár towards Lakhnautí and arrived at the town of Núdiyá<sup>4</sup> with a small force, Núdiyá is now in ruins. Rái Lakhmia (Lakminía<sup>5</sup>) the governor of that

<sup>1</sup> Manér ville assez distinguée située sur la rive extérieure (du Gange) à 4 milles ouest de Scherpour—(qui est à 6 milles, de Patna) l'embouchure du Son (Soano) se trouve entre Manor à l'ouest et Scherpour à l'est. Le Son se jette dans le Gange à de cosse avant Manér. Tieff. I. 423 note (a).

Behár the capital of the ancient kingdom of Magadha is situated on the Pancháná river. Tioffonthaler describes it thus "Uno grande villa moins populeo anjourd'hui qu'ello ne l'a été, remarquable par des tombeaux magnifiques des Mahométans (Shaikh Sharafuddín Munnírí is buried there).

Elle a été la capitale autrefois de la province. Sa distance de Patna en ligne droite est de 17 milles."

See Hunter Gazetteer of India.

<sup>2</sup> On the occasion of a public audience held by Qutbu-d-Dín in the Qasr-i-Safed.

<sup>3</sup> The ancient capital city of Bengal called originally Lakshmanawati, and possibly also Gaur. Called Jannatábad by the Emperor Húmáyún. See Aín-i-Akbarí II. (Jarrett) 122, 131 also Imp. Gaz, art Gaur. See also Raverty Tabaqát-i-Násiri 559 note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Both MSS. ندیہ نúdiyá. Also Tabaqát-i-Akbarí. See Imp. Gaz. Nadiya, Nadiya or Nabadvíp is on the west bank of the Bhágirathí, it was founded by Lakshman Sen son of Ballál Sen King of Bengal who is said to have left Gaur for Nádiyá owing to the superior sanctity of the Bhágirathí at Nádiyá. The name was called Núdiá until the time of Aurangzeb—

See Raverty op cit 559 note 2.

<sup>5</sup> Aín-i-Akbarí II, (Jarrett) 148. Tabaqát-i-Násiri, 555.

town who had heard from astrologers<sup>1</sup> the fame of Muhammad Bakhtyar and his great power, fled thence to Kamaran, and property and booty beyond computation fell into the hands of the Moslems, and Muhammad Bakhtyar having destroyed the place of worship and idol temples of the infidels founded Mosques and Monasteries and schools and caused a metropolis to be built called by his own name, which now has the name of Gaur.<sup>2</sup>

### VERSE

There where was heard before the clamour and uproar of heathen

Now thereto is heard resounding the shout of "Allah akbar"

And after having the *Lutbah* read and the currency struck in his name,<sup>3</sup> having collected a large body of men, under the command of Amr Ali Masij<sup>4</sup> (Mich) he attempted to conquer the countries of Tibet and Turkestan and twelve thousand cavalry fully armed and equipped arrived at a city which they call Bardhan.<sup>5</sup> A river

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the birth of Lakhmaniya see *Tabaqat-i-Albars* which relates that in order to delay the birth for two hours his mother caused her self to be suspended head downwards with her legs bound together till the auspicious moment predicted by the astrologers to ensure his reigning for eighty years arrived immediately after delivery of her child the mother died (see also *Raverty Tabaqat-i-Nasir*, p 655)

<sup>2</sup> There is no authority for the statement that Gaur was ever known by the name of Muhammad Bakhtyar. Concerning the name Gaur see Hunter Imp Gaz Gaur

<sup>3</sup> The recitation of the *sabha* or public prayer in the name of the new Sovereign and the issue of coins bearing his name was regarded by Muhammadan nations as constituting actual accession to the throne and the statement is probably incorrect

As to this passage see *Raverty* 659 note 3 See Thomas Pathan Kings of Delhi p 37 and p 110 and notes It appears unlikely that Muhammad Bakhtyar issued coins in his own name as he was nothing more than Sipahsalar of the Sultan Maizza d Dun Muhammad Sam moreover no such coins are known

<sup>4</sup> A chief of the tribes of Kunch and Mij called Ali Mij (*Tabaqat-i-Nasir*) tribes between Tibet and Liki-nanti

<sup>5</sup> Regarding this the *Tabaqat-i-Nasir* says that a chief of one of the

here crossed their route called the Brahmaputr,<sup>1</sup> which they also call Brahmakadí. It is three or four times the size of the Ganges. Sháh Garshasp<sup>2</sup> when he came to Hindustán built a bridge over that river, and crossed it at Kámrud and went on his way. Muham-

J. mad Bakhtyár crossed by that bridge, and leaving certain of his trusted generals to protect the bridge and command the road, entered the territory of Tibet, and spent ten days among the mountains and difficult roads, and at last arrived at a plain in

monntain tribes between Lakhnáti and Tibbat the Kúñch-Mij-and Tibárú who are all of Turkish countenance (چورہ اند ترک هم ) and speak a language differing both from that of India and that of Tibbat, adopted the religion of Islám and agreed to act as guides to Muhammad Bakhtyár whom he conducted to a place where there is a city called Mardhan Keṭ (or Bardhan keṭ) ... in front of which flows a vast river called the Bang Matí and when it enters the country of Hindustán they style it Samundar in the Hindi dialect; in magnitude, width, and depth it is three times the size of the Ganges.

From this point the account differs, the Tabaqát-i-Násiri says that they journeyed up the river for ten days among the mountains till they came to an old bridge built of hewn stone, &c.

Our text on the other hand states that they crossed the old bridge immediately on reaching the river after which they journeyed for ten days in the mountains, &c.

Badáoni's statement has more *prima facie* probability, tho statements of the Tabaqát-i-Násiri moreover are somewhat confused and contradictory. Neither author mentions how long the cavalry force took to reach Bardhan.

It seems fairly certain from Badáoni's account that the city of Bardhan was on the near side of the river and that the crossing of the river was impracticable at that point, how far it was from Kámrud, where Badáoni says they crossed by the bridge; does not appear.

MS. (A) ابردین Abardín; MS. (B) ابردھن Abardhan.

Tabaqát-i-Násiri says Bardhan (Raverty 561 note 8). Calcutta text has مردھن کوٹ.

<sup>1</sup> Tabaqát calls this river the Beg-Matí (see Raverty 561 note 1.)

For a full discussion of the identity of the river crossed and the place of crossing see Raverty pp 561-565. The only additional information given by the text is that the bridge was at Kámrud, and it seems not impossible that it may be the bridge of Sil Hako and the river the Brahmaputra though Raverty thinks it was the Teesta.

<sup>2</sup> See Raverty p. 561 note 9 and Aín-i-Akbarí III. (Jarrett) 328 note 4.

which was a fort of great strength: the garrison of that fort who were descendants of Gushtaep (that fort too was one of the buildings erected by Gushtasp) came forth to fight, and fought so bravely till nightfall that many men were lost on the side of Muhammed Bakhtyár. He pitched his camp on that very spot, and coming down received tidings that five farsangs beyond this city thereto was another city<sup>1</sup> from which 50,000 Turks all warlike and ready for battle would come to the relief of their city. The following day Muhammed Bakhtyár not thinking it advisable to remain there, and not being able to oppose them, turned back and came to the head of the bridge. Before his arrival the Generals in charge of the road had fought among themselves, and the infidels had broken two arches of that bridge. The army of Muhammed Bakhtyár had this bridge in front and the infidels kept coming up in their rear, and fought with determined bravery. In that neighbourhood there was an idol temple of great strength.<sup>2</sup> They passed the night there by some stratagem, and in the morning a ford was found, and a party of men who crossed by the ford found the sand of the river was a sort of quicksand, and the water of the river gradually growing deeper and deeper, the greater part of the soldiers of Muhammed Bakhtyár were drowned in the ocean of destruction, and the remnant which remained became fuel for the fire of the infidel's sword and attained the exaltation of martyrdom. Muhammed Bakhtyár, out of many thousands men, arrived at Deo Kot with some three or four hundred only, and fell ill from vexation and was attacked by hectic fever<sup>3</sup> and used to say "no doubt Sultan Muhammed Muizz-ud-Din Sám has met with an accident that fortune has gone so against me." And when weakness took possession of him 'Ali Mardán one of Muhammed Bakhtyár's greatest generals arrived at Deo Kot from the district of Nárnáli<sup>4</sup> and finding him

<sup>1</sup> Called Karpattan (*Tabaqát-i-Násirí*) see Raverty p. 567 and notes for a full account of Bakhtyar's retreat and disasters.

<sup>2</sup> See Raverty 570 note 9. regarding the possible locality.

<sup>3</sup> بِزَحْمَتْ دَقْ مُنْجَرْ كَشْت *Bizhamat Dq Munjor Kashat*

<sup>4</sup> MSS. (A) and (B) نَارْنَلِي See Raverty 572, note 7, where he calls this نَارْنَكَوَى Nárnáli-kow.

bedridden, pulled down the sheet from his face and ruthlessly despatched him with one blow of a dagger. This event happened in the year 602 H. after the death of Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín : and after the death of Sultán Quṭbu-d-Dín this same Alí Mardán eventually seized the reins of power by great craft, and promulgating the *kutubá* and *sikka* of Lakhnauti in his own name was styled Sultán Aláu-d-Dín, and from the excessive folly and pride and arrogance of his mind sat quietly in Lakhnauti and divided the country of Irán and Túrán among his adherents, and no one dared to say "these dominions are outside the scope of the Sultán's power why do you divide them ?" They say that some unfortunate merchant laid a complaint of poverty before Aláu-d-Dín, who asked "where does this fellow come from ?" They answered "from Isfahán" then he ordered them to write a document to Isfahán which should have the force of an assignment of land to him. The merchant would not accept this document, but the Vazírs did not dare to represent this fact and reported "the ruler of Isfahán, by reason of his travelling expenses and assembling his retinue for the purpose of subjugating that country, is in difficulties." He thereupon ordered them to give a large sum of money far beyond his expectations ; and when his tyranny and oppression exceeded all bounds the Amírs of Khilj consenting together put him to death and raised to the throne Malik Husámu-d-Dín Khiljí who was one of the nobles of Khilj and Garmsír and one of the servants of Muhammad Bakhtyár. The reign of Alí Mardán lasted thirty-two years.<sup>2</sup>

Another was Malik Husainu-d-Dín<sup>3</sup> abovementioned who became possessed of the whole country of Tírhut and Bengálá and Jánagar and Kámrud and gained the title of Sultán Ghiyásu-d-Dín, till in the months of the year 622 H., he sent to the Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín Iyaltimish thirty-eight head of elephants and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* 578. He would appear to have been the subject of expansive delusions very likely an early symptom of the general paralysis which would have declared itself later had he not been removed.

<sup>2</sup> Both MSS. have ملک ماردان but as a matter of fact Alí Mardán reigned only two years and some months (see also Raverty 580 note 7.)

<sup>3</sup> Maiik Husainu-d-Dín 'Iwaz.

seventy thousand *tangahs*<sup>1</sup> in cash as a present and acknowledged the Sultan's authority, as will be mentioned, if God (be He exalted) so will it. And in the year 624 H Malik Nasru d Din Muhammed ibn<sup>2</sup> Sultán Shamsu d Din went from Oudh to Lakhnati at the instigation of some of the Amirs,<sup>3</sup> and Ghiyasu d Din<sup>4</sup> who at that time had taken an army from Lakhnati to Kamrud turned back, and fought a severe battle with Malik Nasru d Din and was taken prisoner together with the majority of his generals and was put to death. The duration of his reign was twelve years.<sup>5</sup> The mention of these few kings of the regions of Hindustan incidentally with the affairs of the Sultans of Delhi was both opportune and necessary, and the affairs of the remaining Muizziyeh kings who attained to the Sultanat of Multan and other kingdoms are mentioned in other places.

### SULTÁN ARAM SHÁH IBN QUTBÚ D DÍN AYAZ<sup>6</sup>

After his father, succeeded to the throne

In the world no family remains without a master  
 If one departs, another takes his place  
 This too is the way with this deceitful world  
 The father departs, the son's foot is in the stirrup

By the consent of the Amirs he marched from Lahore to Delhi. In the meantime Malik Shamsu d Din Iyaltimish, who was a servant and adopted son, and son in law of Sultan Qutbu-d Din,

<sup>1</sup> *Tangah* For the value of this see J R A S New Series Vol 1 p 313 also Raverty 584 note 2 Thomas Chr Pathan Kings of Delhi pp 161 and p 49 note

The silver *tangah* weighed 175 grains. There was a coin known as the *kans* which was  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a *tangah* while another coin was introduced under Muhammad Toghaq known as the *black tangah* which was  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the silver *tangah*.

The value of the silver *tangah* was about the same as the rupee. See Ainsworth Akbari III (Jarrett) 362 note 3

<sup>2</sup> The text should read *الدین شمس الدین* MSS A and B

<sup>3</sup> Malik Izza d D n Jauf See Raverty p 594 note 1

<sup>4</sup> Ghiyasu d D n Iwaz Husain Khilji

<sup>5</sup> He was the last of the Muizziyeh Sultans according to the *Tbagat-i-Najaf*

<sup>6</sup> Succeeded his father in 607 H Cf Raverty, 529 note 4 Thomas pp 40

and had tributary relations with Malik Násiru-d-Dín Qabáchá, at the invitation of Sipah Sálár Alí Isma'il, had come from Hárduwár and Badaún to Dehlí and had taken possession of the city and its country. When Arám Sháh arrived in the vicinity of Dehlí Malik Shamsu-d-Dín came out against him in battle array, and Arám Sháh was defeated. The duration of his reign was just a year.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>2</sup>All of us young and old are doomed to die  
No one remains in this world lastingly  
This is the way of the lofty sky. It holds  
In one hand a crown in the other a noose.

62.

### SULTÁN SHAMSU-D-DÍN IYALTIMISH<sup>3</sup>

Called by the title of "Yamín-i-Amír-al-Múminín"  
(Right hand of the Commander of the Faithful.)

In the year 607 H. ascended the imperial throne of Dehlí; and the reason of the name Iyaltimish is that his birth occurred on the night of an eclipse of the moon, and the Turks call a child

<sup>1</sup> Minháj-uṣ-Siráj mentions that at Arám's death Hindustán was divided into four principalities. Sind in the possession of Násiru-d-Dín Qabáchah: Dehlí and its subordinate divisions belonged to Shamsu-d-Dín Iyaltimish: Lakhnautí was held by the Khiljí chiefs 'Alí Mardán having thrown off his allegiance on the death of Qutbu-d-Dín, and Lahore remained a subject of contention between the rulers of Sind, Dehlí and Ghazní. See Thomas' Pathán Kings, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Not in either MS. These versos are from the Shahnámah of Firdáusí. (vide Shahnámah, Calcutta Edition, by Turner Macan, 1829, Vol. I. p. 361, line 3, and Vol. I. p. 372, line 6. The editor of the text has apparently quoted these lines from memory or possibly they were in the MSS. from which he prepared the text.

<sup>3</sup> In MSS. A and B this word is clearly written إيلتمش This text has التمش

Iyaltimish or Altamish as he is generally called was the first sovereign who reigned in Dehlí with independent power. He received a diploma of investiture from the Khalíf of Baghdád [Al-Muṣṭansír b-illáh, A. H. 626] a most important recognition to a Muhammedan sovereign and one that is remarkable as being the earliest notice taken by the arrogant court of Baghdád of this new Indo-Muhammedan kingdom. (Thomas, p. 43).

born under these circumstances Iyaltimish.<sup>1</sup> His father was the chief of many of the tribes of Turkostān. His kinsmen under pretence of taking him for a walk took Iyaltimish into a garden and sold him like Joseph to a merchant, from whom he happened to be taken to Bokhārā, and there in the time of Sultān Muhammād Sām to Ghaznīn; and in these days Sultān Qutbū-d-Dīn after the conquest of Nahrwālīn and the taking of Gujrāt had gone to Ghaznīn, and since without permission of Sultān Muhammād Sām no one could purchase Iyaltimish he asked permission from the Sultan to sell him. Sultān Muhammād Sām said that since he had given orders that no one there should buy that slave they were to take him to Dehli and sell him there. Sultān Qutbū-d-Dīn after his return from Ghaznīn bought a slave named Ibāk, a namesake of his own, and Iyaltimish, at Dehli for 100,000 tangahs: at first he called him Amir Tamghāch,<sup>2</sup> and appointed him to the Amirship of Tabarkhindah,<sup>3</sup> and at the time when Sultān Qutbū-d-Dīn fought with Tāj-n-d-Dīn Yaldāz, Ibāk his slave tasted the cup of death. At that time he made Iyaltimish an especial favourite, and after the capture of Gwāliār he made him Governor of that place, and subsequently bestowed upon him the rule of Barān<sup>4</sup> and its environs, and since he began to shew signs of extraordinary hardness he entrusted the country of Badāūn to him, and in the war of Maizza-d-Dīn with the Khukhars (as has been already related), Iyaltimish having got together a large army from Badāūn and the foot of the hills, joined hands with Sultān Maizza-d-Dīn in the service of Sultān Qutbū-d-Dīn, and armed as he was having forced his horse into the river<sup>5</sup> engaged the enemy bravely several

<sup>1</sup> Concerning the origin of the name see Thomas, p. 44, note I. The note is too long to transcribe here, but briefly it may be said that Mr Redhouse to whom the above text was submitted by Mr. Thomas thinks it probable that owing to errors of transcribers of the Turkish compound word the *J* has become displaced and that the word should really be written *اي-تاتلماش* = eclipse of the moon.

This explanation seems most plausible. In Turki the word التمش *altamsh* means the advanced guard of an army, or the number sixty.

<sup>2</sup> تامغچ MS. A. تامغچ MS. B.

<sup>3</sup> Tabarkhindah in MS. A is written تبرهندہ.

<sup>4</sup> Buland shahr, (Thomas). See Hunter Imp. Gaz. (p. 141).

<sup>5</sup> See Tabaqat-i-Nasir. It was the river Jhilmāl.

Jalálu-d-Dín Manghurní<sup>1</sup> son of Khwárazm Sháh who having suffered defeat at the hands of Changiz Khán after Tája-d-Dín, came to Ghazná and thence from fear of the incursions of Changiz Khán had gone to Lahore with his family and relations; and Sultán Jalálu-d-Dín not being able to withstand him went towards Sindh and Sivistan and from there by way of Kuoh and Makrán arrived at Kirmán and Iráq.<sup>2</sup>

And in the year 622 H.<sup>3</sup> Sultán Shamsu-d-Din, took an army towards Behár and Lakhnauti and brought Sultán Ghiyázu-d-Dín Khilji, who has been before mentioned, into obedience, and having accepted the present above mentioned,<sup>4</sup> established the khúba and silka in his own name<sup>5</sup> and having given his elder son the title of Sultán Násiru-d-Dín Mahmúd<sup>6</sup> made him his heir, and having made over that country to him returned to the metropolis of Delhi. Eventually Malik Násiru-d-Dín Mahmúd having fought with Ghiyázu-d-Din on the confines of Lakhnauti got the upper hand, and having taken him prisoner put him to death, and great booty fell into his hands which he divided into portions and sent it as rewards<sup>7</sup> to each of the nobles of Delhi. 65.

<sup>1</sup> So called because of a mole which he had on his nose (Raverty 285, note 3). He was the last of the Kharazm Sháh dynasty. He is said to have turned devotee and to have lived till 688 II (Raverty 209, note). There is some question as to the orthography of this name Thomas p 90, note 1, judging from inscriptions on his coins calls him Mankarnan, as he considers the final letter to be و not ن. The etymology given above is probably correct as the word مینگ (menge) in Turki means grain de beauté while نرخ means "nez" (Dict. Turk. Orientale Favet de Courteille) the word originally being منگهونه would in Persian have become altered in pronunciation to منگهون and with the addition of the ya in isbat میکنندی Manghuruni.

<sup>2</sup> For a full reference to the bibliography of this expedition, see Elliott II. 549. See also Afn-i-Akkars, Vol. II. Jarrett 343, and notes. D'Herbelot art. Galaluddin, Vol. II. p 87.

<sup>3</sup> Mistake in text ۴۲۲ where ۶۲۲ H. is in figures.

<sup>4</sup> "Thirty elephants and eighty laks of treasure." (Tabaqdt + Nasirf.)

<sup>5</sup> See Thomas' Pathán Kings, p 46. It is not said here what kind of coinage—Thomas puts the year 626 A.H. as the first of the silver coinage.

<sup>6</sup> مہمود MS. (A)

<sup>7</sup> The word لام in MS. A is omitted in the text after the word مددی. MS. A continues after the word فرسنگ as follows—  
و سلطان شمس الدین در مام ذات و عشرين و ستمائين سپاهی گران

"It is well known that a poet named Nájirí arrived in that country from Dehli in the service of Hazrat Khwája Qutbú-d-Dín Ustí<sup>2</sup> may God sanctify him and said I have composed a Qaṣida in praise of Sultan Shamsu-d-Dín. Read the Fátihá that I may get the accustomed reward." They read the Fátihá and he having been admitted to the Sultan's presence read this *Maqṣaṭ*.

Oh thou from dread of whom sedition has sought refuge,  
Whose sword has sought from the infidels property and  
elephants.

The Sultan by the mere reading of that *maqṣaṭ* learnt it by heart and repeated it, and when the poem was finished he asked How many couplets does this Qaṣida contain? The answer was fifty and three. He thereupon ordered them to give him fifty-three thousand white tangahs.<sup>3</sup>] Sultan Shamsu-d-Din in [the year] 623 H. made an attack upon Ranthambhúr<sup>4</sup> and having brought an army thither reduced that fortress, and in the year 624 H. having

بعزیمت تحسیر قلعه سندور نامزد ساخته ان قلعه را با کوه سوالک در حیز مقط  
اورد و بدھلی صراجعت فرمود و هم درین سال امیر روحانی که از افضل ان  
روزگار بود و در حادثہ چنگز خان از انجبا بدھلی اعده و در تهذیت این فتوحات  
قصائد غرّا گفته از آنچمه اینست قصيدة

و سلطان شمس الدین ... عزیمت و نیتور نمود MS. (B) reads as follows  
رسکران طرف بوده انقلعه را مستقروح گردانید و در سنه اربع و عشرين  
و ستماهی سپاهی گران بعزیمت تحسیر قلعه مندور نامزد ساخته ...

I do not know what MS. the Maulaví Ahmad Álí used for his edition, but it cannot have been either of the MSS. to which I have access.

1 The words in [     ] brackets are not found in either MS. I have consulted.

2 A famous saint known as Kákí from the "Kák" or Oakes which were supplied by the prophet Kliizr for the sustenance of his family for whom his devotions left him no leisure to make provision. See *Ain-i-Akbari* II. (Jarrett) 303, note 2. He died A.H. 634, and is buried in Dehli. See also Rayerty p. 621, note 6, third para. [*Ain-i-Akbari* II. (Jarrett) 279.]

3 The silver tangah piece of 175 grains.

\* A figure of this fortress, is given in Tieffenthaler Vol. I. facing p 320, plato xx. He describes it as a fortress so situated at the head of a narrow gorge that it can be held by "une poignée de soldats" having a spring of water arising from the rocks and forming a stream which runs down

detailed a large army to attack and capture the fort of Mandú,<sup>1</sup> brought that fort together with the Siwálik hills into the circle of his conquest and returned to Dehli, and in this same year Amir Rúhíni<sup>2</sup> who was one of the most learned men of that time came to Dehli from Baháhirá in the affair of Changíz Khán, and wrote several brilliant odes of congratulation upon these victories, of which the following verses are an extract.

The faithful Gahriel carried the tidings to the dwellers in heaven,

From the record of victories of the Sultán of the age Shamsu-d-Din,

Saying—Oh ye holy angels raise upon the heavens,  
Hearing this good tidings, the <sup>3</sup> canopy of adornment.

That from the land of the heretics the Shahansháh of Islam

Has conquered a second time the fort resembling the sky ;  
The Sháh, holy warrior and Gházi, whose hand and sword  
The soul of the lion of repeated attacks <sup>4</sup> praises.

And there are also other many charming poems attributed to him, of which the following ode is one :—

From the tongue of the pen my own story I tell in the words of the pen

to Scherpour two miles distant (This place is not marked on Rennell's map). Besides this there are cisterns hewn out of the rocks. In the fort to collect the rain water. It is entered by four gates approached by steps cut in the rocks.

<sup>1</sup> Or Mandawar (*Tabaqat-i-Násir*, p 611, note 3, Mandwar MS. (A)

See Rennell's map. Monopour Loug. 77 Lat. 27. This fortress answers apparently to the situation of Mandú or Mandawar. Tieffenthaler I. 323, mentions "Manoarpur ville do marque avec une forteresse a 15 milles Nord de Djepour". This is probably the fort here called Mandú.

<sup>2</sup> Hakím Abu Bakr ibn Muhammad Ali Samargandí.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) we have instead of كله نذرين as in the text, the words كله نزرين which appears a better reading, "the canopy of adornment," I have preferred it.

MS. (B) has كله برتين which is evidently a copyist's error for كله نزرين

<sup>4</sup> \* حیدر کراو is a name of علی 'Ali who is called Asad 'Ullah or by the Persians Shfr-i-Khudá, The lion of God.

On the page of my life, though the writing of grief has  
 been traced by the pen  
 Since I lived in this world with the pen all my days have  
 been black as the pen  
 And swift as I write my account, so fierce is the point of  
 the pen  
 That like to my own gentle voice is the sharp loud lament  
 of the pen.  
 Although in the midst of my loss I reap always rewards  
 from the pen,  
 Still no one will mention my state to my Lord save the  
 tongue of the pen.  
 'Tis from Khwája Mansúr bin Sa'íd thrives the market of  
 test of the pen  
 That great one whose words load the burden of truth on  
 the van of the pen.  
 He has mounted his beautiful thoughts on the steed of his  
 swift running pen.<sup>1</sup>  
 In the road of just ruling he gallops, light holding the rein  
 of the pen.  
 His skill hand in hand with his wisdom reveals hidden  
 arts of the pen.

And in the year 626 H. Arab Ambassadors came from Egypt<sup>2</sup>  
 bringing for him a robe of honour and titles, and out of joy at this  
 they built triumphal arches in the city and held banquets. And in  
 this same year the tidings arrived of the death of his son Sultán  
 67. Násiru-d-Dín, Governor of Lakhnauti, and the Sultán, after com-  
 pleting the duties of mourning, gave his name (*i.e.*, Násiru-d-Dín)  
 to his younger son after whom the *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* is named. In  
 the year 627 H., he proceeded against Lakhnautí and quieted the  
 disturbances of those regions, and after entrusting the govern-  
 ment of that place to Izzu-l-Mulk Malik 'Aláu-d-Dín Khúfi<sup>3</sup>  
 returned to the capital and in the year 629 H. reduced the fortress  
 of Gwálíar. Málík Táju-d-Dín the Secretary of State, wrote the

<sup>1</sup> خود بنان را سوار کرده بود (A).

<sup>2</sup> This must have been from Baghdád from the Khalifah Al Mustanṣir b-illah. See Raverty 616, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A). عال الدین خافی MS. (B). عال الدین as in the text. *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* reads Aláu-d-Dín Jání. See p. 618, notes.

following quatrain upon the taking of that fort, and they engraved it upon stone —

Every fort which the King of Kings conquered  
He conquered by the help of God and the aid of the faith  
That fortress of Kalewar and that strong castle  
He took in the year six hundred and thury<sup>1</sup>

It is apparently the date of the siege which accounts for the difference of one year. And in the year 631 H<sup>2</sup> having made an incursion in the direction of the province of Malwah and taken Bhilsa<sup>3</sup> and also captured the city of Ujjain,<sup>4</sup> and having destroyed the idol temple of Ujjain which had been built six hundred years previously, and was called Mahakal, he levelled it to its foundations, and threw down the image of Rai Vikramajit from whom the Hindus reckon their era<sup>5</sup> (the author of this selection, by the order of the Khalifa of the time, the Emperor, the Shadow of the Deity, in the year 972 H and again anew in the year 1003 H<sup>6</sup> with the assistance of Hindu pundits translated 32 stories about him which are a wonder of isolation and strange circumstance, from the Hindu into the Persian tongue and called it *Nama-i-Khirad Afza* — ) and brought certain other images of cast molten brass placed them on the ground in front of the door of the mosque of old Delhi<sup>7</sup> and ordered the people to trample them underfoot and a second time he brought an army against Multan,<sup>8</sup> this expedition was in every way unfortunate

<sup>1</sup> 26th of the month Ŝafer 630, A H (*Tabaqat-i-Nasir*), 1232, A D

<sup>2</sup> 632 H (*Tabaqat-i-Nasir*) p 621, note 6

<sup>3</sup> Bhilsa on the Betwa is a place of Hindu pilgrimage, in its neighbourhood are many interesting Buddhist topes

<sup>4</sup> Ujjain on the Sipra, was in ancient times the capital of Malwa, and the spot which marked the 1st meridian of Hindu geographers. It was the city of Vikramaditya. See Hunter, Imp Gaz, and Lieff Vol I p 346

<sup>5</sup> An : Albari (Jarrett) II 15, notes 2, 3 Alberuni, (Sachau) II 5, 6 The Sunvat era commencing from 57 B C

<sup>6</sup> 1564 A.D and 1594 A.D Al Badaoni died according to the *Tabaqat-i-Shah Jahans* in the year 1024, A H (1615 A D ) I can find no mention of the *Nama-i-Khirad Afza*, and can offer no suggestion as to what this work was a translation of, possibly it was of one of Kalidasa's poems سی و دو نلت و الف سی و دو (A) The text (C) agrees with MS (B)

<sup>7</sup> See Imp Gaz art Behli

<sup>8</sup> See Raverty 623, note 8, who holds that this should read بیان Baniā. Both MSS (A and B) have ملک as also has Firishta

for him, and a very severe bodily illness afflicted him, he so returned and came to Dehli, and in the year 633 H, (1235 A.D.) left this lodging house of the world for the eternal mansions of the next world. The duration of his sultanate was twenty-six years.

*Verse.*

For this reason this heart-enthralling palace became cold.  
Because when you have warmed the place, they say to you  
Rise<sup>1</sup>

And the prince of poets<sup>2</sup> (*on him be mercy*) says:—

<sup>3</sup> [In all Hindustán you saw the dust of the troops of Iyaltimish]

Look now drink your wine, others walk in his plain]  
It is the same Dehlí one would say, yet where is his victorious canopy?

It is the same kingdom at all events, where has that royal dignity of his gone?

The earth is a house of mourning, and mourns too for its own sake

At the time of the birth of that child whom they see weeping.

It is a well known story that Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín was a man of a cold temperament, and once upon a time he desired to consort with a pretty and comely girl, but found that he had not the power. The same thing happened several times: one day the girl was pouring some oil on the head of the Sultán and shed some tears upon the Sultán's head. He raised his head and asked the cause of her weeping, after a great deal of hesitation she answered: I had once a brother who was bald like you and that reminded me of him, and I wept. When he had heard the story of his being imprisoned it became evident that she was the own sister of the

<sup>1</sup> Nizámí.

<sup>2</sup> Mír Khusrú Dehlaví. A few translated selections from the works of this poet will be found in Elliott, Vol. iii. p. 523, and a notice of the poet historian at p. 67 of the same volume. His full name was Yamínu-d-Dín Muḥammad Ḥasan, he is said to have left behind him some half million of verses. He was born in 651 A.H. (1253 A.D.) and died in 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.) but according to the *Atash Kada* his death occurred A.H. 752 (A.D. 1351).

<sup>3</sup> Not in MS. (A).

Sultán, and that God *be he glorified and exalted* had preserved him from this incestuous intercourse. The writer of these pages' 69 heard this story from the lips of the Khalifah of the world, I mean Akbar Shah may God make *Paradise his kingdom* in Fathpur and also in Lahore, one evening when he had summoned him into the private apartments of the capital and had conversed with him on certain topics, he said, I heard this story from Sultán Ghijāz-d-Din Balban and they said that when the Sultán wished to have connection with that girl her catamenia used to come on [and this occurrence was at the time of writing].<sup>1</sup>

Sirr-i-Rukn-d-Din Firoz Shah iyy Shams-d-Din

Who in his father's time had several times been in charge of the districts of Bodāon, and afterwards had received the canopy and staff of authority, and while holding the country of Lahore was his heir-apparent, succeeded to the throne by consent of the authorities in the aforesaid year,<sup>2</sup> and Malik Tāju-d-Din his secretary<sup>3</sup> wrote this congratulatory ode in honour of his accession —

All hail to the everlasting kingdom,  
Above all to the king, in his heyday of youth,  
Yaminu-d-Daulat Ruknū-d-Dīn  
Whose door became like the Rukū-i-Yamīn<sup>4</sup> from its auspiciousness

When he ascended the throne, he opened the doors of the treasury, and gave full scope to his taste for rioting and wantonness and indolence and sloth, and used to spend his precious hours in the company of prostitutes and vagabonds.

When thy heart inclines towards the wine shop  
Except the tavern keeper<sup>5</sup> and the musician who will  
praise thee.

1 The words in brackets are not found in either MS. (A) or (B).

2 633 A.H.

3 MS. (A) omits *g* before *rūjū*.

4 The south corner of the Ka'aba, a spot of special veneration to pilgrims. Barton's pilgrimage to El Medina and Mecca, III, 182. Hughes Dict. of Islam, 518. See also Muir's Life of Mahomet, II, 30, note.

5 غو text MS. (A) سو

And his mother Turkān Khātūn,<sup>1</sup> who was a Turkish slave girl, having gained absolute power, used to vex the other concubines of the Sultān against whom her envious heart burned, in various ways, and put to death Qutbū-d-Dīn the eldest son of the Sultān by another concubine. The treasury became empty, and 0. Malik Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh the younger brother of the Sultān, who was ruler of Oudh, refusing to acknowledge his authority revolted against him, and Malik Izzu-d-Dīn<sup>2</sup> and Kabīr Khān Sultānī governor of Multān, and Malik Saifu-d-Dīn feudatory of Hānsī, entering into correspondence with one another raised the standard of opposition. Sultān Ruknu-d-Dīn Firoz Shāh had arrived in the neighbourhood of Mansūrpūr and Tarāyan with the intention of quelling this disturbance, and before this occurrence Nizāmu-l-Mulk Junaidī the Wazīr and Agent of the territory of Hindustān, fearing the Sultān had fled to Kilūgharī<sup>3</sup> and had gone in the direction of Kol and joined hands with Malik Izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sālārī; and other trusty Amīrs who had remained in the army having fled from the vicinity of Mansūrpūr went to Dehli and having sworn<sup>4</sup> fealty to Razziyah Khātūn who was the eldest daughter of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn, and his heir apparent according to her father's will, and a woman endowed with excellent qualities, brave, generous, and intelligent, raised her to the throne and imprisoned Turkān Khātūn. When the Sultān having returned from the army, arrived at Kilūkhari, the troops of Sultān Razziyah went out to meet him, and having seized him without fighting imprisoned him, and he died in prison.<sup>5</sup> The duration of his reign was six months and a fraction.

<sup>1</sup> Shāh Turkān, styled Khudāwanda-i-Jahān.

<sup>2</sup> The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* says, "Malik Izzu-d-Dīn, Muḥammad Sālārī who was the feudatory of Budāun broke out into rebellion: and in another direction Malik Izzu-d-Dīn Kabīr Khān Ayāz feoffee of Multān, Malik Saifu-d-Dīn Kūjī feudatory of Hānsī, and Malik Alāu-d-Dīn Jānī who held the fief of Lahor united together" and revolted. Raverty, pp. 633, 634.

<sup>3</sup> Kilūkhari, a suburb of Dehli.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) برغیۃ خاتون.

<sup>5</sup> In the year 634 H., 18th of Rabī'u-l-Awwal.

His death was probably due to violence, occurring as it did according to Minhāju-s-Siraj on the day of his seizure and imprisonment. See Raverty, p. 636, note 4.

Do not set thy heart upon the world, for it is a stranger  
Like the singer who is every day in a new house

Among the poets of that age [and the master of that time]<sup>1</sup>  
of Ruknud Dīn was Shihab Muhamra Budaoni<sup>2</sup> as Mir Khusrū<sup>3</sup>  
*on him be mercy* says in one of his opening odes

In Budaon Muhamra rises intoxicated from sleep  
If there comes forth from this melody the sound of the  
birds of Dehlī

And Maḥku l K̄lam Fakhru l Mulk 'Amid Tulki<sup>4</sup> mentions  
him as a master<sup>5</sup> and since the speech of the modern (poets) after  
the appearance of the cavalcade of the Prince of poets has be  
come like the stars at the time of the raising of the banner of  
the glorious sun, and like the seven poems<sup>6</sup> at the time of the  
descout of the inspired revelation upon the best of men, and the

<sup>1</sup> [ ] not in MS 'A)

<sup>2</sup> The name is wrongly given in MS (A) MS (B) and the text. The real  
name of this poet is Shihabud Dīn ibn Jamālud Dīn Mutmara (شہباد دین جمال الدین متمارا) He was known as Shihabud Mutmara. The verse here quoted should be as follows

در ریان مست در حیزد شہاب متمارا  
شہزاد گر نعمت مرعاب دہلی وس نوا

In Madaran Shahabud Mutmara rises intoxicated

If he hear the sound of the singing of the birds of Dehlī in this  
melody

Vide Majma u l Fusaha Vol I page 304

<sup>3</sup> Mir Khusrū the celebrated poet born at Pat ala 651 A H Died 725 A H.  
the author of 99 poetical works (Beale) (Majma u l Fusaha) see note 4 page 68

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) لوزکی Lujaki We should read 'Amid Lumaki Fakhru l Mulk  
Khwaja 'Amidud Dīn commonly known as 'Amid Daulamī the panegyrist of  
Sultan Muhammad Yamin said by some to have been a native of Gilan,  
called also 'Amid Lumaki Majma u l Fusaha I 353

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) وجوب

<sup>6</sup> The *تَلَاثَةَ سِعْيٍ إِلَمْكَلَ* or seven poems The well known poems of the  
Jahiliyat or pre Islamic age

See Introduction to Ancient Arabian Poetry by C J Lyall pp xxxii (Effect  
of al Islāh on the old Poetry) and xvii (The Muallaqat)

See also Nöldeke (Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Poesie der alten Araben,  
pp xvii and seq

See also Arabian Poetry (Clouston) pp xxxi and seq

Lord of the world *on him be peace*, remains concealed as by a curtain—men speak and write less concerning them, nay more they do not even possess them—accordingly in harmony with the saying, *The first comer has the best of it*, I have thought it incumbent upon me to include a few odes from that eminent author as a benediction and blessing, in this composition of mine, and to leave a memorial for his friends, and to establish my own connection with the master, and to display upon the dais of evidence the excellencies of that doughty knight of the arena of eloquence, and more especially to fulfil the demands of fellow-citizenship. The master poet Shihāb<sup>1</sup> Muhamra [Badāoni] then says as follows :—

I am Alif in the table of existence and of no value as a sign.<sup>2</sup>

My existence depends upon the duration of the existence of others, my own existence is transitory.

I stand at the end of the row<sup>3</sup> in the hope of obtaining a better position, having rested from all movement with the attributes of insignificance.

I have not the attributes of Alif for Alif has no crookedness.<sup>4</sup>

All my writing has become crooked on the page of desire.

There is the song of the nightingale, the rose is happy; while

I am careless like the lily.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See note 5, page 70.

<sup>2</sup> Alif stands for 1, in the numerical value of letters, and is looked upon as having no intrinsic value, but merely serving as the starting place or origin for other numbers.

In its literal value also it is ساکن بالذات that is, it has no capability of being pronounced till it is compounded with some other sign such as <sup>۱</sup> hamza.

<sup>3</sup> Alif must stand at the end either of a word as in بَاقِي *baqā*, or a syllable as in قَامَت *qāmat*. The Alif at the commencement has a hamza.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. (A), (B) کری نہارن

<sup>5</sup> The lily is said by the poets not to be affected by the song of the nightingale and to remain speechless, cf. Hāfiẓ.

حیفست بنبلی چو من اندر چنین چمن

با این لسان عذب که خامش چو سو سنم

Pity it is that such a nightingale as I living in such a garden and having so sweet a tongue should be silent as the lily.

Like Ahf I have no tongue, what have I to do with ten  
tongues<sup>1</sup> ?

Since I can seize it<sup>2</sup> while thns at rest, Why should I  
pursue?

Since I cannot see openly how can I follow a hidden path?  
By stratagem, I can recognize no distinction between earth  
and heaven, although I am like the heaven in my whirling,  
and like the earth stationary

I am not like water in freshness, nor like fire in sublimity,  
nor like the wind in sweetuess, nor like the earth in  
heaviness

<sup>1</sup> The ten tongues of the lily are of frequent mention in Persian poetry,  
cf. Hafiz

سال موسس اگر ده زبان شود حافظ  
چو علیچه بیش تو اش مهر بردهن ناشد

Were Hafiz like the lily endowed with ten tongues  
His lips in thy presence would remain sealed like the lips of the rosebud.  
also

زسر ر قائم است بنشید — م آزاد  
همه تن گر زبان نا شم چو موسس

I sit alone utterly heedless of thy cypress like form  
Even though like the lily my body were cleft into tongues

The lily *Susan* is of four varieties The white variety is called  
*Susan-i-dzad*, red *Burhan-i-qati* سوسن، according to the *Bahru-l-jauahir*  
its properties are those of heat and dryness and it is useful in the headaches  
of fever

The *Makhsusu-l-adwya* states that the word *Susan* is an Arabicised form  
of the Syrian *Susani*: The article may be consulted for further information  
regarding the varieties and properties of these lilies The linear leaves of  
the lily are compared to tongues

<sup>2</sup> MS (B) چون گیرم MS (A) چون گیرم

The text should read—

چون گیرم آرمیده چه روم پسی دروده  
چونه ستم اشکارا چه دوم راه نهای  
ملک اور زمین لخت لشامن از چه ستم  
چو ملک تجیره گردی چو زمین ندا روانی

[2.] I am not made out of these four elements.<sup>1</sup> I am composed of the effluvia of the kennel. The refuse of the sewer water has boasted of piety.<sup>2</sup>

My wisdom, as though incarnate, seems to have taken to praise my faults; my avarice,<sup>3</sup> huge as a mountain, has girded its loins for taking presents.

I am become fixed in the way of avarice, not a sign of truth remains in me. The oppression of my vices has overwhelmed the mercies of the Sacred Book.

My greediness has so deceived me that the five sensual appetites have taken away from my heart with disgrace the blessings of the readings<sup>4</sup> of the 'ashars.

My inner nature as well as my body is devoid of meditation and recollection. My eye like my ear is inclined to the singing women and their songs.

I desire brilliant speeches to fall from my tongue which is like a well-tempered sword. My pen has made me bent like a sickle<sup>5</sup> in the pursuit of my daily bread.

My speech has failed me because its glory was in the relation of this story. Yes! all this loss of honour was owing to inordinate desire for bread.

I am that mean one, less than the least, who am not worth a groat,<sup>6</sup> if you think me worth a barleycorn, you will not buy me for nothing.

1 For the constitution and properties of the four elements, see *Sadīdī*, (Asiatic Lithographic Press, Edition 1244 A. H., page 7.) بیجت الار کان *Bahjat-l-arkān*, two of the four are light and two of them are heavy. Fire is absolutely light, air is relatively light. Earth is absolutely heavy while water is relatively heavy..... The three kingdoms (animal, vegetable and mineral) are composed of an admixture of these four elements.

2 MSS. (A) (B) نہ ازین چھار طبعم ز بخار پار گینڈم فضلات پار گینی ز دہ لاف پار گانی

3 MS. (A) طبعم

4 The reading of the Qur'ān, which is divided into portions called 'ashars consisting of ten Āyats.

5 The *دھرہ* a bill-hook or reaping hook, is curved like a sickle and very sharp. It is also called *dās*, (*Burhān-i-Qāti'*.)

6 MS. (A) بحجه نیروزم

Oh Shihah it is strange that you in this road of kingly affairs  
are neither the Amir of the Eight Squares<sup>1</sup> nor the Knight  
of the Seven Places<sup>2</sup>

You are not an angel, nor are you a devil, from what workshop  
are you? You are not a sojourner nor yet a traveller,  
from what court are you?

Your heart and intellect are careless of the tortures of the  
grave, you have dressed yourself in Gurkhan silk<sup>3</sup>

You have become utterly regardless from lust owing to desire 73  
for license, from urgent desire, by means of false accusation  
you have planted the foot of success

Sorrow for the tulip cheeked beloved has shut fast the door of  
your wisdom The vein of your eye has shed blood from  
desire for the cup of red wine

You are corrupt like the wind, you stand paralysed like the earth  
You are a pearl of transitory existence a shell empty mouthed  
With breath like the burning lightning you are the enchanter  
of bad and good with heart like a flint, you are the  
whetstone of dry and moist

Naturally with desire you revolve like the sky in its figure-  
designing, from your youth hastening with greed, you are  
like a child in weakness

You carry the sorrow of the seven (heavens) and the four  
(elements) in your heart, and every moment from pride you  
are put to a hundred thousand devices in the performance  
of one genuflection

You are as coarse as the earth, and yet your speech is always  
of the moon in the heavens, you will not reach<sup>4</sup> the dignity  
of a king from the station of a doorkeeper

<sup>1</sup> The Wazir at chess

The Wazir having a straight move can be placed on all the squares which  
shows the great honour and advantage attached to rectitude of conduct  
Bland On the Persian game of chess J R A S XIII p 11

<sup>2</sup> The seven labours of Isfandiar, see the *Shah Nama* (Turner Macan)  
Vol II pp 1126 and seqq

<sup>3</sup> Gurkha, the hereditary title of the kings of the Kara Khans, the mean-  
ing of the title being universal king It must not be confounded with the  
title of Gurkan which was a Mongol title bestowed upon all who were allied  
by marriage with the house of Chingiz Khan

See *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* Elfas and Ross p 278 note

<sup>4</sup> MS. A دروسی I prefer دروسی as in the text

You yourself owing to frivolity have not attained even for a moment, freeing yourself from the imperfections of the world, to the religious duties at stated times.

From the advice of the holy men may you be informed at least once, that in these two worlds at any rate<sup>1</sup> you are famous for creating dissensions.

Perversity springs from your heart as pride springs from foolishness. Evil arises from your body as rashness does from youth.

You are the moisture of the gullet of hypocrisy, the blast of the forge of tyranny, you are the flower of the garden of inordinate desire, and the mud which befouls the reservoir of the soul.

When present you melt the soul, perchance you spring from the heat of Tamūz<sup>2</sup>; in your ode you scatter snow<sup>3</sup> perchance you are of the breath of autumn.

You like a child seek throughout your life after vain images; from your fancifulness the sorrows of time have made you old in your youth.

Poetry is but a desire, and its metre is like the mirage which is void of water. This breath of life is grief to me, but its savour is better than the water of life.

When your desire becomes collected that fancy becomes enjoyment, when your breathing is harmonious, it becomes a scatterer of pearls.

How long this desire of the imagination? make one breath pearl-scattering in praise of that man whose equal wisdom has not seen even from the beginning.

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) باری.

<sup>2</sup> *Tamūz*. The fourth month of the Jewish year originally sacred to the god Tammūz; see Ezekiel viii. 14 “and behold there sat women weeping for Tammūz,” Tammūz was a deity of the Phœnicians called by the Greeks and Romans Adonis. The word signifies “dissolution” or “diffusion” see Gesenius s. v. תָּמֹׂם. See also Albiruni’s Chronology, (Sachan) pp. 68–82. Tammūz was coincident with the sun’s position in Cancer which is called the heroscepe of the world because by its creation the creation of the four elements became complete, and by their becoming complete all growth became complete (Albiruni). Corresponds to our July, the hottest month of the Persian summer.

<sup>3</sup> When any one’s speech is not considered pleasing the Persians say of him كلامش یخ است. *Kalāmash yakh ast.* His speech is ice.

The King of the throne of "Kun"<sup>1</sup> is Muhammad who pitched the tent of dignity by the side of the door of the Protector (God) from the house of Ummahāni.<sup>2</sup>

He was a mortal of angelic beauty, a sky with the lowness of earth. Like the sky he was pure in body, like the Angels he was pure in soul.

He was a pearl whose place was in the treasury of God, and he was a moon whose brightness shone forth from the sky of eternity.

He was such a pearl that nothing of more value than his nature was ever produced by the medium of the elements from the sea of heaven.

He was such a moon that in every early morning the face of the star of Yaman became black as coal<sup>3</sup> from shame at his cornelian-like lips.

So sweet tongued a prophet that the salvation of his disciples comes by faith in his words,<sup>4</sup> from the eloquence of his utterances.

So eloquent in pearl-like speech that the beauty of his utterance makes the heart's blood like the hidden wealth of the mine, a royal treasure.

The brightness of the eastern sun is shamed by the beauty of his face, and the stature of the cypress of the garden is bowed before the perfect uprightness of his form.

75.

<sup>1</sup> In the technical language of Sufi philosophy كن Kun is called عالم 'âlam-<sup>1</sup>-amr the world of the order, or potentiality. فكان salâna called عالم خلق 'âlam-<sup>1</sup>-khâlg the world of creation, or the material world.

<sup>2</sup> Ummahāni, daughter of Abn Tâlib, the uncle of Muhammad, and sister 'Ali. The reference is to the nocturnal journey of Muhammad called معراج mi'râj (the ascent) which took place from the house of Ummahāni.

When Muhammad awoke from his Vision in which he seemed to have prayed in the temple of Jerusalem, Ummahāni attempted to prevent him from going out of the house and telling the Vision to others, thus exposing himself to mockery from unbelievers See Mmir Life of Muhammad II 220.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) (B) چو شبہ میاہ گشتی. The text as it stands is meaningless.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) بعیده زبانش. The text and MS. (B) have بعیده زبانش which is evidently wrong for two reasons. Firstly, because of the sense of the passage, and secondly, the قبیلیس between بعیده and زبانش :

By his accountantship he has adopted the way of absolute monarchy ; and by his eloquence he has opened the door of auspicious government.

The attraction of secret desire, by revelation has drawn him from the expanse of the natural world to the ocean of spiritual existence.

By the good tidings of his friend, his heart became intoxicated with the hope of a meeting. The son of Abū Qahāfah<sup>1</sup> has drunk from the cup of his friendship.

His speeches have founded a fortress<sup>2</sup> for the decrees of God.<sup>3</sup>  
‘Umar by his justice became the builder of it, by right  
government.

One, third in order,\* has placed the footstep in this way, whose path to the enjoyment of this world was not obstructed by pride.

His fourth pillar was 'Ali<sup>5</sup> who at the time of battle made  
the face of the sun pale from the glitter of his sword.

Oh, King ! I entreat you by your friends deliver me during the whole of my life<sup>6</sup> by your aid from the calamity of foolish friends.

He who demanded from me<sup>7</sup> this Qaṣīda, may his life like my  
Qaṣīda be ornamented with the jewels of meaning —.

<sup>1</sup> Abū Bakr, whose original name was Abdul Ka'bah Ibn Abī Qahāfah. He was the companion of Muḥammad in his flight to Medina.

<sup>2</sup> **लूज**. A frontier fortress. The same word is used in more recent times to signify a traveller's rest house or caravansarāi.

فَضَائِيْ حَقٌّ رَّاْ قَضَائِيْ حَقٌّ رَاْ<sup>۲</sup> MS. (B). If we read we must translate  
“for the expanse of the truth he has founded a rampart.”

<sup>4</sup> عثمان 'Uṣmān the third Khalifa, who was rich and thus able to enjoy مَنَعَ إِبْنَ جَهَانِي the good things of this life.

<sup>5</sup> ذُولَفَّار MS. (A). 'Alī the fourth Khalif whose sword Zū'l-fiqār. (See note 2 page 74), was brought by Gabriel to Muhammad from heaven, and by him given to 'Alī.

<sup>6</sup> Text همہ عمر وارهانی MS. (A) reads همہ شموار هانی and MS. (B) همہ نمر وارهانی both of which are wrong. Only the first half of the Qasīda is given in the *Majma'ul Fusahā*.

نَهْ مِنْ إِنْكَهْ 7 Text MSS. (A) (B) have

The following Qasida also he wrote, imposing upon himself the necessity of introducing the words "hair" and "ant," in a declaration of the unity of God and in praise of the Prophet, *may the peace of God be upon him*

Although with my tongue, I split hairs at the time of discourse, still in the praise of God, by reason of amazement, I am dumb as the ant. 76

<sup>1</sup> And in the pursuit of the fairy-faced ones with chainlike locks, through desire often have I bound fast, like the ant, my life to my waist with my heart.

And for the sake of the ant-eyed and sugar lipped ones, in my fancy I have bound the hair of speech a hundred ways by way of trial

That I might have a store like the ant,<sup>2</sup> in his praise I have cleft the hair into halves, and have not received one jot from any one in recognition

Henceforth, like the ant, I will gird my loins at the door of the Incomparable one, and from the root of each hair,<sup>3</sup> with a hundred tongues will I proclaim his gracious aid

How can I open my lips, I that am voiceless as an ant and a fish? Nay rather will I make each hair a tongue to scatter pearls.

With this ant-like writing and those sugar-like words,<sup>4</sup> by means of poetical arrangement I will split the hair in the declaration of the unity of God the discerner of secrets

That God to whose workmanship even several hair bears witness, and all that exists, ant and fish and snake, wild beasts and birds, men and genii<sup>5</sup>

He who alone is self-existent, and is not within the bounds of computation, from whose wisdom<sup>6</sup> in both worlds nothing is hidden, neither the track of the ant nor the point of the hair

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) ورپی

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) چو موری

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) ورین هرمون ترویجش

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) لفظی چون شکرار

<sup>5</sup> Insert و in text after وحش MSS (A) (B)

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) بیس ارعامش

If, though as a single hair, His favour is shed upon the egg of an ant, from it there will issue in a single moment a hundred Jamshids, each one like a hundred Jamshids.

If, though as a single hair, he lets fall his wrath upon an elephant, the elephant will experience that which the cub of the raging lion suffers from the ant.<sup>1</sup>

The intellect herein cannot understand, even by a hair's breadth, the reason why the offspring of the powerful lion should become the prey of the powerless ant.

In his decree there is not the space of a hair's point open to criticism, even though he should give the kingdom of a Solomon to an ant without recompense.<sup>2</sup>

By his decree, the shape of the ant and the lion are similar, and by his art the colour of hair and bone are opposites.

By his grace it is that every hair has knowledge of him, and from his equity it comes to pass that there is a <sup>3</sup> guardian over every ant, that <sup>3</sup>dust in the palm is endowed with chemical properties, and water in the sea becomes converted into pearl;<sup>4</sup> that the ant appears to the eye as a dragon, and a hair of the limbs as a spear.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is said that the ants attack the newly born lion cub as yet unprotected by hair and kill it. The Arabs call the ant ابو مشغول Father Busy and مère نبوة Mother Turnabout, and have some curious legends about them and regard them with somewhat of superstitious awe. They say that to see in a dream ants entering a house betokens prosperity to its owner, while to see ants crawling on the carpet betokens prolific offspring. The appearance of flying ants in a house where there is a sick person betokens his death, and on no account, they say, should ants be permitted to crawl over any one lying sick (*Haiṭū-l-Haiwā*). They say also that the ant has no stomach, and that it lives upon the air it breathes, and that it never sleeps.

<sup>2</sup> See Qur'ān, xxvii. 15-20.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) مَدْفُونٌ

<sup>4</sup> قَطْرَاتُ نِيَسَانٍ *Qatrat-i-Naisān*. The drops of rain falling in the month of Naisān are said when received into the shell of the oyster to become converted into pearls (*Ghīyāṣu-l-lughāt*). Naisān (*Burhān-i-Qūṣi*) or Nisān was the first month of the Jewish year corresponding to the month of April, see Exodus xii. 2, xiii. 4; Albirūnī, Chronology (Sachau) 62, and seqq.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) مَبُورٌ دُرْجَشْمَ ازْدَهَا وَمُوَى بِرْ اعْصَمَا سَنَانٌ

Oh Thon hy whose power hair and blood and bone take shape,

Oh Thou<sup>1</sup> who art surely for the daily supply of food to  
bird and ant and snake and fish.

In the body of every ant there is an exact account of thy  
equity, on the point of each hair there is a boundless praise  
of thy bounty.

The eye of thy mercy provides<sup>2</sup> sustenance for every ant and  
locust. The hand of thy favour tints the hair of all both  
old and young.

The pen of thy skill shows<sup>3</sup> that of which a manifest sign  
is shewn on the body of every ant, and appears on the end  
of every hair.

The mole on the cheek of the bride appears like spots on a  
mirror.

The hair on the face of kings appears like ants upon the  
Arghawan.<sup>4</sup>

By thy order it is that the stomachless ant is hungry in  
the way.

By this bounty it is that the motionless hair upon the body  
is satisfied.

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) وی

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) عین فصلت پایی مورد The reading in the text پایی مورد  
is preferable.

<sup>3</sup> MSS (A) (B) صفات نمایند

<sup>4</sup> The Arghawan, or (Arabic) Arjanwan is according to the *Makkanu-l-Adiya*, a tree which grows in Persia, bearing a brilliantly red flower of beautiful hue but slight odour, having a sweetish taste. It is used as a dessert by the Persians by whom it is regarded as an exhilarant, and as clearing the voice. Its wood is soft and light [The article from which the above is extracted may be consulted for an account of its properties].

The *Burhan-i-Qutb*<sup>5</sup> states that a drink is made from the flowers which relieves the after effects of drinking, and the ashes of the burnt wood are used as a hair dye and hair restorer.

Vulgar Lexicon Pers. Lat states p 81 *Hao arbore designari videtur arbor*  
*Iudea*, i.e. *Cercis siliquastrum* (Linn.), cf J A S 1845, Dec p 457

That the dye obtained from it is of blood colour appears from the poem (*Mu'allaqah*) by Ibn Kul'aum, where he writes

کان نیا ندا و مدهم حصین نار حوان او طلیبا

As though both our garments and theirs had been dyed or besmeared with  
Arjuean

<sup>1</sup> He who did not turn away <sup>2</sup> his head from your door even by a hairs' breadth, the ant, although tongueless, began to praise him like the lizard.<sup>3</sup>

When he like the ant became sleepless and fasting in devotion to you then without doubt with the sword of the finger he split the moon into two parts like a hair.<sup>4</sup>

He was a sign like the true dawn, hair-splitting in his speech. His followers were as successful as ants in opposing the scorpions of religion.

The silvery body of the seven heavens, would become (black) like ants, when he cast aside the covering from his dark locks.

<sup>1</sup> The poet passes on from the praise of the Almighty to praise Muhammad.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) سرپنچید The metro shows this reading to be right.

<sup>3</sup> This story is related as follows in the *Haiātu-l-Qulāb* ;—

One day the Prophet was sitting alone when an Arab came who had caught a lizard and had it in his sleeve. He asked the people who that was sitting there, they answered God's prophet; he replied, addressing Muhammad, "I swear by Lāt and 'Uzzā that I consider you my greatest enemy and were I not under an oath to my tribe, I would certainly kill you." The prophet said "Accept the true faith." The Arab cast the lizard from his sleeve and said "I will never accept the faith till this lizard does." Then the prophet spoke to the lizard saying, "Oh thou lizard." The lizard answered him in choice Arabic saying "I am thy servant, Oh thou ornament of the Muslims." The prophet asked "Whom dost thou worship?" He replied "That God who is in Heaven and Earth, whose kingdom is in the earth and his wonders in the sea, and his marvels in the deserts. Him I worship who knows what is in the womb, and has established his punishment in the fire." The prophet asked "Who am I?" the lizard replied, "Thou art the prophet of the upholder of the world, and the seal of prophecy. He is rightly guided who believes in thee, and he is lost who denies thee." The Arab said—"I require no more cogent proof than this; when I approached thee, I had no greater enmity to any one than to thyself, but now I hold thee dearer than my life, my father and my mother." (*Haiātu-l-Qulāb* by Aghā Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisi.)

<sup>4</sup> شق القمر See Qur'ān, Sūrah 54. "The hour draws nigh, and the moon is split asunder" (Sacred Books of the East Vol. IX). In the حیات القلوب *Haiātu-l-qulāb* a MS. copy of which dated 25th Zūl Hijjah 1087 A. H. (1676 A. D.) is before me. I find the following account of the miracle performed by the prophet Muhammad at Mekka. "The tribe of Qoréish sought as a sign from Muhammad the performance of some miracle; the prophet pointed to the moon and by the power of God Most High it split into two halves. A trustworthy Ḥadīṣ by Ḥazrat Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq has come down to us, relating that fourteen infidels who were desirous of working



For the ants of religion he carried away so much provision  
that there remained on the point of each hair an evidence  
of that bounty<sup>1</sup> for ever and ever.

Oh thou Creator, I have made every hair a tongue, but yet  
like an ant I complain in my heart of my voicelessness  
to sing thy praise.

If thou hadst illumined the eye of the ant like the thread  
of hair, without the permission<sup>2</sup> of thy mercy this caravan  
would not have passed.

I am like an ant in water; or like a hair in the fire, because  
this sugar-scattering mind of mine is not fit for this relation.<sup>3</sup>

I have the foot of effort in the stirrup of devotion to you  
like the ant; as long as one single hair remains of me<sup>4</sup>  
I will not desist from this endeavour.

How can my burden be in the least degree lightened apart  
from thy consent? How can I gird my loins like the ant  
through avarice,<sup>5</sup> in the service of this one or that?

Although like the ant I have been crushed by the (iron)  
hand of desire

Yet I never contemplated the slightest idea of profit or loss  
apart from thee.

Since this is from thee I am happy, although my heart is  
distraught and pained; my heart is like the eye of the ant  
and my<sup>6</sup> condition is like the hair of the heart-ravishing  
one.

If the ant brought the foot of a locust into the presence of  
Solomon, Shihāb would have come headlong to thy door  
with the feet of his soul about his head as hair.

The ant of thy generous table O Sālīḥ showed him (Shihāb)  
that path of rectitude.

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) نعمت.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. (A) (B) بی جواز.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. (A) (B) داستان.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. (A) (B) مور دارم یک موی من ماند.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. (A) (B) از حرص پیش این و آن.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) و حالم.

O Lord! grant him protection in crossing that hair like  
bridge<sup>1</sup> over the fire

On the point of each hair of his you have a hundred favours,  
for this reason that the heart of an ant is not vexed by  
him by so much as a hair's breadth in the world

Oh Lord! keep a watch upon the enemy of the King's dominions,  
for this is best, that he should be as a hair in the fire  
and as an ant in the running water

And he also wrote in praise of Salqān Ruknud Dīn Firoz 80  
imposing upon himself the necessity of introducing four things<sup>2</sup>  
as follows —

Every moment this old wolf lion-hearted infant-eating<sup>3</sup>  
Does with me that which the elephant and rhinoceros do at  
the time of contest

The elephant like sky wears away my body as does the  
rhinoceros

The time like a lion takes away my patience like a wolf  
I have not the strength of the rhinoceros, and the sky is like  
a fierce elephant towards me.

It displays the boldness of a lion like the old wolf of the time.  
The elephant did not so treat the rhinoceros, nor did the wolf  
so treat the sheep

As the lion-like heaven treated this being who is thin as  
hair from oppression

The Lion of the sky has the craft of the wolf and the strength  
of the rhinoceros

For this cause he heaps pain continually on my heart like the  
load of an elephant

<sup>1</sup> The Sirat or bridge across the fire of Hell. The Sirat or bridge crossing the infernal fire is described as finer than a hair and sharper than a sword and is beset with briars and sharp thorns. The righteous will pass over it with the swiftness of the lightning but the wicked will soon miss their footing and will fall into hell fire.

See Hughes, *Dict of Islam*, art Sirat. See also Quran I, 5

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) حرم ملک شاہ را بار بگامش دار دے

<sup>3</sup> The words کرگ karg rhinoceros, گورگ gurg wolf, شیر shir lion, قیل qil elephant

\* M8 (A) هر رعایت اس پیر گرگ شیر ڈوی طعل حوار

A maddened elephant<sup>1</sup> is this wolf-haired rhinoceros.  
Even if mankind are like male lions still sooner or later he  
effects their ruin.

The sky, the overthower of the rhinoceros, the conqueror of  
the lion, if, in play, like the wolf it brings against the life  
of Rustum a strong move like "pilband."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) بیل مسنت سوت.

<sup>2</sup> پیلبند A stratagem in the game of chess. See Albirūnī (India) I. 183-184. The فیل or elephant it appears had the same mobility as the queen does in our modern game, that is it commanded both rank and diagonal.

There was one pawn known as the Piyādā-i-Aslī or original pawn, which had certain privileges attached to it. It was permitted once in the course of the game to remove to any square on the board where it might inflict the greatest injury on the adversary, as by attacking two pieces at once—"forking" them as chess players call it: under certain combinations this pawn was utilised to give mate. Thus in Auhadī's Life of Khwāja 'Ali Shāfrānji we find

خواجہ دهقان علی شطرنجی کہ چون رخ بعروصہ وکرت نہادی شاہان  
سخن را دو اسپ و فیل طرح دادی منصوبہ باز خیال در فیلبند حیرت پیادہ مات  
افتادی

"When he moved his Rukh in the Board of imagination he gave the odds of two Knights and the Bishop to the kings of rhetoric: the strategist of imagination fell into the pawn's mate from the "Filband" of confusion."

This فیلبند was explained to me by a Muhammadan friend, a chess player, thus: suppose the white king at his own square, and a hostile pawn on his second square guarded by Black Bishop at Q. Kt. 4, the adversary brings his other Bishop to Q. R. 4 (ch) mate, white having other moves, but none which can prevent this final move of the Black Bishop.

The *Bahr-i 'Ajam* gives the following definition of پیلبند.

پیلبند نام یکی از منصوبهای شطرنج- و پیلبند دادن عبارت از مات کردن  
بکشت پیل \*

Pilband is the name of a manœuvre in chess. "To give pilband" means to mate by giving check with the Bishop (Pil).

چو در چنگ پیلان گشائی کمند  
دشی شلا قنسوج را پیلبند

When in contest with elephants thou disengagest thy noose. Thou defeat-  
est the king of Qanauj with the "pilband" (Nizāmī)..

The wolf of my patience casts off from him the waterproof like a lion, if the elephant of this coerulean castle has made me over to his charge like a rhinoceros.

The lion of the sky, like the elephant in colour, a wolf by a nature, takes and tears to pieces the armour of my patience like the hide of the rhinoceros.<sup>1</sup>

Last night when the lion of the sky became elephant coloured in the hide of the rhinoceros, countless Josephs<sup>2</sup> appeared from the witches of the heaven.

My life is in the hands of the lion, and under the foot of the rhinoceros of pain, until from the elephant bodied sky the tail of the wolf<sup>3</sup> became evident.

The claw of the lion and the horn of the rhinoceros, the tears of the elephant and the hair of the wolf.

Although these four are of use in making the amulet<sup>4</sup> of heart's attachment.

Of what use are the special properties of the lion and rhinoceros and the wolf and the elephant, when that silvery chequered one demands from me gold more than the weight of an elephant.

Since I do not possess the ferocity of the rhinoceros, the heart of the lion, and the breath of the wolf, I will go to meet my beloved with an elephant load of sorrow.

Jasān Dehlavi also says.

میہات کے پیلپنڈ عشقت

اسان اسان کشاد نتروان

Alas! that the "pilband" of thy love cannot easily be overcome.

For an excellent paper on the Persian Game of Chess by Bland, from which some of the above information is extracted, see J. R. A. S., Vol. XIII, pp. 1-70.

<sup>1</sup> This reading is in the text. MSS. (A) (B) have a different reading جوشن صبرم زچرم گرگ سارم ناز قار.

<sup>2</sup> i.e., when it became dark countless stars appeared. See Qur'an XII. 1-15.

<sup>3</sup> The morning Zodiacial light. A light which appears in the east before the true dawn. It is called also صبح کاذب. Subh-i-Kazib the false dawn; see J. R. A. S., July, 1878; also a name of one of the mansions of the moon called also شولہ Shaula. Burhān-i-Qidr.

<sup>4</sup> تعزید ta'wīz MS. (A). An amulet made of these four things is said to be efficacious in securing affection. We are reminded of the witches in Macbeth, "Scale of dragon, tooth of wolf," &c.



The reflection of thy elephant coloured<sup>1</sup> sword if it falls upon lion and wolf makes their eyes which are like the jujubes<sup>2</sup> of Gurgān to become like the pomegranate.

If the breeze of your lion-standard blows upon the dust of the world the maddened rhinoceros will seek shelter from the elephant, and the wolf from the sheep.

When thou brandishest<sup>3</sup> thy elephantine mace, the lion casts away its teeth, the wolf its claws, the rhinoceros its gall bladder, and the snake its head-stone.<sup>4</sup>

Rhinoceros-like in attack, wolf-like in gait, lion-like in bravery, elephant-like in body is thy steed, Oh hero! hundreds of thousands like Rustam are thy slaves.

Oh King!<sup>1</sup> in thy praise I have become more powerful than wolf and rhinoceros, lion and elephant, by the order of the Lord who rules the sky.

<sup>1</sup> MSS (A) (B) بیلکوں.

<sup>2</sup> لہب 'Unab, Ziziphus jujuba (N O Rhamnaceæ), a tree bearing an oval bacciferous fruit of a reddish colour called in Hindustani بیل بیل, nearly allied to the Lotus of the Lotophagi, both leaves and fruit were used by the Arabian physicians. According to the *Bahru l Jauzahir* the fruit is useful to purify the blood from evil humours, and is of service in dry coughs and roughness of the chest and lungs, also in pain in the kidneys and bladder. The lips of a mistress are compared to this fruit (*Burhan i Qu'at*)

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) درگواری

<sup>4</sup> مار مار The serpent is popularly supposed to carry a stone in its head. The Makhzan-i-Adwiya says — *Hajar u Haiphyah* (هجر و حایپا) called in Persian مار مار Muhra; Mar is of two kinds one a mineral which is known as مار مار Mar Muhra, some say that it is found in emerald mines. It has an emerald colour, inclined to black or ashy, shaped like a square signet stone, weight from one to two muggals.

The other is an animal product which is found in the harder part of the head of certain vipers. It is not found in all vipers, in fact it is only rarely found in any of them, when it is taken from the muscles it is soft, but in contact with the air becomes stony hard. In size it is about the size of half a shell, (cowrie) oblong in shape ashy coloured. Certain stones are black and hard, striped with three white stripes, others are white and soft. Some are artificial. In order to distinguish the good and true from the false, place it upon the bite of a snake, it will stick to it if genuine. If milk is poured on it, the milk becomes clotted and changed in appearance, and it is said that when some of them are placed in milk the milk does not become coagulated and when all the poison has been extracted by the stone it falls off, refusing

Thou art elephant-bodied, lion-conquering, thy mace if it so wishes, can place the rhinoceros firmly on the head of the sky like the tail of the wolf.<sup>1</sup>

That Wazir who to the punishment of the wolf of the sky has given his heart, like the rhinoceros and the elephant and the lion, instead of being confused,

Without the craft of the wolf, and the power of the rhinoceros, his determination strikes the head of the elephants with the driving hook<sup>2</sup> and brings sparks to the eyes of the lions.

In thy kingdom, Oh King ! from the strategy of thy caution the lion has laid aside its oppression, the wolf its deceit, and the rhinoceros its disorder through fear of thee,

Oh thou, whose order is like the decree of fate, thou from whose dignity the Emperor like Fate overcomes the rhinoceros, the wolf, the lion and the elephant.

Skin, and horn, and hair, and tear, of wolf, rhinoceros, lion and elephant will be of use in the way of life, and heart, and nature, and speech.

3.

to adhere any longer, and does not coagulate milk. Whilst it is extracting the poison its colour changes, and when it is thrown into milk it returns to its original condition.

Another test is, when you rub it upon black or blue woollen cloth the cloth becomes white, if rubbed very hard for a long time the cloth becomes black and all whitening disappears.

Another test: When it is placed in a porcelain vessel in lemon juice, it begins to move in a circular fashion. This test is not peculiar to this stone, but most shells and snails too, shew the same phenomenon. (*Makhzanu-l-Adwiyā*).

The *Bahrū-l-Jawāhir* says only

جَرْ الْحَيَةُ حِبْرُ الْفَادِزْهُرُ مَا هُوَ تَقِيلٌ أَسْوَدٌ وَ مَا هُوَ رَمَادِيٌّ  
وَ مَا هُوَ فَيْدَةٌ نَلْدَهُ خَطْوَتُهُ

*Hajarū-l-Haiyyah.* The stone Pādzahr (Bezoar stone,) some kinds are heavy and black, some are ashen-grey, and some have three stripes.

<sup>1</sup> See note 3, page 115.

<sup>2</sup> کھڑک MS. (A). The hook or goad with which elephants are driven called in Hindi अङ्कुष *Āṅkuṣ*.

For your armour and shoes, when did the wolf natured sky  
select tears and skin from the elephant and lion and  
rhinoceros?

For that purpose again and again,<sup>1</sup> this old wolf from the  
elephant and lion and the rhinoceros, brings as an offering  
its hide and skin and teeth as a present of rare value.

The she-wolf drives away the lion<sup>2</sup> as a good omen,  
If in hunting it comes in sight of your rhinoceros conquering  
elephant

Elephant-bestower, I desire a desert place in Badra,  
Even though these regions are the abodes of the wolf and  
rhinoceros and the lion

As long as the lion and the elephant are co partners in awe,  
and the wolf and the rhinoceros are alike in wifing<sup>3</sup> so  
long may your wolf crafty enemy, Oh rhinoceros destroyer  
and elephant-like in strength,<sup>4</sup> be humbled in the dust  
before the lion of your portico

May your enemies hercft of life become like the lions and  
elephants and wolves and rhinoceros at the end of the  
stony line in the public baths<sup>5</sup>

### SULTAN RAZZIYAH BINT SULTAN SHAMSU'D DIN

Came to the throne in the year 631 H (1236 A D), and followed  
the path of equity and the principles of justice, set in order the  
affairs which had remained in confusion, and set before her the pur-  
suit of benevolence, (which is as great a fault in women as stinginess  
is in men) is the object of her ambition, and made Nizamul-Mulk

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) نو برو MS (B) bas تور

<sup>2</sup> Text and MS (B) MS (A) has در سکون to sight a jackal when going  
to the chase is considered a good omen, a snake or a sheep is considered a  
bad omen. The old wolf is held to represent craft and cunning while the  
lion represents strength. The meaning seems to be the triumph of stratagem  
over force

<sup>3</sup> مگرگ and مگرگ These words are exactly alike in writing

<sup>4</sup> MSS (A) and (B) پیل ایستاد

<sup>5</sup> The custom of ornamenting the walls of the public baths with frescoes  
of animals and other subjects obtains at the present time in Persia, as it did  
in ancient in the public baths of Greece and Rome. The walls and ceilings  
of the baths at Pompeii are an example of this



Tabarhindah, and on the way the Turki Amirs witnessing her immodest behaviour, rebelled, and seized both Sultan Razziyah and Jamalu d Din Yaqut the Abyssinian, who had risen to be the Chief Amir,<sup>1</sup> and confined them in the fortress of Tabarhindah.<sup>2</sup>

Seek not fidelity to its promise from the indolent world

For this old woman is the bude of a thousand lovers

<sup>3</sup> There is no sign of faithfulness to promise in the smile of the rose

Lament, Oh heart rost nightingale, for here is cause for complaint.

### SULTAN MUIZZU D DIN BAHRAM SHAH<sup>4</sup> IBN SHAMSU D DIN

Next succeeded to the throne and came to Delhi. At this time Malik Ikhtiyar d Din Altuniyah<sup>5</sup> the ruler of Tabarhindah having espoused the Sultan Razziyah, and having gained over certain of the Amirs and a body of the Jats<sup>6</sup> and Khukhars and all the land holders brought an army towards Delhi. Sultan Muizzu d Din Bahram Shah, sent the Malik<sup>7</sup> Balban the younger (who eventually became Sultan Ghayas d Din) with a vast army to oppose Razziyah, and a battle ensued in which the forces of Razziyah were defeated. She then went to Tabarhindah, and a second time collected her forces and rallied her scattered troops and arrived in the neighbourhood of the village of Katibah<sup>8</sup> with the intention of conquering Delhi, and again being defeated at the hands of the

<sup>1</sup> Rauzatu s Safa calls him Chief Commander of troops. For subsequent events up to death of Razziyah see Tabaq i : Nasri

<sup>2</sup> Tabaqat-i Nasir states that they put Jamalu d Din to death

<sup>3</sup> Hafiz Ode beginning میں سے جو قصر دیکھ دیا گیا ہے

See Diwan Hafis Rosenweig Schurmann I p. 30

<sup>4</sup> Son of Iyaltimiel

<sup>5</sup> Altun yah was appointed by Razziyah as feudatory of Baran (Bulandshahr) immediately upon her accession he was afterwards made feudatory of Tabarhindah. The account in the text differs slightly from that of the Tabaqat-i Nasri see Raverty 647 note 9

<sup>6</sup> Elliott I 507 Teiffenthaler II 206

<sup>7</sup> Malik Badru d Din Sankar Rumi had become Amir-i Hajib on the death of Ikhtiyar d Din. He was the patron of Ghayas d Din Balban for whom he obtained promotion to the dignity of Amir Akbar. The account in the text tallies with that given in the Tabaqat-i Albari but see Raverty 648 n. 2

<sup>8</sup> Kaithal Skr. Kapistala Lat 29° 48' 7 N Long 76° 26' 26 E 38 miles distant from Karnal about 100 miles N W of Delhi See Hunter, Gazetteer 309

Malik Balban the younger, took to flight and both she and Altūniyah fell into the hands of the Kawārs<sup>1</sup> and were put to death by order of Sultān Bahrām Shāh.

This event took place in the year 637 H. (1239 A.D.),<sup>2</sup> and the duration of the reign of Razziyah was three years six months and six days.

A head which the neck carries loftily  
That same head later finds a rope round its neck.

When the sovereign power was firmly established in the hands of Sultān Bahrām Shāh, Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Din Ītkīn who was formerly Hājib and was married to a sister of the Sultān, and had got all the affairs of the kingdom into his own hands by the assistance of Nizāmu'l-Mulk Muḥazzabu-d-Dīn, being accustomed always to keep a large elephant tied up at his door, like a king, was murdered in the year 638 H. together with Muḥazzabu-d-Dīn Wazīr, by certain Fidāis,<sup>3</sup> by the orders of the Sultān, and in this year the Sultān dealt with a party composed of Amīrs and chief men, and leading nobles, and grandes, and judges who used to hold secret meetings to discuss a change of monarchy and the appointment of a new king. Some of them he put to death, and

<sup>1</sup> The printed text and MS. (A) and MS. (B) all have کواران Kawārān. There is some little uncertainty as to the identity of this tribe. The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* says "Sultān Rażiyah with Malik Altūniyah fell captive into the hands of Hindūs" (See Raverty's translation page 648 and note 3.)

It seems probable that the Kawārān here spoken of were a tribe of Jāts otherwise known by the name of Gaṭwārūs. They are mentioned by Elliott, as holding villages in Gohana, in Sonipat Bangar and in the Doāb on the opposite side of the Jumna (see Elliott, *Races of the N. W. Provinces of India*, Vol I. page 126).

<sup>2</sup> 638 A.H. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. There is a confusion here in the dates.

Firishta says that the armies met on the 4th Rabi'ul Awwal 637 A.H., and that Razziyah and Altūniyah were put to death on the 25th of the same month. As Razziyah came to the throne in 634, 637 would seem to be the correct date but see Raverty, p. 648, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> فدائی چند is the reading of MS. (A). Firishta says "two Turks in a state of (feigned) intoxication." دو ترک بصورت مستان *Minhāju-s-Sirāj* writes, p. 192, Cal. Text دو نفر ترک مست را بر سر فدائی از بالای قصر فرو فرستاد. He sent two intoxicated Turks, after the manner of Fidāis, down from the roof of the palace. A Fidāī is one who voluntarily and cheerfully undertakes any enterprise which he knows will cost him his life. (*Burhān-i-Qāti'*) see Raverty *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* p. 651 n. 7.

sonic, as for example Bâdru d-Dîn Sangâi Amîr Hajîb<sup>1</sup> who went to Bâdaon where they died in prison. Among them was Qazî Jalâlu-d-Dîn Kashâwî, whom they removed from his military command and appointed Qazî of Bâdaon, and Qazî Shamsu d-Dîn the Qazî of Mârkîra<sup>2</sup> they threw under the feet of an elephant in the same way.

And in the year 639 H the troops of the Mughul Chingiz Khan came and invested the city of Lahore, and Malik Qaraqash the Governor of Lahore fled one day at midnight and came to Dehli, where the Sultân pledged the Amirs anew to fealty, and having summoned a conference sent Nizâmu l-Mulk<sup>3</sup> Wazîr, who at heart was not friendly to the Sultan, to oppose the Mughul force in the Panjab. He, with craft and hypocrisy wrote a letter to the Sultan and made many complaints of the Amirs who were with him, and begged the Sultan to come. The Sultan, however, not thinking it advisable to go in person, wrote a despatch to him in apparent sincerity, saying, "those recalcitrant Amirs shall meet their punishment in due time, you should treat them with clemency<sup>4</sup> till then." He showed that despatch in original to the Amirs and brought them over to his side, and the Sultan Mu'izzu d-Dîn Bahram Shah sent Ibrâhîm Shâfi'î l-Islâm Khwâja l-Khwajagân Quşbu d-Dîn Bâhlîyâr Ushî,<sup>5</sup> may God sanctify him, to the Amirs to put

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<sup>1</sup> Who had been appointed Amîr IJâjîb when Ikhâtiyâru d-Dîn was murdered.

<sup>2</sup> The MS (A) reads قاصی شمس الدین قاصی مرہڑہ را تے پائی دیل. Firishta writes which reading I follow.

قاصی شمس الدین و قاصی قصداً مارہڑہ را در پائی فیل ادراحت

Tabaqat i Nasirî gives the details of this circumstance and states that it was brought about by the machinations of a Durvessah who was jealous of Qazî Shamsu d-Dîn and had sufficient influence over Bahram Shah to compass his enemy's death.

He calls the town Mîhr (Raverty 657 and note 4), MS (A) has مرہڑہ Mârhîra

<sup>3</sup> Tabaqat i Nasirî states that the Sultan nominated Malik Quşbu d-Dîn Husain ibn Ali Ghuri together with the Wazîr the Khwâjah Muâzârabu d-Dîn for this purpose and that the letter referred to in the text was written by him (See Raverty 657, 608)

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) توراد کئے تا اپرماں نا اپشان مدارائی نکنی Carrying into effect the maxim مادرسان تلفظ نا دشمنان عذرا

<sup>5</sup> See Raverty p 658 note 2 Quşbu d-Dîn Ushî after whom the Quşbî minar of Dehli is called died in 633 H See Raverty 622 note 6

See also page 92, note 2 This was another man Sayyid Quşbu d-Dîn.

matters straight and to quell the disturbance, but without success; the Shaikhū-l-Islām returned and came to Dehlī, and just at this juncture Nizāmu-l-Mulk and the Amīrs also arrived and besieged the Sultān in Dehlī,<sup>1</sup> and taking him captive imprisoned him, and after a few days despatched him to the next world<sup>2</sup> and set up another king in his place.

The times of old have had this habit  
To take from this man and give to that.

The duration of his reign was two years and one month and fifteen days.

#### SULTĀN ALĀU-D-DĪN MAS'ŪD SHĀH IBN RUKNU-D-DĪN FIROZSHĀH

Having been released from prison by the consent of his uncles Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd and Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn, the sons of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, became king at the end of the year already mentioned (639 H.), after that 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban<sup>3</sup> (the elder) had occupied the throne for one day and had issued a proclamation. None of the Maliks or Amīrs had been satisfied with this arrangement and reverted to Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, and appointed Malik Quṭbu-d-Dīn Qasān as Deputy, and Malik Muḥazzabu-d-Dīn Nizāmu-l-Mulk Wazīr of the kingdom, and in the year 640 H. the Amīrs of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd put to death Nizāmu-l-Mulk the Wazīr.

One should not desire brief kingship like that of the rose  
For a torrent speedily breaks down a bridge.

The Wazirship was conferred upon Ṣadru-l-Mulk Najmu-d-Dīn Abū Bakr, and Malik Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban the younger who had at first been called Ulugh Khān and afterwards attained the dignity of Sultān,<sup>4</sup> became Amīr Hājib and in succession to him the governorship of Nāgor and Sind and Ājmīr was conferred

<sup>1</sup> On Saturday the 19th of Sha'bān 639 H. The siege lasted till the month of Zī Qa'dah (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 659).

<sup>2</sup> On the 13th of Zī Qa'dah 639 H.

<sup>3</sup> Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, see Raverty p. 775 and 660, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Malik Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban was dignified with the title of Ulugh Khān and made Deputy of the kingdom and leader of the troops in the year 647 H., but was deprived of his office in 650-51 H. He was Amīr Akhūr till 642 H. when he became Amīr Hājib.

See *Ain-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett) II. 298.

permanently upon Malik 'Izzu d Din Billban, the elder, Budaon was conferred upon Malik Tuju d-Din, and in this year 'Izzu d Din Tughla Khan who had advanced from Karrah<sup>1</sup> to the neighbourhood of Lakhnauti sent Sharifa I Malik Ashrafi to the Sultan 'Alau-d-Din with a written despatch, the Sultan then sent a red canopy and a special robe of honour in charge of the Governor of Oudh<sup>2</sup> for 'Izzu d Din Tughla Khan who was in Lakhnauti and having brought both his uncles aforementioned out of confinement, assigned the district of Qanauj to Malik Jalalu d Din, and Bahraij to Malik Nagira d-Din Mahmud, who acquitted themselves in those districts to his satisfaction. And in the year 1421, the Mughul forces<sup>3</sup> arrived in the district of Lakhnauti, the assumption is that the Mughuls must have come by way of Tibat and Khitā, and Sultan 'Alau d Din sent Timur Khan Qara Beg<sup>4</sup> to the assistance of Tughla Khan and the Mughuls were defeated. Hostility arose between Tughla Khan and Malik Qutb in, Tughla Khan came to Delhi, and Lakhnauti remained in the hands of Timur Khan<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The printed text has كرها but MS (A) has كرار which is correct. Karrah is on the right bank of the Ganges Lat 25° 31' N Lon. 81° 24' E (see Hunter, Ind. Gaz.) Vol VIII Before this time Karrah was the seat of government.

<sup>2</sup> Qazi Jalalu d Din Kasani (Tabaqat-i-Nasiri)

<sup>3</sup> This is an error which has according to Raverty been handed on from author to author. The way the mistake originated is pointed out by him in his note 8 on p 66.

The original reading was كفار حاصدار *Kufar Haṣṣadār* *hujr-i-Jaynagar* which by some strange perversion became كفار حنكر حان *Kufar Ḥanqar ḥan* thence to كفار حنقر حان *Kufar Ḥanqar ḥan* and so to our author's statement.

Jajnag or Jajpur on the Baitarani river in Orissa capital of the province under the Li n Dynasty the Gajpati or Lords of Elephants (Ind. Akbari II 219 n 1) (see Ind. Gaz Vol VII and Stat. Acc of Bengal XVIII 80-81).

The كفار حاصدار Infidel hordes of Jajnagar were of course Hindus and not Mughuls hence the assumption in the text to account for their presence before Lakhnauti is as unnecessary as it is absurd.

<sup>4</sup> The real name of Timur Khan Qara Beg as he is called in the text, is Malik Qamaru d Din Qiran i Timur Khan and he is the Malik Qiran referred to a line or two later. In other words Malik Qiran and Timur Khan are one and the same person. In the text قیران is a misprint for قیاران MS (1). See also Raverty 66 n 9.

In this year the Mughūl army<sup>1</sup> arrived in the vicinity of Uchh and assaulted it, and the Sultān proceeding by forced marches with all possible speed, reached the banks of the river Biāh, and the Mughūls raising the siege of Uchh took to flight; the Sultān on reaching Delhī took to arresting and putting to death to such an extent that the Amīrs and nobles turned against him, and agreed to summon Malik Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Shamsu-d-Dīn from Bahrāij, and upon his arrival at Delhī in the year 644 H., they threw Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Dīn Mas‘ūd into prison and he speedily<sup>2</sup> exchanged that confinement for the prison house of eternity.

This is the way of the changeable world.

In kindness it gives and it robs you in wrath.

9. The duration of his reign was four years and one month.

SULTĀN NĀSIRU-D-DĪN MAHMŪD IBN SHAMSU-D-DĪN IYALTIMISH

Succeeded to the sovereignty in the year 644 H. (1246 A.D.) and the Wazīrship was conferred upon Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban the younger, who was in reality great, and was the slave and son-in-law of the father of Nāṣiru-d-dīn.<sup>3</sup>

At the time of his accession great largesse was given, and the poets recited many congratulatory odes from some of which the following verses are taken—

<sup>1</sup> 1244 A.D. This was really a Mughūl force, under the command of "the accursed Mungūtah" (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*).

<sup>2</sup> On the 23rd of Muḥarram 644 H. (1246 A.D.).

His reign extended to a period of four years, one month and one day (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*).

<sup>3</sup> Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish.

Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd son of Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish was born at the Qaṣr Bāgh in Delhi in the year 626 H. (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*).

It will be remembered that he was the second son of Iyaltimish to bear the name of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, which was given him upon the death of his elder brother (see p. 94) in 626 A. H. (see *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Cal. Text p. 201, l. 18.)

He was a man of quiet and retiring disposition and spent most of his leisure in making manuscript copies of the Qurān. Thomas (*Pathān Kings*) thinks that this faculty "possibly had its influence on the execution and finish of the legends of his coinage, which display a remarkable advance on the earlier mintages in the fineness of the lines and the improved definition of the Persian characters" (p. 125).

That great Lord who is a Hatim in generosity and a Rustum  
in energy.

Nasū i Dunyā wa Dīn Mahmud ibn Iyāl-timish

That great world conqueror, the roof of whose palace is the  
heaven

In the height of his dignity this lower sphere is his vestmō  
How can we measure the glory the *Sikka* acquires from his  
auspicious titles<sup>1</sup>

Or how compute the exultation of the *Khuqabah* at the mention  
of his happy name

The records of his equity and his laudable qualities are evident  
from the book called *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*<sup>2</sup> which was composed in his  
honour

The Sultan entrusted all the affairs of the kingdom to Ghiyas-  
d-Din Balban and in giving him the title of Ulugh Khan said, "I  
deliver into thy hands the reins of absolute authority, beware lest  
thou commit thyself to any evil action,<sup>3</sup> for tomorrow thou wilt be  
at a loss in the presence of Almighty God and thou wilt bring  
shame upon me and upon thyself" The Sultan himself would  
generally retire into his chamber and occupy himself in devotion,  
and reading the Qur'an and in repeating the sacred names of God  
*may He be glorified and exalted*, and it is currently reported  
that on the occasion of a public audience he used to clothe  
himself from head to foot in regal apparel, while in private he used  
to wear an old ragged garment, and they also say that he used to  
devote his time to the copy of the Qur'aū which he was writing,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> His titles as given in the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* were

As-Sultān-i A'zam-i Mu'miqūn Nasūr-i Dunyā wa d-Dīn, Ahu-i-Mu-  
azzīfār-i Ma'hmūd Shah ibn-i Sultān Iyāl-timish Yāmin-i Khalifatu llah Naṣīr-i  
Amīr-i Mumīnūn

The *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* of Minḥajū's Siraj was written in his court and  
dedicated to him hence its name

<sup>2</sup> *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* of Minḥajū's Siraj is a general history up to 658 H  
composed by Abu Umar Minḥajū d-Dīn Usmaṇ ibn Shājū d-Dīn al-Juzjānī  
See Elliott II 259 An English translation by Major Raverdy has been pub-  
lished in the Biblioteca Indica by the Asiatic Society of Bengal

<sup>3</sup> ذہار کاری و دنکنی

<sup>4</sup> Ibn-i-Batuta states in his history (French edition, Vol III, p 169).

وَكَانَ مِلْكًا صَالِحًا يَسْعَى نَسْعَى مِنَ الْكُتُبِ الْعَرَبِيَّةِ وَبَيْعَهَا فِي قَنَاطِيلِ شَمْهِرَاءِ  
وَقَدْ وَقَعَ عَلَيْهِ الْقَاصِي كَهَالَ النَّسْ عَلَى مَصَفَّفٍ لَحْطَةٍ مَنْقَشَعٍ مَحْكُمَ الْكَتَلَةِ



the Khukhars<sup>1</sup> and other contumacious tribes, joined the Sultān and returned to Dehli, and in the year 645 H, having taken Miwat<sup>2</sup> turned his attention to the country of the Doab, and the same year having sent Ulugh Khan from the confines of Karrah to oppose and overthrow the rebels of that district, arrived at Dehli with great spoil.

And in the year 646 A H, he proceeded against Rantanhur, and having punished the seditious tribes of those districts he returned, and in the year 647 H, he married the daughter of Ulugh Khan.

Then in the year 648 H, he took an army towards Multan, and after some days Maḥk Izzu d Dīn Balban-i Buzurg, the Governor of Nāgor, withdrew his foot from the circle of allegiance and rebelled,<sup>3</sup> but when the Sultan proceeded thither, he begged for pardon and joined the Court.

And in the year 649 H he marched in the direction of Gwalior and Chandāri and Malwa, and Jahīr Dev<sup>4</sup> the Rāj of that

<sup>1</sup> Khukhars, see Tieff I 104 and 105, Le district des salines est habité par les Khocares ce sont ceux qui tirent le sel des mines c'est un nation qui a quitté l'idolatrie pour embrasser le mahométisme See also this volume, p 67, n 3

<sup>2</sup> Text and MS (A) میوات Miwat This place is not mentioned in the *Tabaqat-i Nasirī*, it is mentioned in the *Ām-i Albarī* (I (Jarrett 307) as the place to which Nasrat Khan fled from Dehli when it was seized by Iqbal Khan, some 150 years later than the events recorded in the text

Tieffenthaler, Vol I, p 211, Mevat est un canton assez étendu borné par les provinces de Dehli et d'Adjmere et par les Districts de Djepour et de Dik It extends north and south from Badshapur to Harsana 47 miles and east and west from Dik to Narnol 57 miles' Alwar is about the centre of it now

Tieffenthaler goes on to say 'Cette contrée est habitée par beaucoup de Mahometans qui étaient ci devant gentils Elle appartenait auparavant aux Afghans dans le temps qu'ils régnoient à Dehli La Gouvernement passa ensuite aux Mogols Maintenant le Djat (Jats) s'en est approprié la plus grande partie et une partie est tombée au pouvoir du Rājah de Djepour (Jaipur) qui en a expulsé beaucoup d'habitans mahometans

He speaks of the abundance of Nim (*Melia azadirachta*) and Sissoo (*Dalbergia sissoo*) trees, and praises the cattle and horses of the country

He speaks of Narnol the capital city of the district, as having formerly been populous and flourishing See also Rennell's Memoir (1788) p 75

<sup>3</sup> *Tabaqat-i Nasirī* says this occurred in 649 H, which is more probably correct, as it is the account of a cotemporary historian

<sup>4</sup> This Rāja is called in the *Tabaqat-i Nasirī*, Chahar Ajārī, he was independent sovereign of Narwar in A D 1246 (644 A H) under the name of Chahar Deva, his coins bearing the inscription चौ चारड देव. He was a very powerful Rāja (see Thomas 67 et seqq and Raverty 690 note 1)

country with five thousand cavalry and 200,000 infantry came out to meet him and gave battle to the Sultān in great force, but was defeated and the fort of Narwar<sup>1</sup> was taken. And in this year Sher Khān Governor of Multān, and Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban who had left Nāgōr with reinforcements for him reduced the fortress of Uchh, and Sher Khān remained in the fortress, while Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban came to pay his respects to the king, and received from him as a *jāegir* the districts of Budāon and was given the title of Kashlū Khān.

And in the year 650 H. (1252 A.D.) he left Dehli intending to proceed to Lahore, and from there he went to Multān and Uchh, and in this expedition Kashlū Khān accompanied the Sultān as far as the river Biāh.

And in the year 651 H. marching from Dehli, he detailed forces to act against Tabarhindah and Uchh and Multān of which Sher Khān had lost control, and of which the Sindhīs held possession; and having regained possession of them, handed them over to the charge of Arsalān Khān and returned. And in the year 652 H. having assembled an army on the confines of the country at the foot of the hills<sup>2</sup> of Bijnor, and having crossed the Ganges by

<sup>1</sup> Narwar.—In the *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, we find the Sarkar of Narwar as having 500 Cavalry, 20,000 Infantry. Narwar itself had a stone fort (see also Raverty 690, note 1).

In the text بُرْج is a misprint for بُرْج MS. (A).

Narwar. Tieff. I. 175 gives a sketch plan of the fortress of Narwar and a long description from which the following note is abridged.

A town of moderate size about  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile long and ten in breadth, protected in his time (about 1780 A.D.) with stone walls, but formerly unprotected. Latitude  $25^{\circ} 30' N.$  Longitude taken from the Islands of the Blest  $93^{\circ} 24'$ . (Cf. *Aīn-i-Akbarī* [Jarrett] III. 60.) Houses well and substantially built with flat roofs.

It has four gates, and there was a Christian family of Armenian stock who had built a palace, and a chapel where a Jesuit father said mass. The fortress was built upon a mountain having two peaks or spurs running parallel North and South.

He considers it must have been impregnable in old times before the invention of gunpowder "pour le malheur du genre humain et la ruine des villes."

A good supply of water is furnished by a large tank paved and flanked with stone. He also speaks of a magnetic iron ore from which they procure iron by smelting for export in various forms, and a flint of a whitish colour and marvellous hardness used for flint locks.

<sup>2</sup> Of Bardār and Bijnor (*Tubaqāt-i-Nūṣirī*). In the text instead of

the "ford of Miāpur<sup>1</sup> and hugging the skirt of the mountain, reached the banks of the river Rahab,<sup>2</sup> and having taken much booty and made many prisoners, giving themselves up to rapine and making prisoners,<sup>3</sup> invaded the country of Kāthīar<sup>4</sup> going to Bidaon and from thence to Oudh, and hastened to the capital. And after some time news arrived that certain of the Amirs, namely Ulugh Khan<sup>5</sup> A'zīz, and Arsalan Khān and others, in concert with Malik Jalulu d-Dūr, the brother of the Sultan, had commenced hostilities in the vicinity of Tahār-hindah. The Sultan thereupon marched from Dehli, and in the neighbourhood of Tahār-hindah and Kuhrām and Kaithal,<sup>6</sup> by the intervention of a party of Amirs, the Amirs agreed to peace, and with many protestations and oaths suing for pardon came into submission to the Sultan, and the Sultan conferred upon Malik Jalulu d-Dūr the Governorship of Lahore, and proceeded to the capital. And in the year 653 H the feelings of the Sultan underwent a change with respect to his mother Mahkā-i Jahan. He gave Qutlugh Khan, to whom Mahkā-i Jahan was married, a *jdegh* in Oudh,<sup>7</sup> and a short time after turning against him also<sup>8</sup> sent him to Bahruj. He took fright at this and came to the hill country of Sir Mur, and Malik 'Izzu d-Dīn Kashlu Khān and certain other Amirs made common cause with him and laid the foundation of revolt, the Sultan

کوہ پارڈ سیدور لشکر مہمودیہ سور which is manifestly wrong I read کوہ پارڈ لشکر مہمودیہ سور as in MS (A)

<sup>1</sup> Here again the printed text is hopelessly wrong MS (A) reads as follows —

دار آپ گلک بگدر میا پور گذشہر which is intelligible and tallies with Tabaqat-i Nasiri. Where the reading حوالا پور in the text comes from, it is hard to say

<sup>2</sup> MS (A). The text reads تالب آپ راست رویدہ see Albiruni (India) (Sachau) II 261 also Elliott, I 40 as regards the Rahab

<sup>3</sup> و نتاراج راسی دادہ MS (A)

<sup>4</sup> The Calcutta text of the Tabaqat-i Nasiri calls this کنہیر Kaether. Our text has کنیہر Kashhar, MS (A) has کنیہر (?) MS (B) کشمیر (I) see Raverty 696 note 4

<sup>5</sup> See Elliott II p 354

<sup>6</sup> The printed text gives در اورڈہ It should be در اورڈہ MS (A)

<sup>7</sup> This should read در اندک مدت در بیرون تغیر نہ مودہ not as in the printed text

accordingly detailed Ulugh Khān Balban with a large army<sup>1</sup> to oppose them, and when the two forces had arrived within a short distance of each other the Shaikh-i-Islām Saiyyid Qutbu-d-Dīn and Qāzī Shamsu-d-Dīn of Bharāij and another party of men incited Qutlugh Khān to come into Dehlī, and inspired him with a desire to possess that country;<sup>2</sup> the inhabitants of Dehlī joined in this instigation. Ulugh Khān represented this at the Sultān's court, and the Sultān issued an order for every individual of that party to go separately to his own place, and Qutlugh Khān and Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Kashlū Khān after this defeat, traversed the distance of a hundred *krohs*<sup>3</sup> in two days and came from Sāmāna to Dehlī, but did not find the party which had been the cause of their being summoned. Qutlugh Khān and Kashlū Khān also were separated, and Ulugh Khān following them arrived in the Sultān's presence.<sup>4</sup> And in the year 655 H. the Sultān issued an order for the expulsion of certain nobles and grandes from the city of Dehlī, and at the end of this year the Mughūls arrived on the boundaries of Uchh and Multān; Kashlū Khān Balban made common cause with them and the Sultān came up in hot haste against them. The Mughūls were not able to stand against him and turned back towards Khrāsān. The Sultān also raised the banner of return towards the capital and having bestowed a robe of honour upon Malik Jalālu-d-Dīn Jānī marched towards Lakhnautī.<sup>5</sup> And in the year 656 H. (1258 A.D.) ambassadors came to the Sultān from Turkistān, and he sent them back loaded with presents, and in this year Hazrat Makhdūm Ganjshakar,<sup>6</sup> may God magnify his power and exalt his

<sup>1</sup> This account differs from that given in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. (See Raverty p. 703 and seqq.).

<sup>2</sup> تطمیع دران ملک کردند MS. (A). The word تطمیع is omitted in Calcutta text.

<sup>3</sup> About 180 miles, see *Ain-i-Akbarī* II, p. 414, also Cunn. A. G. I., p. 571.

The ancient *Krosa* of Magadh was about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles, the *kos* of the Gangetic provinces was rather more than  $2\frac{1}{4}$  miles. The Akbarī *kos* was rather less than  $1\frac{1}{4}$  miles and this is the standard referred to above.

<sup>4</sup> These Maliks (Qutlugh Khān and 'Izzu-d-Dīn Kashlū Khān) retired towards the Siwālik territory foiled in their object (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*).

<sup>5</sup> Compare the account in *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* according to which these events took place in the year 656 H. not in 655 H.

<sup>6</sup> Shaikh Farīdu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-shakar was the grandson of Farrukh Shāh of Kābul, and son of Kamālu-d-Dīn Suleimān who came from Kābul to

memory,<sup>1</sup> left the lodging house of separation and disappointment for the home of nearness and fulfilment

And in the year 657 H. elephants and great treasure and jewels and cloths without number, arrived from Lakhnauti as presents, and in Rajab of this year Malik 'Izzu d-Din Kashlu Khān Balhan earning relief from the turmoil of this transitory world, hastened to the next world, and in this year Ghārusu l-'Ālam Hazrat Shaikh Bahāu d-Dīn Zākariyā<sup>2</sup> the Multani, may God sanctify him, raised the tent of<sup>3</sup> close union with God Almighty, and a celebrated poet wrote this couplet to record the date

By the arrow of the love of God one was wounded (*zakhmī*)  
the other perished (*khanī*)<sup>4</sup>

Multan in the reign of Shihābu d-Dīn Fluri He was one of the numerous disciples of Bahāu d-Dīn Zākariyā, and died two years later than his master, according to Firishta (see also *In : Akbars* [Jarrett] III p 303)

His tomb is mentioned in the *In : Akbars* (I 323) as being at Ajudhan (Pak Patan or Patan i Panjahi)

There is, as will be seen, considerable discrepancy in the dates Badaoni gives 656 II as the date of Faridu d-Dīn Ganj-i-shakar's death and 657 II as that of the death of Bahāu d-Dīn Zākariyā, while according to Firishta the latter should be 666 II and the former 665 II. The *In : Akbars* gives 668 II as the date of the death of Faridu d-Dīn Ganj-i-shakar and 665 II as the date of the death of Bahāu d-Dīn Zākariyā.

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) حَلَّ وَمَاتَ دُكْرَنْ The printed text is wrong here

<sup>2</sup> Shaikh Bahāu d-Dīn Zākariyā was a famous Muhammadan saint of Multan. He was the grandson of Kusmū d-Dīn 'Alī Shah Qureishi who left Mecca for Khwarazm and thence came to Multan the Qubbatul Islam, and resided there, and became acknowledged by the people as their teacher and guide. Shaikh Bahāu d-Dīn was the son of Shaikh Wajihu d-Dīn by the daughter of Hīsām d-Dīn Tarmadī and was born in the fort of Kot Karor in 587 H. He died at Delhi about the year 668 H.; while engaged in devotion in his chamber an angel bearing a sealed missive having appeared to his son Sadrū d-Dīn Ārif with a command to give the missive to Bahāu d-Dīn. He did so and retired but returned on hearing voices in the room saying دوست ندومست رسیده The friend has joined the friend" when he found his father lying dead.

This account is abridged from Firishta. The account of the saint given by Beale differs from this but the source of the information given there is not stated. See also *In : Akbars* (Jarrett) III 362 and note

The tomb of Bahāu d-Dīn Zākariyā is in Multan.

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) در حوار قدس دو اکمال

<sup>4</sup> The word رحیی gives the date 657 II the word حرب gives the date 56 H. See page 133 note 1

94. And in the year 658 H. Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Mahmūd, chastised the country of Mīwāt<sup>1</sup> and the rest of that district, and when he was fully established as Malik in the year 664 H. he fell sick and closed his eyes on the world of dreams and fancies, and went to the eternal kingdom.<sup>2</sup> He left no heir; the duration of his reign was nineteen years, three months and a few days. His tomb is well known in Dehlī, and every year crowds flock to visit it.

*Verse.*

Come and cast one thoughtful look upon this dust.  
For it is the dust of the resting-place of trusted kings.

And of the number of those who sounded the drum of poetry and attained the rank of Maliku-l-Kalām (Lord of Eloquence) during Nāṣiru-d-Dīn's reign, one was Shamsu-d-Dīn Dabīr<sup>3</sup> whose manifest excellencies and perfection are beyond description and need no narration and praise, and Mīr Khusrū,<sup>4</sup> may God sanctify him, who tested the genuineness of his own poems by the touchstone of their acceptability to that other (Shamsu-d-Dīn) used to boast of them, and in the preface to the *Ghurratu-l-Kamāl* and at the end of the *Hasht Bihisht* greatly embellished his words in the mention of the praiseworthy qualities and in spreading

<sup>1</sup> The *Tubaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* Cal. Text, p. 227 reads :

خان م معظم الخ خان اعظم بر طرف جبال دهلي براي دفع فساد متهردان  
میوانت که دیو از ایشان در هراس باشد نهضت فرمد

Khān-i-Mu'azzam Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam marched towards the hills of Dehlī to quell the insurrection of the robbers of Mīwāt who would be a terror to devils.

For a full account of the province of Mīwāt see Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. IX. It includes the British districts of Muttra and Gurgāon, part of Ulwar and Bhartpur. See also page 129, note 2, of this Volume.

<sup>2</sup> On the 11th Jamādī-l-Awwal; as he came to the throne on the 23rd Muḥarram 644 H. his reign was twenty years three months and some days, not as stated in the text. He left no issue, his only son by the daughter of Ulugh Khān having died in infancy.

<sup>3</sup> There is no mention of this poet in either the *Majma'u-l-Fuṣḥā* or the *Ātashkada*. There are some highly laudatory verses at the end of the *Hasht Bihisht* in praise of one Abū Ḥanīfah, possibly referring to Shamsu-d-dīn.

<sup>4</sup> Amīr Khusrū (who has already been mentioned at page 96, note 2), son of Amīr Maḥmūd Saifu-d-Dīn was born at Patiālā 651 A.H. and died at Dehlī in 725 A.H. (Beale p. 151).

ahroud the excellencies of (that friend of his) And Saltān Ghiyasu d Dīn Balbūn having at the end of his reign appointed him Secretary for the countries of Bangala and Kamiud had left him in the service of his elder son Naṣīru d Dīn<sup>1</sup> Buglīa Khan, and these few couplets are from an odo of his

Oh thou<sup>2</sup> of whom this woik of my heart is nnworthy  
thongh my rguorance, thou gavest me last night a false  
promise of entertainment

All night I kept my eyes awako and<sup>3</sup> I did not know that  
that was longing of that kind which you know to be vain  
I keep my heart<sup>4</sup> exercised thinking of thy face, and wonder-  
ing why thy colour is so ripe and thy forehead like virgin  
silver

The date assigned for his birth seems unlikely as he would only have been thirteen when Naṣīru d Dīn died. The *Majma u Fuzūl* gives no date for his birth but says his father came to Delhi from Turkistan in the time of Changiz Khan's invasion and obtained great distinction in the court of Sultan Mahmud ibn Tugllaq Shah and was killed in a rebellion of the infidels when his son Amir Khusru was appointed as his successor in his Amirship which he eventually gave up and acquired great skill and distinction as a poet. He died in 720 H and was buried in the tomb of Shaikh Shalqaranj (Fardu d Dīn Ganjshakar see note 1, page 133)

He was the author the celereated *Qirān u Sa dār* the poem which was written to commemorate the meeting of Sultan Naṣīru d Dīn with his son Sultan Kai Qubad on the banks of the Ghagra, and of several other works (see Elliott, III pp 523 and seqq)

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) reads correctly سلطان ناصر الدین سلطان Naṣīru d Dīn Buglīa Khan second son of Ghiyasu d Dīn Balbūn. He was placed in charge of Bengal after the revolt and defeat of its governor Tuglīral.

He married a daughter of Sultan Naṣīru d Dīn Mahmud Shah by whom he had a son and successor Kai Qubad (See Raverty *Tabaqat-i-Nāṣīr* 716 n.)

In Thomas, *Pathan Kings of Delhi* there is given a copy of an inscription of Naṣīru d Dīn Mahmud which was engraved over the doorway of the minaret at Aligarh bearing the date 10th Rajab A H 692 and the author mentions in rather too mild terms the wanton Vandahsm which allowed a record of this kind to be destroyed in 1861

Thomas advances the opinion that the original design for this inscription both in matter and form was the work of Naṣīru d Dīn himself, (cf Thomas op cit 129-130)

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) یا!

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) و

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) ملے دارم دل

95.

I am overcome with idleness though it urges me on to strenuous endeavour—but there is a loose bond between me and distraction.

Do not make me prepared with (the fire of) thy love<sup>1</sup> since I am thy guest, because it is a great virtue to offer sacrifice of unprepared flesh.

We said “no Muslim will eat raw flesh,” but look! thy grief has devoured me raw. Is this your religious devotion.

<sup>2</sup> You call me “raw,” if I cut open my own breast, I will shew you that the heart which thou considerest raw, is ready. So amazed am I at thy beauty and the glory of the king that my imperfect work remains raw from my amazement.

Since the king is a second Khusrū, my work will never remain unfinished, by reason of the kingdom of the second Khusrū.

Conqueror of the world<sup>3</sup> and of religion, he in view of whose sovereignty the desire of Emperors for the Kingdom of Suleimān was vain..

The king Maḥmūd Shāh, that Sultān from whose father’s glory the cauldron of one single<sup>4</sup> desire, by reason of his empire, is not left unfilled.

If the Sun of his benevolence shines in the direction of the garden no fruit issues from the branches of the garden unripe.<sup>5</sup>

What resource has the Sky if it does not support the burden of thy dignity—how can you expect a raw baggage animal to bear a heavy load!

Thy enemy deserves this that you should sew him in a raw hide<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) عشق

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) خام میخوانیم ارسینه خود بشگافم  
پخته بندایم ان دل که تو میخوانی خام

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) ناصر دنیا. The text has تا خبر which is meaningless and spoils the scansion.

<sup>4</sup> دیگ یک ارزویش MS. (A).

<sup>5</sup> ناید از شاخ.

<sup>6</sup> This was a favourite mode of punishment in olden times: the unfortunate victim was sewn up in a raw hide which as it dried, shrunk and inflicted terrible tortures.

Vide page 12, note 2. Muḥammad Qāsim, (Elliott and Dowson I. 209.)

for on the body of an inexperienced man of what use is it for you to fit **ریز** hide<sup>1</sup>

Thy enemy hathes in blood,<sup>2</sup> instead of the collar of his garment the prisoner places on his neck every moment a raw hide 96

Every deed of thine is like<sup>3</sup> perfected gold, and those who wish thee evil no imperfect in their work from frivoly and the assurance of shame

Thy enemy is that naked demon<sup>4</sup> who has a skin made of the whole of the Earth, and that too, if you take it off him is a raw hide

If thou dost not spread thy table every day twice before the people, they will perforce eat **ریز** grain, since the hand of despan from lack of bread has no other resource.

If thy enemy becomes ruined<sup>5</sup> what fear is there? although he advances in a futile attack, like the lion of the flag he is helpless though impotence<sup>6</sup>

Of what avail<sup>7</sup> is the sorcery of Farun since the dragon of your standard will swallow the fictitious serpent

Oh **Khusru!** Shamsu d din<sup>8</sup> is thy secretary, strong and well proved in speech—he is not like the worthless Scribes an inexperienced scribbler

He himself is experienced<sup>9</sup> and his verse is like purified gold—his words are not like the best sayings of **Khaqani** still in the rough

The sky has prepared a perfect kingdom<sup>10</sup> for thee—Oh Lord

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) حام راشانی

<sup>2</sup> MS (B) agrees with the text MS (A) reads

عل حرم اسپ لخون حای ره پیروان

The textual reading is adopted with **ل** in place of **ر**

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) چو

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) کل حوال

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) در باد

<sup>6</sup> **Burhan** + **Qat** دعوی دیوٹ - کشجان

<sup>7</sup> MS (A) چه بارد چو (۱)

<sup>8</sup> شمس الدین دندر See page 134 n. 3

<sup>9</sup> MS (A) حسب اور ایک دو

<sup>10</sup> MS (A) بیرون ملک بار The line as it stands in the text will :

in thy favour grant that his perfect work may never revert to imperfection.

And the King of Kings and of Speech Amir Fakhru-d-Din 'Amid Lūmakī<sup>1</sup> writes in a Qasida of which this is the opening couplet,

When my loved one takes<sup>2</sup> the lute, and binds the plectrum  
on her fingernail

Her nail strikes Nāhid<sup>3</sup> with a hundred wounds in the heart  
through envy.

Through envy of her harp fever seizes upon Nāhid at that  
instant.

Her nail becomes altogether bline from the effect of that  
fever.<sup>4</sup>

Consider the henna on her nails to be like blood, which at the  
time of the springing of the strings from the harp dry  
as a reed, has spurted forth and made the nail moist.

If in play my nail has scratched your lip, do not be vexed<sup>5</sup> at  
that,

Because now and then they dip the nail into sugar by way of  
tasting it.

Keep the point of your nail as sharp as a glance my love, for  
the harp has no confidence in the fingers save for the sharp-  
ness of their nails.

Bring me consolation by the tenderness of thy kindness,<sup>6</sup>  
because compared with thy face, the bride of the moon  
has brought blood to its nails through envy.

Give me wine red as the blood of a hare at the remembrance

<sup>1</sup> Fakhru-d-Mulk Khwāja 'Amīdu-d-Dīn, commonly known as 'Amīd Dailamī or 'Amīd Lūmakī said to be a native of Sannām and eulogist of Sultan Muḥammad Yāmīn.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) reads ..... MS. (B) reads پردازد i.e. plays the lute.

<sup>3</sup> Nāhid. The planet Venus زهرہ, zuhra whose seat is in the third heaven (*Burhān-i-Qāti'*, called also رقاص فلک, *raqqās-i-falak*. (the dancer of the sky). Astrologers say that this planet is of a pearly hue, of beneficent aspect, and with the quality of excessive moistness.

<sup>4</sup> از تائیران تپ MS. (A). This reading is preferable to that of the text.

<sup>5</sup> از بن مشکن MS. (A).

<sup>6</sup> بیاور ده بلطف مهر دلداری MS. (A). MS. (B) is like the text.

of the assembly of the king, for his wrath has forced off the claws from the paws of the male lions.

Shāhanshah Nāṣū i-Dunyā wa-Dīn Maḥmud, by whose equity the partridge with its beak has torn off the claws of the swift-flying<sup>1</sup> hawk

By the fate-like oppression of his enemy he has fallen in danger of ruin,<sup>2</sup> just as one's nail is in danger in the hands of an unskilled barber<sup>3</sup>

His head is in danger of severance<sup>4</sup> by the sword of the daring, like the nail at the time of paring, in accordance with the Hadis<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MSS (A) (B)

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) ایمد آید is the better reading as in the text

<sup>3</sup> Compare the Arabic proverb. فی رأس اليتيم بنعلم الشتم In capita orphant discit tonsor.

There is also a Hindi proverb to the same effect, which runs —  
सिंहीकानार कीकानार का

The barber's son will learn and the traveller's head will be cut.

<sup>4</sup> MSS (A) (B) سریش بر درود قتلست The reading in the text is a copyist's error

<sup>5</sup> MSS (A) (B) حامع الاختمار In the تقطیم الاطفار تقلیم (Jum'at al-kabbar of تقطیم الاطفار ریمنع الداء الاعظم ویزید فی الرزق شیخ صدوق we find

"Paring the nails prevents the worst of all diseases (i.e., poverty) and increases the means of subsistence." Also,

من قلم اطفاره و قعن شاربه في كل جمعة ثم قال باسم الله وعالي سدة رسول الله اعطي بكل قلامة مثل رقة من ولد اسماعيل -

'He who pares his nails and trims his beard every Friday saying "In the name of God and in accordance with the ordinance of the prophet of God," every paring shall be counted to him as the manumission of a slave of the sons of Isma'il.'

Special rules are laid down for cutting the nails. They must be cut on Friday, and Muhammad said, 'He who cuts his nails in alternate order will never be afflicted with blear eyes.' It is also said in a Hadis by Humid ibn 'Abda r Rahman

من قص اطفاره يوم الجمعة دخل فيه شفاء وخرج منه داء

"He who pares his nails on Friday is filled with health and sickness leaves him." The preferable time for paring the nails is Thursday after the evening prayer. In the case of the right hand one should commence from the little finger, proceeding to the middle finger and thence to the thumb thence to the ring finger and lastly to the forefinger. The order in the left hand is (1) Thumb (2) middle finger (3) little finger (4) forefinger (5) ring finger

From the dread of the falcon of his equity it behoves that they should take to flight<sup>1</sup> when the eagle with lancet-like talons casts his feathers and talons (through fear).

Such a quarry do they see,<sup>2</sup> that from their absence of claws and their distress, their claw demands as a loan from the small-clawed partridge its claws.

For this reason that in the presence of his power, the sky scratches his head for envy, and each month, because of that power, displays the body of the<sup>3</sup> moon in the shape of a nail paring (crescent).

Compared with the perfumed dust raised by his charger the dust-like grains of the musk-bag have become valueless as the dust which is found under every nail.

You would say his arrow is a finger from the hand of victory because it appears as though his nail were like a willow-leaf-bladed soul-destroying spear.

A finger which if he so wills it; like an Indian spear embeds its nail in the mind of iron and the heart of separation.<sup>4</sup>

The sword of his wrath has imprinted such a scar on the cheek of his enemy as remains on the cheek of the mother from the anger<sup>5</sup> of the infant.

Grudging the life of his evil-disposed enemies, lo! the boars of Fate have sharpened their tusks, and the lions of Destiny their claws.

Power of the world! when the point of thy sword scratches the hearts, it has carried away from the paws of the oppression of the dog-natured sky its claws.<sup>6</sup>

How can thy enemy be at all like thee, how can he approach thy dagger, whereas when he brandishes his dagger it becomes at that moment<sup>7</sup> like a finger nail.

1 چو پر ناخن The text should read thus.

2 چنان بینند MSS. (A) (B).

3 MS. (B) writes چون قبو.

4 This line should read. نشاند در ضمیر آهن و قلب حجر ناخن MSS. (A) and (B).

5 Text MSS. (A) and (B) have از سوز پسر which must be wrong

6 برد از پنجه جو سپهر سگ سیر ناخن MSS. (A) and (B).

7 The text it appears should read از گاهی MS. (A).

If his pride so misleads him that he finds fault with you, tho tip of his finger becomes as dust in his hand and his nail as nothing<sup>1</sup>

The edge of thy sword protects the face of the world,<sup>2</sup> if theron had not been the nail as a shield behind the back of the finger tip it had not been well

If the enier of the nail of thy braver bears a grudge against thee, perchance poor fellow it is because he does not know that the nail is poisonous

I have brought in the word nail (*nālāhūn*) as *radif*<sup>3</sup> in this poem which is like a charm. Verily it is as useful in magic, as the hair of the head or the tip of the nail<sup>4</sup>

Oh Liag, do not desert me, so long as the spiteful heaven strikes every moment one nail upon another by way of producing two notes of my fate

Inasmuch as the mention arose of 'Amid, who was controller of all the states of Hindustan, it is essential to reproduce something from poems of his which are rarely met with

Arise 'Amid if thy heart is not cold and dead

Leave thy love poems, and speak the praise of the Lord of the world

Praise the Court of Heaven, for he has raised on high many an azuro dome without the use of tools,

<sup>1</sup> MS (1) هدر ناحن

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) پاہ روی عالم

<sup>3</sup> ردیف Radif The name given to a syllable or word following the rhyme but in no way essential to it. Thus in this poem the word ناحن *nālāhūn* is the *radif* the rhyming letter or دیکھ ج *dīkha j* being ج (r). In MS (1) these verses are in the order given here.

<sup>4</sup> In Persia it is the custom to bury the parings<sup>5</sup> of the nails, and the cuttings of the hair lest some harm should happen to the owner should they fall into the possession of a malicious person with magical power. The butchers also make a hole or a cut in the little bones of sheep for the same reason as they are considered a powerful instrument of magic. In the list of charms given in Gaster's translation of the Sword of Moses we find 69, to send plagues take (parings?) from seven men and put them into a new potsherd and go out to the cemetery and there say No 69 and bury it in a place that is not trodden by horses and after wards take the dust from this potsherd and blow it into his face or upon the lintel of his house. J R A S., Jan 1896 p 185

He has appointed two kings (the Sun and Moon) to travel over this blue dome, and has allotted to them the planets as attendant cavaliers on all sides.

The tiring woman of his skill has displayed a hundred beauteous stars at nightfall from behind the curtain of nine folds.<sup>1</sup>

He has ordained for the lady of the world, in Night and Day two able handmaids with the titles of Rūmī and Hindū (i.e., fair and dark).

Without any shop-keeper in the small shop of the sky, he has suspended in one corner a pair of scales with two pans.<sup>2</sup>

His skill has caused the crimson anemone<sup>3</sup> to grow upon the summit of the mountains, his bounty has caused the Sūrī<sup>7</sup> and Rāhū<sup>7</sup> to blossom in the garden.

<sup>1</sup> The nine heavens, beginning from the lowest are:—

فلك القمر Falaku-l-qamar (Moon).

فلك العطارد Falaku-l-uṭārad (Mercury).

فلك الزهرة Falaku-z-Zuhra (Venus).

فلك الشمس Falaku-sh-Shams (Sun).

فلك المريخ Falaku-l-Mirīkh (Mars).

فلك المشتري Falaku-l-Mushtarī (Jupiter).

فلك الزحل Falaku-z-Zuhal (Saturn).

فلك الثوابات Falaku-s-sawābit (Fixed stars).

فلك الاطلس Falaku-l-Āṭlas (The plain sky).

N.B.—اطلس Means an unstamped coin)

See the *Ghiyāṣu-l-Lughāt*.

See also Āīn-i-Akbarī III. (Jarrett) 37, note 1.

See also Kashshāf Bib : Ind. Vol. II., p. 1134 and seqq.

<sup>2</sup> The constellation Libra, called ترازوی چرخ (tarāzū-i-charkh) or فلك ميزان (tarāzū-i-falak) or ميزان (mīzān).

<sup>3</sup> سوری "A beautiful red rose of an odoriferous and exhilarating flavour" (sic.) Steingass. In the *Hasht Bihisht* of Amir Khusrū, we find لب پر از خندہ چون گل سوری . A full smiling lip like the flower of the Sūrī. راهو None of the dictionaries give this word nor can I ascertain what the flower is. شقاائق النعمان *Shaqāiqun Nu'mān* so called because of its redness as being likened to the flashing شعیقیقۃ of lightning or from النعمان in the sense of "blood" as resembling blood in colour so that it signifies "pieces of blood," (Lane) s. v. شعیقیقۃ

At one time with the point of the compasses of his bounty  
he has limned the form of the mouth at another with the  
pen of his favour he has delineated the two eyebrows

The face of day by his bounty has become a blaze of whiteness 10  
The locks of the night by his skill have become a marvel of  
blackness

The kings of the earth<sup>1</sup> with submission and humility, in  
search of honour have rubbed their faces in the dust of  
his threshold

Every month has its moon upon the plain of the sky, at one  
time curved like the chaujan,<sup>2</sup> at another round like the ball  
So just is he, that at the time of dispensing justice he has  
never injured any one even an hair's breadth by oppression  
That one who sought his food in the heart's blood of grapes  
he made on the morrow black with disgrace like the cheek  
of the plum.<sup>3</sup>

The partridge with its (weak) claws could attack a hundred  
hawks if so many loads of ants give such power to the  
partridge

The morning breeze bestowed out of his all encompassing  
bounty upon Chin and Khaṭā<sup>4</sup> the perfume of the bag of  
the musk deer

Hear from me oh friend, since you have heard the declaration  
of unity, a piece of advice to hearing which both your ear  
and mine are attentive.

Beware of giving an ear to the sound of the strings of the harp  
Beware of turning your attention to the flagon fashioned of  
earth (wine flask)

Those who in this way live on good terms with their lovers,  
such as you, do not say, Where is one of that company?

**سالطین مساري** <sup>1</sup> (Salafin : majas) So called kings, as opposed to  
**سالطین حقیقی** <sup>2</sup> (Salafin : haqqiqi) true kings, i.e., the prophets

**چوگان** According to the Burhan-i-Qasī<sup>3</sup> this name is given to any stick  
with a bent end, especially to the bent stick with which they play the  
"dabal" and "naqqura" (kinds of drums). Also applied to a long pole  
with a curved end from which is suspended a steel ball as one of the insignia  
of royalty. Here it is a "polo stick".

<sup>4</sup> Wine is forbidden to Muslims by their religion, Cf. Quran, II 216 and  
v 92

\* Chaujan Khaṭā Cathay vid D Herbelot, II, 431 Elathai.

Do you yourself behold every morning, for the dove on the garden bough by its song of Kū Kū<sup>1</sup> bears witness to this beneficent one.

Cast thine eye upon the ground that thou mayest see poured out there many a friend of kind aspeet, and many a sweet-natured loved one

Do thou 'Amīd again lay hold of the thread of confession of unity

And hang it upon the rosary of thy prayers as it were pearls: Oh Sovereign Lord! world-possessing Deity who art ever-living

Yet without (the intervention of the vivifying) spirit,<sup>2</sup> and eloquent without a (material) tongue.

### 5. The song of the dove, Where? Where?

رباعي

آن قصر که بر چرخ هی زد پهلو  
بر درگه او شاهان نهادندهی رو  
دیدیم که بروکنگره اش فاخته  
آواز همی داد که کو کو کو کو (Omar Khayyām).

You palace towering to the welkin blue

Where kings did bow them down and homage do

I saw a ring dove on its arches perched

And thus she made complaint Coo. Coo; Coo Coo (Whinfeld).

The pious Muhammadans in India say that the ringdove's note is

سبحان تیری قدرت سبحان تیری قدرت Subḥān terī qudrat, Subḥān terī qudrat. Praise be to Thee for thy power.

<sup>وَوَحْ</sup> *Rūh* is the vital principle the "breath of life" (Gen. ii. 7) as distinguished from the <sup>نفس</sup> *nafs* or conscious manifestation of life, or the consciousness itself. Thus we find in the Qur'ān XV. 29.

وَنَفَخْتُ فِيهِ مِنْ رُوحِي wa nafakhtu fihī min rūhi, "and breathed into it of my spirit;" and again in Qur'ān V. 116.

إِنْ كُنْتُ قَلْدَةً فَقَدْ عَلِمْتُهُ تَعْلُمُ مَا فِي نَفْسِي

*In kuntu qultuhu faqad 'alimtahu ta'lamu mā fi nafsi.*

"Had I said so verily thou wouldest have known it, thou knowest what is in my soul."

It is said in a tradition that God created Adam and put into him a <sup>نفس</sup> *nafs* and a <sup>روح</sup> *rūh*.

It would seem as though the word <sup>نفس</sup> *nafs* connotes the same idea as the word *mind*, using this word in the sense of the phenomena produced by

By thy order three daughters have come forth from the soul <sup>1</sup>  
Without the pangs of childbirth, and without the intermediary  
influence of a husband

Compared with thy ancient order what is Kisrā <sup>2</sup> and what  
is Qaṣar

In face of thy decree what is the Khaqan and what is Halaku ?  
Without thy command no ant can draw a single breath  
of its own will,

Without thy knowledge no sleeper turns from one side to the  
other

the action of the روح روح or vital principle upon matter the highest form of matter, with which we are familiar, namely, the nerve structures of the human brain, admits of certain phenomena which in their totality we call mind the existence of a higher form of matter capable of higher manifestation than those which come within our present experience is obviously possible A force apart from matter may, for anything we know, exist in a way that we cannot figure to ourselves for want of some example. Such a force self-existent would be روح روح

1 These three daughters here referred to are the three divisions of نفس نفس نفس nafs, as by Arabian metaphysicians divided primarily into two divisions (a) العقل نفس لعقل nafs i 'aql which is also called العقل المطلق نفس العقل annafsu n nafiyah the reason, mind, or discriminating faculty and (b) النفس الحية نفس الحياة nafs i hāyat the breath of life

The first of these is again sub divided into two, that which commands and that which forbids thus they say عالم يوامر بالحسنة julanun yu amiru nafsa hi Such an one consults his two minds, i.e., weighs the pros and cons

See Lane article نفس نفس and روح روح, also Ghayas i lughat, and Kashshaf art نفس

<sup>2</sup> كسرى The Chosrees Qaṣar قیصر Caesar, an Emperor

خان A Turkish word meaning Emperor The name given to the Emperor of China and potentates of Chinese Tartary (See de Courteille Turk Orient Dict حاقدان) Khaqan Originally the title Khan was given to the supreme sovereign of the Moghuls, while the subordinate princes of the Chaglatai and other Chingiz lines were styled only Khan

After a time the higher Qasr lost its peculiar distinctive dignity and was used by many besides the sovereign (see Tarikh i Rashedi (Elias and Ross), p 30 n 1)

Halaku descendant of Changiz Khan

Although I like a harp am hump backed and head downwards,<sup>1</sup>  
 Yet in the assembly of thy hope I play the air of Yā Huwa.<sup>2</sup>  
 On that day when out of awe of thee all the assembly of the  
 prophets own their allegiance on bended knee,  
 Oh Lord do thou of thy clemency bestow upon me, wretched  
 man that I am, forgiveness, for I am defiled with disobedience  
 and engulfsed in it on all sides.

His also is the following in praise of the prophet *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him* <sup>3</sup>

I fashion now a garment of song the embroidery of whose sleeve, flows gracefully from the adornment of the soul  
 as the ornament of its divine Creator

102. I choose the path of thy forming by the ornament of straightforward praise,  
 Because the two worlds are an indication<sup>4</sup> of the embroidery of its sleeve ;  
 Rose of the garden of the prophetic office, than whose spikenard<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The word چنگ chang in its original sense means bent or curved, hence it means a hook, and especially the hook called also "gajak" كيسيك with which elephants are driven. Another secondary meaning is the bent hand and fingers of man, or the claws of animals and talons of birds. Also the name of a musical instrument (*Burhān-i-Qāfi*). The چنگ was played with a plectrum called زخما Zakhma, and from its description as كوز Kūz and سرنگون sarnigūn was like the عود 'ud of the Arabs, and very similar to the mandolin of our times.

<sup>2</sup> ياهو. Yā huwa. An invocation to the most High—equivalent to "My God and my Lord."

<sup>3</sup> These words are not in MS. (A) which has no introduction to the poem. MS. (B) has قوله قصيدة في النعوت.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A). بجزيره. MS. (A) بجزيره. <sup>5</sup> MSS. (A) and (B) كنابسه. سنبيل Sumbul (*Nardostachys jatamansi* N. O. Valerianaceæ) νάρδος, or spikenard of the ancients, a perfume held in high esteem. (S. John xii. 2).

In the *Balru-l-Jawāhir* it is stated that there are two kinds of Sumbul—Sumbul-i-Hindī, and Sumbul-i-Rūmī.

It is laxative and a tonic to the brain.....useful in dropsy, in flatulence and as a haemostatic in metrorrhagia.

The perfumed sumbul is the variety called Sumbul-i-Hindī while the Sumbul-i-Rūmī is also called Nardīn.

See also Ibnu-l-Baiṭār (Sontheimer), Vol. II., pp. 58 *et seqq.*

the morning breeze has never borne from Chin to Machin<sup>1</sup>  
a rarer odour from the fragrant musk. .

Head of the created beings of the world, by whose glorious advent, the heaven has brought forth a pearl of great price from the shell as an offering.

The heaven has placed its two standards firmly planted in the seventh of its citadels, throughout the length and breadth of the world in the five stated times of prayer<sup>2</sup>

His onyx-like<sup>3</sup> eye has not cast one glance upon the signet of

<sup>1</sup> Cf Tieffenthaler III 107 Abul Feda (Reinhard) II II, 122 D'Herbelot Vol II Art Khatai Machin or Muha Chin see *Imāt i khāri*, II 118 and note 2

"Japhet is credited by Orientals with the paternity of Chin who received the Celestial empire as his inheritance and begot Machin his first born"

<sup>2</sup> The phrase تحرّة مدنی means literally the six sided oven-shaped (world)  
The six sides or divisions of the world are—

عالم الانس 'alamu l-ins, the world of mankind

عالم الجن 'alamu l-jinn, the world of the jinn or genii,

عالم الملائكة 'alamu l-malaikah, the world of angels.

عالم الحيوان 'alamu l-haywan, the animal world

عالم النبات 'alamu n-nabat, the vegetable world

عالم المعادن 'alamu l-ma'adīn, the mineral world

The five stated times of prayer are known as—

ظهر guhr امسr 'asr مغرب maghrīb اشارة 'asra and فجر fajr

The two standards علم 'alam are the sun and moon, cf Qur'an, XXXVI, 38, 39,

<sup>3</sup> M S (A) reads جزعش His onyx like eye, &c

This must be taken to refer to a saying of the prophet Muhammad "The珊瑚 for me and the onyx for my enemies" According to the *Nuhibatul-dahr* (p 69), he said this "because the onyx causes its wearer to become ill tempered, rash, precipitate, and litigious". There are several varieties of onyx the best is that in which the markings are of equal breadth ...

The whiteness of the onyx increases as the moon waxes, and diminishes as it wanes The onyx softens when boiled in oil sparkling and emitting light .

The people of China (صين) where the onyx is found, will not approach the mines on account of the uncleanliness of the stone, so that only the poorest class will work there

One property possessed by the onyx is that of curing scald head in children - it also acts as a stialagogue causing them to dribble when it is hung round their necks "

See also Lane Art حزع where it is stated that the wearing of an onyx in a signet induces anxiety, disquietude of mind, grief and terrifying dreams

Solomon<sup>1</sup> because there is the stamp of his seal upon every-  
thing from the moon above to the fish below.<sup>2</sup>

Fate and Destiny are his guardians, Eternity and Hope his  
helpers,

Earth<sup>3</sup> and the time are his advocates, angels and heaven  
pledged to him.

His lip is honey and his cheek a rose, what an advantage to  
both worlds,

His gulangabīn<sup>4</sup> (confection of rose and honey) relieves the  
tremor of disobedience,

The month of the shell is full of the pearls of his pearl-like  
words,

The belt of the horizon is bejewelled with his widespread  
faith,

The prosperity of the body of the faithful is in his left hand,  
and the good fortune of the face of those who follow the  
path of his religion is in his right hand.

The pages of the seven heavens are but an atom of his being,  
The two worlds, compared with the stream of his might, are

but a sweat drop from his forehead,

The tongue of a green lizard<sup>5</sup> is one of the marks of his seal,  
The web of the spider was a curtain which concealed his  
relation,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Solomon's power lay according to tradition in the signet of his ring, on  
which was engraved the "most mighty name."

See Lane *Arabian Nights* introduction n. 21 and Chap. i. n. 15. This stone  
was supposed to shew Solomon every thing he wished to know.

See D'Herbelot art. Solimūn.

<sup>2</sup> Called يَهْمُوت Yahmūt upon which the world is said to rest. See page  
152, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) زَمَانٌ وَزَمِيْنٌ.

<sup>4</sup> گلنگبیین The properties of the rose are said in the *Bahru-l-Jawāhir* to be  
laxative, expectorant, and anaphrodisiac : while honey is said to be a light  
dew which falls upon flowers and is collected by bees, it is hot and dry in the  
second degree. It relieves dimness of vision and is a stomachic tonic, is a  
laxative and expectorant. *Sadidī* further says that honey is beneficial to old  
men, but injurious to youths and people of hot temperament, is aphrodisiac  
when heated with pulp of roses, and cures the bites of snakes and of dogs.  
Neither book mentions its use in the treatment of tremors specifically, but  
*Sadidis* statement that it is good for old men may refer to senile tremors.

<sup>5</sup> This line should read. سُجْلَشْ بَهْ رَقْمِيْ سُو-سَمَارِيْ بَهْ بَزْبَان

In the moon-decked heaven, one glance of his clost the  
heart of the moon the beloved of the sky into two halves os  
though it were a piece of cloth<sup>1</sup>  
Both beasts of prey and birds have girded the loins of faith-  
fulness to him.  
Both young babes and old men have opened their lips in his  
praise.  
The rose and the thorn of fragrant flowers are the fruits of  
his love and kindness.  
The (sweet) sugar and the (bitter) colocynth are both re-  
minders of his love and wrath.  
The garden, in submission<sup>2</sup> to his creative power, like the  
violet has scratched its cheek (with vexation), Look !  
there is a blue mark upon its jasminum cheek.  
His body is composed of spirit of divine sanctity, which is the  
purification of<sup>3</sup> the spirit of the human. One cannot reach  
to his essential constitution, for his composition is of light.

note 3, for the story of the lizard. When Muhammad was fleeing from Mekka to Medina in company with Abu Bakr as Suleiq, his father-in-law, they came to a cave in the Jabal Sur and took refuge in it from their enemies. In order to conceal their whereabouts a spider was directed to spin its web over the entrance, which led the pursuers, who had followed them thus far, to conclude they had not entered the cave

*Hatatu'l Qulub.* See also Muir's Life of Mah. II 237 note

Compare the following lines by Ya'qubu'l Manjaniqi, quoted by Ibn Khalliqân.

إِنَّهَا الْمُدْعى لِلْحَسَارِ دُجَّ لِلْكَرْبَادِ وَالْجَبَرُوتِ  
سَعْ دَادِ لَمْ يَفْدِ لَيْلَةَ الْعَارِ وَكَانَ الْحَسَارُ الْعَنْكَبُوتُ

Oh thou who art so vain glorious ! leave glory to him who is the lord of  
might and of power

David's weaving would have been of no service on the night of the cave  
The honour was all given to the spider

See Ibn Khalliqân (de Slane), Vol IV , p 375.

According to another account immediately after Muhammad and Abu Bakr had entered the cave, an Acacia tree grew up at the entrance and a pair of pigeons had already nested in it, while a spider's web closed what remained of the entrance D. Herbelot II 231 art. (Hegrah)

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) چو قراۃ

<sup>2</sup> MSS (A) and (B) چمن از بیمار خلقش

<sup>3</sup> MSS. (A) and (B) که صفت روح انسی

When Barāq the lightning-fleet came under his stirrup he leapt towards the highest heavens so that the curved crescent moon was like the hinder part of his saddle.

When his courser trod the face of the plain of the earth he placed his foot in such a way that the heaven became like the earth to him.

One step of his reached to the extremity of the earth from the house of Ummahānī,<sup>1</sup> the second step reached to the Sidra<sup>2</sup> from the earth like the angels.

The orb of the sun, the untamed steed, was led along in his cavalcade.

The moon having stamped a brand upon its quarter with its horseshoe shaped crescent.

Consider the goodness of his nature in that for our sakes in the next world, he has long pleaded the cause of his followers with a heart full of pity.

Wisdom, by his favour, is drawn out from the well of superstition by the rope of the cord of Chastity<sup>3</sup> which was his mighty title

Asad Ullah leaving his lair, with his polished spear has torn out the heart of the envious cur-hearted ones like the tongue of a dog.

A band<sup>4</sup> like the ants of the ground travelling fast<sup>5</sup> along a path slender as a hair.

Shining like the lightning from the brilliancy of the torch of his religion.<sup>6</sup>

A band (of men lost) like a hair which has fallen into leaven<sup>7</sup> by reason of his wrath fell into the fire from the bridge, with their waists bound like the ant in their hostility.

<sup>1</sup> See note 2, page 105. See Qur'ān Sur. XVII.

<sup>2</sup> A tree in the seventh heaven having its roots in the sixth : " After that I was taken up to Sidratu-l-Muntahā and behold its fruits were like water pots and its leaves like elephants ears " (Mathew) Mishkātu-l-Maṣābiḥ, Vol. II. p. 694.

See also Hughes' Dict. of Islām. . (Sidratu-l-Muntahā).

<sup>3</sup> حبل عصمت MS. (A) (B) Qur'ān Sur. III. 98.

<sup>4</sup> گوہی. This alludes to the Muslims.

<sup>5</sup> پویان.

<sup>6</sup> شمع دینش.

<sup>7</sup> MS. (A) and Text بخییر تھییر MS. (B) These are Kāfirs, infidels.

On the surface of the board of his sincerity who can raise his head in deceit<sup>1</sup> since not even the heaven survives the throw of his two dice<sup>2</sup>

Seven pillars are established by his four friends, for the seven heavens which are firmly fastened to the pole.

Of these four stars<sup>3</sup> there are two conjunctions both of which are fortunate. The Moon and Jupiter<sup>4</sup> are in conjunction, each one with its own partner.

In the two ears of the four elements how happy is my earring  
From the two earrings<sup>5</sup> sprang eight Paradises with the two lights which give sight to the eyes

Amid has devoted his powers in all directions to sing his praises, if perchance the good and bad of his words may gain some currency

How can I boast of my descent, hero, when I from my heart supplicate the intercessor of the day of judgment whose religion God approves

From the embroidery of my eulogy, what legality<sup>6</sup> is evident,  
in my magic? It is like wine whose pure brilliancy is enhanced by the crystal cup<sup>7</sup>

From the sugarcandy of his sayings the lips of the parrots

<sup>1</sup> مَدَ MS (A) (B)

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) (B) كعبتين كهنه محرج Kabatim The temples of Mekka and Jerusalem

<sup>3</sup> The first four Khalifs the "rightly directed" MS (A) reads دو قریب

<sup>4</sup> Both the Moon and Jupiter are fortunate See Ibn Khaldun Proleg (Do Slane) II 217 and seqq

<sup>5</sup> در سور، دو قرطه، Hassan and Hussain هشت حدت Their eight children Ali and Fatima

<sup>6</sup> See Ibn Khallikan (Slane) III 344 n (8) Magic was held to be unlawful except the magical effect of eloquence such as in poetry which is called السحر الحلال As sahu l halal Hafiz says

معترضت این شعر یا سحر حلال

هايف آورده این سخن یا حضریل

Is this poem a miracle or is it lawful magic?

Has a heavenly messenger brought this message or was it Gabriel himself?

See Hughes Dict of Islam article Magic, also Lamb sub voce سحر

<sup>7</sup> This couplet is omitted in MS (B)

MS (A) reads چو یعنی که صرف معموق چو پیله شد معینش

are imbued with sugar as though from the tray of eloquence they have eaten the crumbs of his wisdom.

What person am I, what parrot am I, I that sing these verses ? When I sing his praise it is like the buzzing of a fly. May the breath of the parrots of my soul not fail for a single moment from the singing his praise and proclaiming his triumph.

### ANOTHER QAŚĪDA.<sup>1</sup>

Oh thou from awe of whose order the heaven is bowed in submission, the proclamation of thy might is this, Thou standest alone thou hast no companion.

Thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, thy dominion is the dominion of uprightness.

Thy empire is no changeable empire. Thy rule is not a divided rule.

The rays of the brightness of thy holiness are the portrayers of the sun and moon. The recluse of thy kingdom is in the highest altitude of Simāk reaching even to Samak.<sup>2</sup>

At one time thou givest to the partridge of the day wings and feathers of fiery hue, at another in the liquid cage of the heavens thou makest the moon-tailed pigeon of the night<sup>3</sup> as an angel.<sup>4</sup>

Thou hast broken the cup of the moon at the head and foot of each month.<sup>5</sup> Thou hast bound thine all-encompassing contemplation around the star Parak.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) has the words **أيضاً**. *Aīzān lahu* Also by him.

<sup>2</sup> The fourteenth house of the houses of the Moon. There are two Simāks one As-Simāku-r-Rāmī, the lance-bearing Simāk (Arcturus); and the other As-Simāku-l-A'zal, the unarmed Simāk (Spica Virginis.) Both of these are in the feet of the constellation Leo. The word Simāk is said by the Arab commentator on Ulug Beg to denote great altitude, in derivation from the root Samaka to rise, to be exalted. See Ibn Khalliqān (de Slane) Vol. I. note 11.

Samak, the fish, which is below the Earth bearing on its back a cow which bears the earth on its horn. (*Ghiyāṣu-l-Lughāt*).

<sup>3</sup> مَدْبُور Burhān-i-Qāṭī. A bird having claws, with a black and white tail from which they make feathers for arrows : Also a pigeon all black with a white tail.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) reads غلک which seems to have no meaning. The text reads غلک with a variant ملک which we find in MS. (B).

<sup>5</sup> Both in the new moon, and in the last quarter, the moon has a defective form ; crescent or decrescent.

<sup>6</sup> پرک Parak. The star Canopus. *Burhān-i-Qāṭī*.

Thy power is the gardener, the four quarters of the earth  
are his tillth Then hast cast around that as the shelter of  
an eyelid, the honny of the seven oceans<sup>1</sup>

From the midst of the oven of the east, thy cedar bringeth  
forth the loaf of gold of the west after the silvery loaf<sup>2</sup>

In the garden full of thy skilled works, the hand of the tiring  
woman of the morning breeze rubs on the rouge of adorn  
ment like the beauties<sup>3</sup> do over the patches<sup>4</sup>

The rose with the mark of the mole on its cheek displayed  
its buds Like the cheek of the beauty the moon displays  
its face from the heavens<sup>5</sup>

On the extremity of the plain of spring issuing from the door  
of thy creation, the tulip sits with a shield the willow  
stands with its visor

The jasmino and the rose proclaim thy skill with lip and  
cheek

Thy care preserves the sugar of the confection with salt<sup>6</sup>

Except thy eternal existence how can my human arrive at  
secondary existence<sup>7</sup>

In the eye of truth there is *Lahl*<sup>8</sup> (of ornament) in the eye

<sup>1</sup> These are according to the *Bahr i Qatl*:

بَحْرُ حَرَاجَانٍ *Bahr i Jurjan* بَحْرُ طَهْرَدَةٍ *Bahr i Tihra*

بَحْرُ دَرَبَىٰ *Bahr i Vafas* درَبَىٰ رَوْمٍ *Darya i Ru*

دَرَبَىٰ مَغْبَىٰ *Darya i Maghba* دَرَبَىٰ چَيْنٍ *Darya i Chayn*

بَحْرُ حَوَارِمٍ *Bahr i Khwarazm*

<sup>2</sup> MSS (A) and (B) read حَلَكٌ

<sup>3</sup> MSS (A) and (B) قَرْبَىٰ مَثَالٌ

<sup>4</sup> حَلَلٌ A patch for the face (*Bahr i Qatl*)

<sup>5</sup> I read here چوب و حَلَكٌ مَكَّةٌ اُورُوی سَعَادَه او فَلَكٌ This seems the best reading Both MSS (A) and (B) lend countenance to it The reading in the text is impossible

<sup>6</sup> That is to say the sweet lips of his beloved are so piquant that it seems as though they were tinged with salt Conserve of roses is called پُرپُوش پاروارش

<sup>7</sup> قَدَمٌ (*qadam*) Existence from all eternity For حدوث (*hudat*) see note 4 page 1

<sup>8</sup> The *Lahl* was used as a collyrium مدل کشیدن (*Mil Kashidan*) is to put out the eyes *Jao mil* called also مدل میل *Milmil* is the bodkin or style used for applying the *Lahl*

of infidelity and doubt there is the probe (of destruction). Whoever has the inscription on his ring in accordance with thy way<sup>1</sup> verily is saved, but whoever has on his forehead the brand of opposition to thee verily he is lost.

In the glory of thy approbation why should any one take to craft? Why shold the saw of Nūh ibn Lamak<sup>2</sup> cut down every tree?

The parrot of my life at the remembrance of thee has remained safe from the snare of grief,<sup>3</sup> just as in the ocean of Jupiter the Fish is safe from the net.<sup>4</sup>

Like an Ethiopian and a Greek, the day has taken away from thy threshold a gold embroidered mantle, the night has despoiled thee of a dress distinguished by a plumed<sup>5</sup> cap.

One draught of thy kindness is equal to the display of several rows (of cups).

A morsel of thy favour is for the accountants<sup>6</sup> several laks.

As long as thou drawest him as by the end of the cord, no one turns away his face from the door. It were better that the neck of the heaven should be in the noose of the Milky-way.

Thy wrath drives out the pride of tyrants<sup>7</sup> from their heads, by means of the point of the sting of a mosquito<sup>8</sup> not by the advanced guard of an army.

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) reads دھش but this is an error.

<sup>2</sup> نوح بن ملک. The text and both MSS. read نوح بن لمک. See Genesis v. 28-30. Noah the son of Lamech; also Gen. vi. 14.

<sup>3</sup> زد غم MSS. (A) and (B). The text reads wrongly ز دام غم

<sup>4</sup> When Jupiter enters the constellation of Pisces he is in the ascendant.

<sup>5</sup> فلک کلک [MS. (B)] کل کلک [MS. (A)] Text کل کلک (Qāti'i).

<sup>6</sup> کلاہ پوڈار = کنل کلک kulah-i-pardar. (Burhān-i-Qāti'i).

<sup>7</sup> اهل جربہ MSS. (A) (B).

<sup>8</sup> حباب را [MS. (B)] حبابرا [MS. (A)] جبارہ [Qābi'rā].

<sup>8</sup> پشہ MS. (A)

In the *Nāsīkhū-t-tawārīkh* of Lisānu-l-Mulk we find the following account of this incident:—

"The cause of the death of Nimrod was this, that after despairing of his ability to burn Abraham, in consequence of his protection by the Almighty, the idea of entering into conflict with the Most High entered his head, and

If the drops of the bounty of thy nearness distil upon the  
pilgrimage of my heart say to the clouds of supplication "Do  
not rain" and say to the tear of hope "Do not fall"

I am fulfilled with thy bounty like a pearl in the cloudy  
weather<sup>1</sup>

Not like the wine flask which comes forth from the assembly  
after yielding the benefit of its fulness<sup>2</sup>

I have attained the dignity of eloquence from thy consent  
By thy help it is that this joyful sound<sup>3</sup> has been placed in  
my hand by destiny

How long shall I utter cries of grief round the carpets of  
Emperors, because at thy door there is a sustenance-  
gaining world free from vexation<sup>4</sup>

Wine which gives you a headache is better cast on the ground  
A carpet if it be of silk<sup>5</sup> is more fit to be burnt than thorns

he ordered Abraham to be brought before him, then turning towards him he said, Oh Abraham, bid your God to come with his army, and array himself against me in battle so that the one who conquers may have the upper hand. Tomorrow, that is Wednesday, we will arrange the battle field before this city, and test man with man

Then having reviewed his army he came out from the city with a countless array, and drew up in line on the battle field

The prophet Abraham came out alone and unaccompanied, in face of that vast host, and stood there. Suddenly, by the command of the Almighty the face of heaven became darkened by a cloud of mosquitoes which are the most contemptible of all creatures and they at once began to sting the army of Nimrud, and put them to flight, and most of those worthless ones died. Nimrud, on seeing this, in fear and shame turned his back upon the whirlpool of death, and fled into his fort. Suddenly a single mosquito entering after him stung his hip, and reached his brain. For forty years the mosquito fed upon his brain, after which Nimrud died in abject misery.

As the mosquito is known to be the intermediary host of certain parasites and may be the means of conveying infective disease, there may be a substratum of truth in this fable.

<sup>1</sup> در عذیان MS (4) The text reads wrongly عذیان در

<sup>2</sup> That is to say my fulness is one which is permanent like that of the pearl which remains hidden in the shell not transitory like that of the wine flask which leads to emptiness

<sup>3</sup> حمک *hamk* literally means the sound of clapping the hands from joy

<sup>4</sup> MS (Δ) دی گلک *di galak*

<sup>5</sup> By the laws of Islam cloth made entirely of silk is not permissible for use either as clothing at times of prayer or as a prayer carpet. Cloth woven of silk and cotton mixed is permissible and is called *مترع* *marrūq*.

Oh Lord, with that rose of benevolence from the exhalations  
of whose excellence the olfactory sense of the angels  
is refreshed while the musk of Chin remains dry as a  
busk,

Let me refresh the olfactories of my soul every moment,  
until I am on the brink of the grave ; that my dust may  
be like a rose garden far removed from the pricking of  
thistles.

The possession of sincerity, and true equity, the root of  
modesty, and the secret<sup>1</sup> of truth, the house of religion  
is founded on all of these both by bond and deed.

On the heaven of his prophecy, for the travellers along the  
high road of the sacred law, each of these four pillars<sup>2</sup> is a  
sign of the injunction Go on thy way and be pure.<sup>3</sup>

May every breath of my life be praise and glory, until the  
breath of the morning, that each breath may then be a  
worthy present for the soul.

Think that the pupils of my two eyes are four in affection,  
(i.e., four Khalifs).

Otherwise thou wilt fail to gain Paradise, and art ready for  
the door of hell.

What good will apostasy do you when 'Ali is independent  
of you ? How can gold shew its perfect purity if the  
touchstone does not shew the shine of it ?

What blame is it to the body of the lute if during the tune<sup>4</sup>  
either its silken string breaks, or its bridge slips down.

Go, and open the letter of the Prophet in all sincerity, that  
it may efface from your mind the suspicion as regards  
“Faddak.”<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MSS. (A) (B) رَفِيقٌ.

The term رَافِضٰي *rāfiḍī* is applied by Sunnī Muslins to any of the Shi'ah  
sects. See Hughes. *Dict. of Islām*. Art. Rāfiḍī.

<sup>2</sup> The four khalifs.

<sup>3</sup> *Hadīq*. مَنْ أَصْبَابِي كُلْ جُومْ بِإِيمَنْ اهْتَدِيْتُمْ اهْتَدِيْتُمْ My companions are  
like the stars, whichever of them you follow you will be led by it.

<sup>4</sup> بِنْعَمَةِ دُر. MS. (A).

<sup>5</sup> *Faddak* was an estate near Medina which Muhammad left to his daughter  
Fātima.

After the prophet's death Abū Bakr took it and Fātima demanded it of

And he who like the ill-omened owl<sup>1</sup> boasts of being a Khārījī<sup>2</sup>

him, he replied "Thy father said that we who are prophets do not leave hereditary legacies, all that I leave is for Moslems.

لَيْسَ مَعَاشِ الْأَبْيَانِ لَا يُرثُ مَا تَرَكَهَا مَصْدَقَةٌ

The Shi'ahs say that Abu Bakr seized Faddak by force. The poet denies this assertion in the above verse

دُوْم شُوم<sup>1</sup> The ill omen attending the owl is common to all countries, probably from the habit it has of frequenting ruined buildings. The Arabic proverb indicates the estimation in which the owl was held.

لَوْكَانِ فِي الْبَوْمَةِ حَيْرٌ مَا تَرَكَهَا الصَّيَادُ

*Si in ulula bonum suscit, tam tenetor non reliquistet* Freytag Med.  
Prov II p 572

The story told by Mas'ūdī about Bahram points in the same direction. See Ibn Khaldūn (de Slane) Prolegomenes, I 107

In the *Husnū l-Husnā* there is a story told of Al Ma'mūn who in the course of his peregrinations one day saw a young man writing something on the wall with a piece of charcoal. He ordered his servants to see what the man was writing and it was as follows

بِاَقْصَرِ قَدْ حَمِعَ فِيكَ الشُّوْمُ وَاللَّوْمُ عَنِي يَعْشَشُ فِي اَرْكَانِ الْمَوْمِ  
يَوْمَ يَعْشَشُ دِيكَ الْبَرْمِ مِنْ فَرْحَى اَكْوَنْ اَوْلَ مَنْ يَعْيَكَ مَرْغُومً

Oh palace ill luck and curse are assembled in thee,

When will the owl make her nest in thy pillars?

Happy the day when the owl builds her nest in thee!

I shall be the first to announce thy downfall!

He explained this before Al Ma'mūn by saying that he was in great distress and hoped to benefit by the ruin of the palace

<sup>2</sup> The name Khārījī was given to any one who denied any one of the true Imams (see Cureton's Shahristāni *Milal wa Ahlāl*, page 85.)

See the article Khawarij in Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*.

The Khārījī heresy was that any man of no matter what nation or tribe may be appointed Khalifah provided that he was a good man and was elected by the whole body of Moslems.

See for a fuller account of this sect Sale's *Qur'an Preliminary Discourse*, p 123 (Ed of 1857) (Badger *Imams and Seiyyids of Oman*, Appendix, pp 374, and seq) (Osborn, *Islam under the Arabs*, p 116). The last mentioned gives a full account of the origin of this heroic sect when 'Ali and Mu'awia met at Siffin from which the following is an extract "The valour of 'Ali was brilliantly seconded by that of his favourite lieutenant Mahika b.-Ashtar, the Marshal Ney of the Arabian Army. A tremendous charge by Mahik at last forced a wing of the Syrian troops to give ground. Gradually the whole line was forced back, the retreat became a rout."

However at this critical moment Amīn ibn al-'Ās knowing the fanatical character of 'Ali's troops, ordered a number of Syrian soldiers to advance

compared to the confidant of the cave<sup>1</sup> is like the night-flying bat<sup>2</sup> in comparison with the standard of the day (the Sun). Put aside your desire of rebellion, say not a word save in respect, how can a dog contend with a tawny lion.<sup>3</sup>

What power have you to decide between the companions of the Prophet, you who from foolishness like a blind man, seek the softness of ermine from the stoat.<sup>4</sup>

It were better that the skirt of the time was freed by skilful management, from the impurity of those abomination-working sects before that this sound reaches their ears  
*What brought you into hell?*<sup>5</sup>

Oh Lord! although for a long time my heart has been afflicted by the darlings of Chigil, and held fast by the rosy-cheeks of Yamak<sup>6</sup>

towards their line bearing copies of the Qur'ān fixed to the heads of their lances. "Let the blood of the Faithful cease to flow" they cried "let the Book of God decide between us."

'Alī's soldiers thereupon turned upon him headed by certain men whom Ash-Shahrastānī names, and insisted upon 'Alī recalling Malik Al-Ashtar from fighting against the Moslims "or" said they "we will assuredly deal with you as we dealt with 'Uṣmān" and insisted upon the matter in dispute between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya being settled by arbitration.

1. *Abū Bakr*.—The sole companion of Muḥammad when he fled from Mecca to Medīnah, cf. Qur'ān ix. 40.

إِلَّا تَنْصُرُوهُ فَقَدْ نَصَرَهُ اللَّهُ أَذْ أَخْرَجَهُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِنْ أَنَّيْ أَنْتَنِي أَذْهَمَا فِي الْغَارِ

Unless ye help him, and God did help him when these who disbelieved drove him forth the second of two, when they twain were in the cave (of Jabal Šaur).

2. شَبْ تُرْك. MSS. (A) and (B) have شَبْ تُرْك which seems to have no meaning.

3 Kizil Arslān is the Turkish for "red lion." He was son of Ildighiz the first of the Atābaks of Āzar baijān whose dynasty commenced in 555 H. and ended in 622 H. Muḥammad the elder son of Ildighiz succeeded his father and was in turn succeeded by Kizil Arslān who was assassinated in 587 H. (D'Herbelot) (Beale).

4. *fanak*. The animal commonly known by the name *dalla*, weasel or stoat.

5 Qur'ān lxxiv. 43. فِي جَنَّاتٍ يَّتَسَاءَلُونَ عَنِ الْمُجْرِمِينَ مَا سَلَكُوكُمْ فِي سَقَرَ.

In gardens shall they ask each other about the sinners—what drove you into hell-fire?

6 *Chigil*. The *Burhān-i-Qāti'* says: A city in Turkestan where inhabitants are exceedingly beautiful and are unequalled in archery.

Yet in the beginning of the *nun* and *dal* of my ago (51) 109  
after the year *لہٰ* and *nun* and *hâ* (655 H<sup>1</sup>),<sup>1</sup> thanks  
be to God that the bird of my ambition has burst the  
bonds of this net and gone free

I have washed my hands of the one, and have freed my foot  
from the other, springing out of both snare like the clay  
pellets from a pea shooter<sup>2</sup>

At thy footstool henceforth my constant cry is "I repent,"  
my supplication is to thee, my secret thoughts and open  
dealings are with thee

Thou shewest me mercy at that time when by the intoxica-  
tion of the wineskin of death both my chin and jaws are  
cold and shrunken<sup>3</sup>

When my breath is bound upon the balista of my body like

**ياقوت** says A city lying beyond the river Shun in Turkestan near  
Tarrar Thence sprang Abu Muhammad Abûr Rahmân ibn Yâhîm ibn  
Lumâk Al-Jâshî the Khatîb of Samârqand in the days of Qâdar Khan he died  
in Sha'bân 516 H

**ياماك** Name of a city and country celebrated for the beauty of its  
people *Burha* & *Qâfir*<sup>4</sup>

**ياقوت** does not mention this

<sup>1</sup> The above shews that Amid Lumâk was born in the year 601 H. The  
mode of reckoning is that always adopted. There does not appear to be any  
intended double entendre here, though the word *دعا* which stands for 51  
means good guidance, no meaning can be attached to the *دعا* which stands  
for 655. See page 99 note 4

<sup>2</sup> **تُفَكٌ** *tufak* is a long tube for throwing clay balls through by the force  
of the breath cf. **گیس** Steingass Dict

It is also called **پُفَكٌ** *Pufak*  
cf. English pop gun traced by Skoat (*Etym. Dict.*) to the base *P* expressive  
of the act of blowing *Skt* bulk

**پُفَكٌ گردن** *pufka lan* to blow out—to puff

چراغی را که گزد در پرورد

هر انکس پُف کند زوش سووند

A limp which God has lighted

He who attempts to blow it off burns his bear<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> و must be added in the text after the word **سکراپت** MS (4). This  
appears to mean that when he is at the point of death he finds mercy. The  
intoxication is the unconsciousness resulting from approaching death and  
the retraction of the chin and lower jaw in the death struggle is believed to  
be the effects of the wineskin

a missile, then the stone of the balista<sup>1</sup> of death strikes my body breaking it as though it were an earthen jar.<sup>2</sup>  
 Grant me a place at the banquet of thy pardoning mercy,  
 At that time when the Angel of Death says to me "Take and eat,"<sup>3</sup>  
 Shewing his helplessness Amid thy slave offers these verses  
 in praise of thy excellency to the best of his power.  
 Accept these few brief words from this vile cur,<sup>4</sup>  
 For this mangy cur is a partner of your journey.  
 Thy praise is written on my heart, afterwards comes the praise  
 of the Prophet. May every word besides these be erased  
 from my heart.

### AN EULOGISTIC QASIDA.

Oh thou upon whose jasmine-like face are the countless toils  
 of the violet-hued locks.  
 By whose ruby lips the brilliant pearls are imprisoned.  
 Thy locks are an armourer who every moment brings forth  
 Fragrant chains to fetter thy lily-like face.  
 Thy lily face is better confiued by the links of thy spikenard-  
 hued locks.  
 Bid the morning breeze as it breathes not to remove the  
 chains (of thy hair) from thy rosy (cheeks).  
 Thy mouth is like a delicate bud which bursts into smiles;  
 Loosen the folds of that bud even if with the point of a  
 thorn.  
 Thy rose-petalled cheeks are adorned by the bonds of thy  
 dark and fragrant locks.

<sup>1</sup> This appears to be the author's meaning. The convulsive breathing is compared to the jerking action of the balista.

<sup>2</sup> If we read گزک for قتنق the meaning will be "strikes it with the elephant goad." There is some uncertainty about the meaning of the word گزک. One meaning is according to the *Burhān-i-Qāti'* "an earthenware vessel which is used for holding dates."

<sup>3</sup> قتنق گزک should be the reading. MS. (A) MS. (B) read فتك گزک.

<sup>4</sup> قتنق (*qutuq*) is a Turkish word signifying any thing eaten as a relish.

گزک (*gazak*) is the Persian equivalent of قتنق. (*qutuq*).

<sup>5</sup> This translation is admittedly inelegant, but it is inevitable.

Save on thy rose who has ever seen so becoming a bond?

Perchance thou didst say, thy face is like the rose and tulip to look upon, the fragrant down on thy cheek is like the edging of a bed of tulips.

Thy cheek was not fit for this, why does it bear its chain, like me who bear my chain in the time of the reign of this monarch.

The world conquering king Nasir-u-l-Haqq (ally of the truth), he who places upon the hands and feet of meanness a thousand fetters by his generosity.

Wali Muhammad Balban, who entangles rebels in the time of war, in the noose of his wrath.<sup>1</sup>

Oh king of the age, by whose unspicuous fortune the treasurer of Fate has undono the fastenings of the shell of the mine of prosperity.

Beneath the saddle of the confasion of thy enemy on the day of fighting, each girth of thy saddle becomes sixty-four<sup>2</sup> thongs to bind him.

He is like the opium, provoking quarrels and suspicion,

If his opium remains enclosed within the poppy head.<sup>3</sup>

When the aromatic odour of thy good qualities removed the bond from the wrinkled mouth of the musk bag of Tatar, ambergris gained a fresh odour<sup>4</sup> from its fragrant breeze, and the rose bud too was loosed from its prison by the newly arrived spring.

11

<sup>1</sup> These couplets are transposed in MS. (A) as given above.

<sup>2</sup> شصت و چار بدد I do not understand this, nor can I get any adequate explanation of it.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) د آئیونش گر بیدا. The Bahru-l-Jauhar sums up the properties of opium thus قلیله یافتع و بیش و کثیره یقتل qaliluhu yaftuu wa yasibuhu yaqtlu.

In small doses it is beneficial acting as a soporific, in large doses it kills.

No mention is made of its quarrel-provoking properties, and from the second-half of the couplet it would seem as though the quarrels are provoked by its cultivation rather than by the drug.

<sup>4</sup> نسیم تویش MS. (A). The text reads سیم تویش.

The heaven every moment casts the fetter of intoxication on those who are drunk with the cup of thy favour, by the obstruction of their brain.<sup>1</sup>

Thy kingdom is a rivulet flowing from the spring of satisfied desire; safety, enjoyment and pleasure are the banks of this stream.

In such a way open the road of equity for the ends of victory, That by thy justice no fitters may exist in the world save the locks of lovers' hair.

You see one who has assisted injustice in his soul in whose path

Destiny places countless <sup>2</sup> obstacles.

Like Naushirwān when thou knockest at the door of justice, Thou keepest not the chains firmly fastened on bad and good.

In thy reign, it believes that no one in his lifetime should see any fetter, save on the foot of the cypress and the finger-bearing leaf of the Chinār.<sup>3</sup>

The knot of the dragon's tail and the dragon's head <sup>4</sup> is a fetter on the sky, come and relieve the distressed heaven from its bondage.

That the sun and moon may become relieved of the affliction

<sup>1</sup> Both MSS. (A and B) have هر که افگندہ. I am not satisfied with this rendering but can suggest no better.

<sup>2</sup> بیشمار بند. MS. (A) reads صد هزار بند.

<sup>3</sup> *Platanus orientalis*. The oriental plane has a broad palmate leaf. It is the Sycamore of the ancients according to Balfour.

<sup>4</sup> عَذْدَعَ عَذْدَعَ met caput et canda ( رأس و ذنب ) pro quo etiam dicitur عَذْدَعَ تَيْنَ (dual), qui est term, techn : astron : Bl. "Caput et cauda draconis, i. e., nodus ascensens et descendens." Vüller sub voce ذئب. The *Istilāhātū-l-Funān*, says that the 'Uqdatu-r-Raś is also called 'Uqdatu-sh-shimālīya and the 'Uqdatu-z-Zanab is called 'Uqdatu-l-Junūbiya, and the two together are called *Jawazahr* جوازه. These terms are fully explained in the Article الخنزير p. 510, Vol. I. See also Lane s. v. تَيْنَ where the terms are explained as being the ascending and descending nodes of the planet.

of eclipse<sup>1</sup> in the knot of the dragon's tail,<sup>2</sup> like me who  
am in the bond of distress

Thou hast ordered that the learned should be imprisoned,  
Beware that thou layest no bond upon the learned

Woe is me! Honour them rather out of policy, and on the 112.  
newly wedded bride of eulogy bind the princely pearl  
taken from the casket of my heart.

Has over any monarch placed a bond on literary men out of  
love of empire and usurpation?

I, at all events, am a talking parrot, not a hunting falcon,  
the hawk's jesses are not rightly placed on the legs of  
parrots

Why do you imprison me, as from my secret heart there is  
an evident fastening (of grief) fixed upon the door of my  
heart's fortress

Loose my bonds, and by way of conquering the fortress, fix

<sup>1</sup> As regards the word كسوف *Kusuf* it is generally held that this word is more specially applicable to an eclipse of the sun while حسوف *Husuf* is applied to denote an eclipse of the moon. The *Ghiyagu'l Lugha* applies it to either while the *Kashshaf Izzilahat*: *Funkh* lays down that كسوف *Kusuf* should be used to denote a total eclipse, and حسوف *Husuf* a partial eclipse; moreover indicating only a change of colour, while كسوف *Kusuf* denotes a total loss of colour. Lane however says they both mean the same, or that "in the common conventional language كسوف *Kusuf* is the partial loss of the light of the sun and الحسوف *Husuf* is the total loss of the light thereof," and it is said in a tradition

ان الشمس والقمر لا يختفان لموت احد او لحياته

As كه is a much earlier letter than ح it is probable that originally at all events كسوف stood for an eclipse either of the sun or moon, the meaning being subsequently modified for convenience

<sup>2</sup> Compare the Hindu mythological monster Rahu

The name Rahu by which the ascending node is designated is properly mythological and belongs to the monster in the heavens which, by the ancient Hindus, as by more than one other people, was believed to occasion the eclipses of the sun and moon by attempting to devour them. Burgess *Surya Siddhanta*, p. 50

Mythologically Rahu is a Daitya who is supposed to seize the sun and moon and swallow them thus obscuring their rays and causing eclipses. Rahu and Ketu are in astronomy the ascending and descending nodes. Rahu is the cause of eclipses and is used to designate the eclipse itself (Dowson *Dict. of Hindu Mythology* p. 252)

the bond of thy heart upon the mercy of the threshold of the Creator.

My heart was wounded by the tyranny and oppression of the heaven, now the chain wounds my leg as well as my heart. No one has seen half a dāng weight of gold in my possession, And, even if he has, I would not willingly undergo imprisonment for the sake of it.<sup>1</sup>

Gold has no value in my sight, how can I pledge it like a usurer so as to get twelve for every ten.

I have eloquence like pure gold, another man has gold itself, Open your hand in bounty to me, and keep him imprisoned. Do not keep me so long in suspense waiting for my release, My imprisonment has turned my blood to water in this weary waiting.

At least kill this hapless innocent with the sword of thy wrath,

But do not imprison me, for imprisonment kills me<sup>2</sup> with its perpetual agony.

My name has become famous for eloquence from east to west, Is it fitting to put fetters on the feet of such a famous poet? Wisdom said to me long ago by way of advice, Chain thyself at the threshold of the victorious king.

I was indulging in these hopes, when the king himself shewed kindness and imprisoned this miserable one as though he were a murderer.

You may be quite sure that imprisonment is not required in that place in which the seal of the treasury was opened by his generosity.

First thou didst fasten, then thou didst loosen,<sup>3</sup> Oh! noble bounty! I carry the fetters from thy door into the presence of the Almighty as a memorial.

It was the sword of royalty [which loosened them] by the

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A)

در بند من نه دیده کسی نیم دانگ زر  
ور دید بهران تکنسم اختیار بند

In MS. (B), the first line is like the text, the second like MS. (A).

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) می کشیدم

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) باز کشاده

mercy of the Most Beautiful; had that not been so the imprisonment would have utterly ruined me.

Since<sup>1</sup> you 'Amid girt the loins of loyalty in the service of the throne, therefore by his care the days of your imprisonment were brought to a happy termination.

As long as the young and sprightly maidens to the distraction of their lovers, have purposely bound their cheeks with the chain of youthful bloom.

Se long may the door of good fortune be closed in every direction to your enemies,

And by the sword may the bars of both fortresses be opened.

### QASIDA.

My eye is the boundless ocean, the thought of my heart is a bark,

In sorrow my bark sets forth on the floods as thou flow from my eyes.

Night and day I float in the flood of tears, how can my bark 114 live in the midst of the raging billows of blood?

How can I expect to win my desire from the vile world?

How can I launch my bark on the surface of a gutter?

Although my bark in this ocean, now sails on and now lies at rest, sailing with the seven sails,<sup>2</sup> and resting on the four anchors.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) ۱۷۷

The text as it stands must be translated, If thou hadst girt would have been brought &c

It is evident from this Qasida that 'Amid Lomaki was unprisoned, but I can find no reference to it in the account of him given in the *Majma'u l-Fuzahā*.

<sup>2</sup> The seven sails here appear to mean the seven members of the body, known as the *pādī ṣaḥḥāḥ* *haft andam* (1) the head, (2) the chest, (3) the back, (5) and (6) the two hands, (7) the feet or (1) the brain, (2) the heart, (3) the liver, (4) the spleen, (5) lungs, (6) gall bladder, (7) stomach.

This name was also given to a vom by section of which it was supposed that blood was withdrawn from the seven members first mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> The four anchors are the four "humours," according to the old humoral pathology. *الدم ad dam*. The blood. *البلغم al balgham*. The phlegm. *الصفراء as safra'*. The bile *السوداء as sauda*. The black bile.

The four anchors may however be taken to be the four elements, earth, air, fire, and water.

Of what use to me are those sails and those anchors,  
If my bark is suddenly overwhelmed by the billows of  
death?

In this age I sought fidelity from the tyrannical,  
Who has ever seen a boat on the Jihūn in the mouth of  
Mehrgān<sup>1</sup>

In front of the claws of this crab<sup>2</sup> and the revolution of the  
nine heavens, loosen<sup>3</sup> thy four anchors and then launch  
thy bark.

The sea-monster of avarice of my soul turns back, otherwise<sup>4</sup>  
one might drag the boat to the shore by some contrivance.  
With the exception of the philosophers how can anyone

1. "In former times (says Albirūnī) this day (Mihrajān) used to coincide with the beginning of winter" at which time the Jihūn would be frozen and unfit for navigation owing to the intense cold. Yāqūt states that in the winter the Jihūn freezes so hard that the ice is five spans (about 40 inches) thick, that the people dig wells through the ice with pick-axes to get water, and that caravans and carts cross the ice, which become like a high road covered with dust. This continues two months. Concerning the word Mihrgān, the *Burhān-i-Qāti'* says, "Mihrgān is the seventh month of the Shamsī year, which corresponds with the position of the sun in Libra, which is the beginning of autumn. The feast of Mihrgān is the next greatest feast among the Persians to that of Nauroz, and, like this latter feast, is divided into two, *Mihrgān-i-khaṣṣa* and *Mihrgān-i-āmma*; the feast of Mihrgān lasts for six days beginning from the sixteenth of the month. It is said that God Almighty laid out the world on the 21st and endowed bodies with souls on that day. They say also that Faridūn ascended the throne on that day. The meaning of Mihrgān is the binding of affection (حُبَّتْ بِيُوسْنَ) and it was so called because for the above reasons the people were treated kindly by their rulers on that day."

Others again say that there was a king of the Persians named Mihr who was a great tyrant and was consigned to hell in the middle of this month, so that they called it Mihrgān in the meaning of death of a tyrannical king. (*Burhān-i-Qāti'*).

According to others Mihr is the name of the sun, who is said to have for the first time appeared to the world on this day. This is indicated by the custom of the Kisrās of crowning themselves on this day with a crown on which was worked an image of the sun and of the wheel on which he rotates.—(Albirūnī).

See also Albirūnī (*Chron. of Ancient Nations*), p. 208 and seqq.

2 At the commencement of spring when the Sun enters Cancer; i.e., March 21st.

3 بَكْشَا وَ

4 MSS. (A) and (B) have وَبِجَهْ.

guide the ship out of the whirlpool of this world to its final haven of refuge<sup>1</sup>

Do not set thy heart upon the ebony<sup>2</sup> like world, because a ship built of ebony is overwhelmed in the sea of this worthless world

Do not seek for safety when loaded with boastfulness  
For an overladen ship is speedily wrecked.

Seek security from sorrow at that time when you have been wise enough to make, as I have, a ship from the planks of the praise of thy lord

The centre of kingship of land and sea Taj al-Haqq, who 115 made a ship of safety for traversing the ocean (Qulzum) of sorrow.

Sinjar<sup>3</sup> who is like the sky in dignity, in fear of whom sedition navigated its ship in the direction of the crossing of the ocean of Qairawan<sup>4</sup>

### سُوئيْ مَلَكِيْ

<sup>2</sup> He compares the world to ebony because of its blackness indicating misfortune. Ebony ابروس is said in the *Burhan f Qafe* to be a black wood which when placed upon the fire emits a pleasant smell like the *بَرْق* (sud) or aloes, when rubbed down with water and used as a cellyrium it relieves night blindness, given internally it dispels calculus of the bladder"

The *Bahru l Jaicahir* says that ebony "is a black wood which sinks when thrown into water" hence the poet assumes a ship built of ebony would sink.

<sup>3</sup> Abul Haris Sinjar Ibn Malakshah ibn Alp Arslan was Sultan of Khurasan, Ghazna and Mawarau n Nahr. He was the sixth of the Seljuq Sultans

He was excessively liberal, and was supposed to be wealthier than any of the Persian kings. He was deserted and taken prisoner by the Ghuzz tribe in 548 A. H. (1153 A.D.) but eventually escaped and was at the time of his death in 555 A.H. on the point of recovering his throne. He was born according to Ibn Khaliquin in A. H. 479, in the environs of Sinjar whence he received his name. One authority places his death in the year 552. He died at Merv. See Ibn Khaliquin (de Slane) I 600

See also D Herbelot art *Sangiar* Vol III, p 202 et seqq

<sup>4</sup> Qairawan Long 10° E Lat 36° N is situated in the North of Africa in the province of Tunis. It is the ancient Cyrene, the modern Kurwan. At the commencement of the Musulman occupation it was the capital of Africa. See Abul Feda (Ronand) II 1 198. The ocean of Qairawan is the Mediterranean

In Abul Feda (Annals) we find that Qairawan was founded in the year 50 H. (665-666 A.D.) and was completed five years later

Needs must that with those two love fascinated eyes,  
The stag should endeavour to protect himself from the snares  
of thy locks.

When the story of thy fragrant tresses reached him,  
The stag curtailed his narration of the bag of musk.

The stag suffered from the effects of the intoxication of thine  
eyes,

And he got rid of his headache by drinking of the cup of the  
assembly of the world-subduer.

The auspicious lion, protector of the crown of true religion,  
Sinjar,

In whose estimation the fierce lion of the sky is but a stag.

The stag thought right to carry a fragrant ball of camphor<sup>1</sup>  
taken from the dust of his threshold, to Khitā as a memorial.

Perhaps it was from the dust of his dignity which became<sup>2</sup> the  
ornament of the sun, that the stag obtained superiority  
over the wild beasts by reason of his musk-bag.

Happy art thou star-arrowed one, whom the demon-hearted  
fear and shun as<sup>3</sup> the stag avoids the lion.

An enemy who falls into thy clutches does not escape;

Who has ever known the stag to escape from the claws of the  
lion?

At that time the stag prided himself upon being fleetier than  
thy charger, now in sooth the stag is ashamed of his slow-  
footedness.

At the time of attack, how can the stag in spite of all his  
efforts, reach the dust which is thrown up by thy char-  
ger's hoofs?

Think it not strange if from the abundance of his bonny, the  
lynx goes slowly on foot, and the stag swiftly like a horse-  
man.

'Twixt thine eyelids reigns a Sultān,  
Helpless, lo! I bow before him.

This comparison of the mole on a cheek to grains of musk is one of the  
commonest similes among Persian poets.

<sup>1</sup> The sun is called كافور *kāfur* & سلمان *shamāma-i-kāfir*.

<sup>2</sup> بود MS. (A).

<sup>3</sup> MS. A. ۵۷.

Comprised with the fragrance of thy goodness how can tho stag boast<sup>1</sup> of the dried blood of his navel in Tātār.

By the aid of thy words which are like an antidote, I have no fear, even though the stag shall become like to one that feeds on snakes<sup>2</sup>

His food is the snake, but afterwards like the elk, besides the antidote, the stag offers in every direction the bag of musk. In the land in which thou art, by reason of thy great justics the lynx sits sorrowful, and the stag stands to comfort him. The day that thou pursuest him he shows only his right shoulder when the stag rushes from the right to the left of thy army.

In reliance upon thee if a stag were to cherish a young lion in its bosom it would be no wonder

What power has two hundred enemies against thy prowess? What does the hunting leopard think of a head of a thousand stags?

Thy enemy will be able to engage in conflict with thee At that time when the stag's horns are capable of fighting the lion.

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) 555 j6

<sup>2</sup> The elk is said to feed on snakes and the water which collects at the corners of the eyes (inner canthus) is reputed an antidote for all poisons (*Burlan + Qati*)

The following is abridged from the *Hawatū l Hawāwān*. The stag is fond of snakes which it eats wherever it can find them, commencing from the tail of the snake. Sometimes the stag gets bitten by the snake in which case its tears flow down, and fill two hollows beneath its eyes large enough to contain the finger, here they congeal and become solid like wax. This wax is used as an antidote against the poison of snakes and scorpions and when given by the mouth is useful as a remedy for other poisons. The stag also eats crabs, and hunts for fish by walking along the margin of the lake or river, when the fish come out of curiosity to see it this fact is made use of by fishermen who are wont to dress in the skin of the stag.

The horns of the stag, which are shed yearly, are of great service to mankind more especially as a remedy for impotence and to facilitate parturition. If a portion is burned and administered mixed with honey it acts as a vermifuge, and when used as a dentifrice removes discoloration of the teeth. Used for fumigation it drives away reptiles and other venomous animals. If a portion is hung round the neck, the wearer will not sleep so long as it remains there. A draught of the stag's blood dissolves stone in the bladder.

In the meadow of thy favour the stag has never seen his quarters and sides as thin as his legs.

Conqueror of the world, I have bound "The stag"<sup>1</sup> with thirty-three couplets in thy praise by way of experiment as though it were a camel.

It is fitting that the word "musk deer" should be repeated as *radif* a hundred times since thou hast sent me in thy kindness a stag twice.

Formerly the stag thought of nothing but the musk-bag, now he makes the glory of thy praise his constant occupation.

'Amid has opened the musk-bag of wisdom in singing thy praises, like the musk-bag upon which the stag prides itself.<sup>2</sup>

Always; as long as men search for musk on the surface of the ground, and no musk deer lays aside its power of producing musk,

May the perfection of thy justice reach such a height that the stag may extract musk from the hunting leopard.

Mayest thou roam at large and enjoy thyself in the meadow of fortune, just as the stag roams over the meadows in spring time.

Fasting has made his form which was like the Närwan<sup>3</sup> slender as a reed, and has made his face which was red as the Arghawān<sup>4</sup> pale like the saffron.

<sup>1</sup> The word *stag*, occurs in every couplet of this qasida.

<sup>2</sup> مشک *mishk* is said to be the congealed blood of the navel of the stag of Khitā. (*Burhān-i-Qāti'* and *Makhzanu-l-Adwīya*). The latter work says "It is very difficult to procure genuine musk, it is only brought as a great rarity as a present to kings and great rulers mixed with saffron and a little camphor as a remedy for headache; and is used alone or with other drugs such as the testicles of the beaver (*Castoreum*) as a stimulant snuff in paralysis and other cold diseases of the brain, for which it is also used by inunction Smelling it removes the evil effects of poisons, especially of *bish* (aconite) and *qurūnu-s-sumbul*. (?) It is also very useful as a collyrium in many diseases of the eye.

It is a cardiac tonic removing palpitation, and faintness, relieves dysentery and globulent distension. A suppository of musk assists parturition."

See also Ibn Baitār (Sontheimer) Vol. II. pp. 513 *et seqq.* for a full account of the statements of various authors regarding musk.

<sup>3</sup> نارون The Närwan is described in the *Burhān-i-Qāti'* as a very graceful tree with abundance of leaves; called also *گلnar* *Gulnar*.

<sup>4</sup> ارغوان The Arghawān according to the *Burhān-i-Qāti'* is a tree with

How can it be saffron for it has not made me smile!  
 Fasting has made my cheek yellow like the Zarir<sup>2</sup> through weeping, and my tears red as the Arghwan  
 How can it be a tulip, for fasting makes his cheek like the Khiri<sup>3</sup> 120  
 How can it be a cypress, when fasting makes it weak and tremulous?<sup>4</sup>

brilliant red flowers, a drink made of which removes the effects of intoxication. The wood is burned and used as a pencil for the eyebrows which it causes to grow and become black. Ibn Baigur (Sonthemer) says, (Vol I p 28)

"The tree is very abundant in Isfahan and bears brilliantly red flowers which are edible, having a sweet taste which is communicated to wine. The wood is soft and when burnt yields a black ash which is used as a cosmetic. The decoction of the root bark when drunk is a certain emetic." Sonthemer does not give the botanical name. See note 1 page 100

<sup>1</sup> See p 11, n 2

<sup>2</sup> زریز The Burhan-i-Qas<sup>1</sup> says thus is "a herb with which they dye clothes, it is called also asparag (اسپارگ) According to some however it is the leaf of Zard choba (turmeric) so no other authors say it is a flower. It is also the name given to the bilo, and also to jaudice (Burhan-i-Qas)

In Vullers we find اسپرگ (Asparag) herba flava tingendo inserviens, alias فرزیر (Zarr) or ورس (wars)

According to Ibn Baigur (Sonthemer) wars is Memecylon tinctorium—N O Molastomacow, regarding which Drury in his *Useful plants of India*, page 291, says 'The leaves are used in dyeing affording a delicate yellow lake—they are also good for dyeing clothes red by itself it gives an evanescent yellow'

<sup>3</sup> خیری A flower of which there are many varieties

حیری حطائی Khiri : Khufsi— is dark purple

هفت رنگ Mirdina— is violet It is also called حیری میردینی Haft rang

Khiri : Sahra— is red and white, called also حیری حرامی Khiri : Khiranu

گل همیشہ بهار Shirazi— is yellow, called also حیری شیرازی Guli hamesha bahar and in Arabic جفیر Afifir (Burhan-i-Qas)

See also Vullers

According to Ibn Baigur (Sonthemer) this plant is the wall flower Cheiran thus Cheiru N O Cruciferae

\* MSS A and B have قوان The text reads نوان which is a better reading

Haply she has hung the amulet on her silvery monso like neck, so that wisdom like a fasting cat has been compelled to remain fasting<sup>1</sup>

My tongue has become dry like that of one fasting in advising her

For thy form is like a fresh blown rose, fasting is the autumn wind (which withers it)

Although thou openest thy lips like a bud which had been closed by fasting, just as I broke my fast at the table of the priso of my Lord,

The ocean of benevolence, champion of the truth, round the table of whose beauty men and genii broke their fast,

Mohammad whose vanguard is like destiny, the joints of whose spear broke their fast with the blood of the enemies (trickling down) from the point

He, whose right hand is like that of Isfandiyār, has also, from the liberality of his hand, caused the ago<sup>2</sup> to break its fast on this side of the seven stages

Before the generosity of his heart, the ocean and the mine, have, in their utter poverty, considered fasting to be their bounden duty

Hail O King<sup>3</sup> ! in whose just reign the wolf, as though it wore a sheepish has kept its fast to secure the safety of the flock

Thou art like the two first fingers,<sup>4</sup> a close companion of the heavens, just as fasting goes hand in hand with prayer

Thy existence is the twin brother of kingdom, just as fasting is the twin brother of *Zikat, Hajj* and *'Umrah*<sup>5</sup>

لَبْ ازْ طَارِدَهْ دَلَوِنْ تُرْ

زَيْلْ ازْ طَارِدَهْ شَكْرْ دَرِنْ تُرْ

A lip more alluring than the seed of the pomegranate

A tongue far sweeter than the whitest sugar

A favourite simile with Persian poets

<sup>1</sup> These couplets occur in this order in MSS A and B

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) reads كشاده دهش which is the reading adopted here

<sup>3</sup> و سَطْعَي سَيَّدَهْ رَسْطَعَي سَيَّدَهْ The forefinger and middle finger which are most commonly used together to oppose the thumb

<sup>4</sup> زَكَاةً Zakat or almsgiving is one of the five foundations of practical

<sup>5</sup> وَ قُولُوا لِلنَّاسِ حُسْنًا وَ أَقِيمُوا الصَّلَاةَ وَ آتُوا الزَّكُوَةَ Quran 11 77

"And speak to men kindly and be steadfast in prayer and give alms"

The proportion to be given varies with the different kinds of property

The breeze of thy soft qualities like the fragrance of the perfume of the breath of the fakir,<sup>1</sup> has carried feeling with a special offering to the garden of Paradise.

Thou hast cast out the custom of tyranny from the kingdoms under thy sway, insomuch as thou hast relieved waste countries of taxes, and exonerated the people from feasting.

The spirit of man is often broken by the visitation of the  
heavens; just as his bodily fast is broken by bread.

In this time no one, from the time of David till now, remembers fasting at the table of such a host as thou art.

At the smell of the table of thy bounty the guest has considered it incumbent upon him, whether in the feast or in the fray, to fast from food of all kinds.

The bird of thy arrow has broken its fast, like the gnat of  
Nimrud on the brain of thy enemy in the cup of the skull  
(the cup of vapours).

For the maintenance of thy kingdom, young and old have fasted, both the old and the new creation.

The revolution of this six-storied world is full of the mention  
of thy glory, just as fasting fills the seven members of the  
body in this darkness.

*Hajj*. The Pilgrimage to Mecca which is incumbent upon all Muslims who have the necessary means.

*Tarâkî. The lesser pilgrimage, which may be performed at any time except during the 8th, 9th, and 10th days of Zûl Hijjah. See Hughes (Dict. of Islam.)*

نسمیم خلق تو چون طبیب مشکبوی خلوف <sup>۱</sup> *Text.* (MSS. A and B read  
چون طشت مشکبوی خلوق).

**خُلُفٌ** *khulaf* is defined as the smell of the breath of one who fasts.

A Hadis says.

**خُلُوفٌ وَفِيمَا الصَّائِمُ طَيِّبٌ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ مِنَ الطَّيِّبِ**

The breath of one fasting is sweeter in the sight of God than sweet smelling savour.

See also Lano. Art. خلف. It became altered (for the worse).

The Qāmūs, says

وَخَلَفَ فِمُ الصَّائِمِ خَلْوَفًا وَخَلْوَفَةً تَغْيِيرَتْ رَايَتَهُ

\* Both MSS. (A) and (B) agree with the text. I take the word اباھات abāḥat to be a plural formed by Bādānī on the analogy of عینات umyāḥat, and to stand for the نه آبادی علوة nuh abā-i-‘ulwiyā, the nine heavens.

On this earth, the world's children (have fasted) with such endurance that the spiritual beings will never be able to break the fast.

I stood before thee with my loins girt in honest service, as though fasting, because fasting is not one of my objects, neither openly nor in secret.<sup>1</sup>

My manliness netuated by ambition bowed the knee to me<sup>2</sup> 123. and said,

Imagine that both your pen and your finger tips are fasting. The claims of thy generosity caused me to break my fast<sup>3</sup> and consume my time, had it not been for that I would have speedily imposed a fast upon my words.

Had not the praise of thee been the sustenance of my powers of speech how could the point of my tongue have broken its fast by breaking into poetry?

Like the parrot, my first morning feed<sup>4</sup> is the sugar of gratitude to thee, not like the *humād* I break my fast upon bones.

Who is able to break his fast in this way at the time of bringing in the "radif" better than 'Amid, with the draught of trial.

He has broken his fast with a feather from the wing of the bird of praise, because at this time fasting is the best nest for the bird of praise.

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) reads زبانزیده ده پیدا و نهان روزه MS. (B) reads ..... زبانزیده the reading in the text is

زمانه درنی و پیدا و نهان روزه

All of these readings appear to be corrupt and the following reading seems reasonable, and has been adopted in the translation

زمانزیده ده پیدا و نهان روزه

<sup>2</sup> The text reads شمار برد but MSS. (A) and (B) read نماز برد مفطر<sup>5</sup> MS. (A)

<sup>4</sup> "The following is the routine of a fast day. About half an hour after midnight, the gun sounds its warning to faithful men that it is time to prepare for the *Sahūr* (سحور) or morning meal." (Barton's Mecca I. p 110 note) see also Lane's Modern Egyptians for the observances of the month of Ramazān.

Always, as long as fasting brings as its reward from the bounty and mercy of God, a hidden treasure worth a hundred princely treasures,

Mayest thou be famed<sup>1</sup> for generosity and kindness in this world, for fasting points the way to the highest heaven.

### ANOTHER QASIDA.

I, who have made my dwelling in a corner like the Simurgh<sup>2</sup>

I have made my nest beyond the axis of earthly sphere.

Why do I bear the shame of every bird in this ill-omened land?<sup>3</sup>

I have gone like the 'Anqā<sup>4</sup> and have made my resting place in the mountains.

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) reads نشانه فسانه instead of فسانه as in the Text.

<sup>2</sup> The bird of the mountain of Alburz which nourished Zāl when he was abandoned there by order of his father Sām, and taught him the language of the country. On restoring Zāl to his father she gave him a feather from her wing and said " Whenever thou art involved in any difficulty or danger put this feather on the fire and I will instantly appear to thee to ensure thy safety.". See *Shāh Nāma* (Atkinson) p. 75 *Shāhnāma*, Turner Macan, Ed. I. pp. 97 et seqq.

<sup>3</sup> There is a play on the word بوم here which cannot be preserved.

<sup>4</sup> Another name for the Simurgh, and a synonym for anything rare and unattainable. (See *Burhān-i-Qāsi* under the name عنقای مغرب)

There is a long account of the 'Anqā in the *Hanjātu-l-Haiyān* where it says on the authority of Qazwīnī that the 'Anqā is the largest of all birds which can seize an elephant as easily as a kite snatches up a rat. It once lived among men, but caused them so much annoyance that by the prayers of a holy prophet it was banished to an uninhabited island in mid ocean beyond the Equator, full of enormous animals. When the 'Anqā flies there is a sound like thunder and floods. It lives 2000 years, and pairs at the age of 500. It is said that the claws are made into large drinking cups. A description of the mode of capturing the 'Anqā is also given but is too long to quote.

Among the proverbs of the Arabs one is حلقت به عنقاء مغرب which is said of any one of whose reformation there is no hope. " May the Anqā fly away with him. "

الجىوه و الغول والعنقا تالله اسيا لم توجد ولم تكن They also say Liberality, the Ghūl, and the Anqā are three names of things unattainable and non-existent.

To dream of the 'Anqā is also said to ensure marrying a beautiful woman, or if already married, to ensure having a brave son.

Until the bird of my ambition swoops down upon the harvest  
of the lower world, I have made the harvest field of the  
sky full of grain like stars

Why does the moon display the halo harvest when it does  
not show a single grain to any one, whereas I with one single  
grain of manliness have bound many a sheaf?

By the light of the knowledge of God I have made the  
newly wedded virgin bride of reality to shine in the  
chamber of wisdom with the brilliance of the day

The course of the heavenly bodies in the columns of the  
almighty of the Creation, I have proved one by one by  
comparison with the astronomical tables<sup>1</sup> of intellect

In the bridle of four rings, that is the trappings of the four  
elements, great is the training which I have given the  
unruly steed of my passions

I have made the parrot of my soul, whose cage is the form  
of this uncouth body which is like a midden, every moment  
to rival the nightingale of the verdant<sup>2</sup> garden

The parrot has left for the garden the kite of lust which is  
following it circling round and round my nature I have  
detained within the midden of the body

In many an art for which<sup>3</sup> the scientists had no taste

I have made as great progress, hundred fold as they are, as  
a man who follows but one art

My intellect has served to light the lamp of the treasury of  
science, I have made my skill the oil which supplies the  
light to the wick<sup>4</sup>

The jewel of the secret of reality has been required in such  
a (perfect) way that I have made my mind the storehouse  
of the treasury of secret knowledge

Once by way of vaunting in the rose garden of desire,

<sup>1</sup> The text (and also MS. B) has an absurd reading در دارج the real  
reading is در ذبح as is seen in MS. (A)

<sup>2</sup> سدر گلشن MS. (A). There is a verbal antithesis between گلشن (gulshan) garden and گلخان dist leap in the Persian which I have attempted to imitate by the words garden and midden

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) کرای The text and MS. (B) real

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) and (B) both real در معیش The text has در عیش

I displayed the brilliancy of my skill partieoloured like the peacock.

The faleon of the Divine indignation smote me with its talons from its hiding-place, so that I took refuge in a corner like the pigeon.

They would have shewn me the way (and have bidden me walk) in this solitary windowless tower

Had not my ambition carried me far beyond the seven windows (of the sky)

A tower, narrow, ay! at that time even narrower than my heart, (so narrow that) you would say I am a eord and have given myself a place in the eye of a needle.

It is the constellation of the Areher, and I am like the Sun, and have by my eold sighs changed the bright spring of the world into the bitter eold of winter.<sup>1</sup>

This was not all; the good tidings of my bad fortune brought to me the blacksmith, to whom I said—Strike off my head in return for the blood whieh is upon my head.

The splendour and comfort of the golden-throned sun is my desert,

Whereas I am resting upon a (hard) iron (prison) seat.

The seven-headed dragon (*The Sky*) hides its head (in astonishment) to see that I have brought this two-headed serpent (*night and day*) under my skirt.

They determine for me an imprisonment like that of Bīzhan in the well of tyranny. I have not seen Manīzha<sup>2</sup> nor have I committed the crime of Bīzhan.

<sup>1</sup> The Sun enters the constellation of Sagittarius in the commencement of the winter.

<sup>2</sup> The daughter of Afrāsiyāb. When Bīzhan undertook to clear the country of Armān of its plaguo of wild hogs, after fulfilling his task he was led by the machinations of his companion Girgīn, who was jealous of him, to intrude upon the retirement of Manīzha, the beautiful daughter of Afrāsiyāb, and press his suit, which he did with such success that after some time their amour was discovered and Gersiwāz was sent by Afrāsiyāb to put Bīzhan to death: by the intercession of Pīrān the punishment was averted, but Bīzhan was imprisoned in a deep pit. At first Manīzha was condemned to undergo the same punishment but her doom was changed and she was allowed to dwell near the pit, all the people being forbidden by proclamation to supply her with food. Eventually, by the help of Rustm, Bīzhan was freed and he and Manīzha went to Irān together. (See Atkinson's *Shāh Nāmah*, pp. 300 and seqq). See also page 116 note 5.

Patience has the strength of Rustum,<sup>1</sup> as one may say,  
I have entrusted the strength necessary for my release to the  
arm of Rustum-like patience.

All of my companions are free to follow their occupations  
while I am fast in prison,  
God forbid I should be the only one of all mankind to have 126  
committed this fault

The times are out of joint, if not how can the following of  
the Ishraqi philosophy<sup>2</sup> which I followed so excellently  
have thrown me into misfortune?

The shaft of the tyrannical heavens passed through and  
through from the back, although I had armed my breast  
with the cuirass of patience

My body longs for food in the captivity of sorrow, and I have  
prepared for its support my blood as its drink, and my heart  
as its meat

Once I was like the tulip in complaining, but then afterwards  
I made myself like the lily ten-tongued (but silent)<sup>3</sup>

Like the violet I have let my head fall forward (in sorrow)  
from dearth of benefactors, and though like the lily I have  
ten tongues I am become dumb in thy praise

I am suffering the punishment of my words, because in my

<sup>1</sup> Rustum extricated Buzhan from the pit by drawing him up with his  
kamand or lasso

<sup>2</sup> اشراقیة The Illuminati A sect of Philosophers, of whom Plato was  
one, who, instead of following the precepts of any revealed law, looked to their  
own proper inspiration and mental illumination which they held to be the  
result of spiritual meditation Haji Khalifah, III p. 87, writes as follows  
"Philosophia illuminatiois (Hekmat el ishraq) est Neo Platonica inter ceteras  
disciplinas philosophicas eum locum tenet quem a Theosophia inter doctrinas  
Islamiticas similiter mollo, quo philosophia physica et theologica inter illas disciplinas  
locum tenet quem theologici dogmatischæ scholastica inter has"

In the *شرح مخطوط مادي مادي مادي* by حافظ سعد زواري we find Philosophers  
are of four kinds,—those who arrive at wisdom simply by meditation those  
who arrive at it simply by purification of the mind by seclusion and retire-  
ment, those who arrive at it by combining these two These last are called  
the Ishraqi sect

See Haji Khalifah علم الحكمة See also do Slane, Proleg Ibn Khal III 167.

<sup>3</sup> The MS (A) has حبشي راد راد The text follows MS (B)  
See note 1 page 101

lying flattery I have made every beggar a king, and have made the (worthless) Lādan<sup>1</sup> into frankincense.

At one time I have proclaimed Suhā<sup>2</sup> superior in brilliancy to the moon,

At another I have scorned the river as being inferior to the drippings of a sieve.<sup>3</sup>

I have made friends with Avarice, like 'Amīd from the lust for blood, and for that reason I have made contentment my enemy.

I have subjected my spirit, which is like a high mettled horse, to the burthen of labour, because of the tyranny and meanness of the heavens, see now what a jade he has become.

**127.** I have made barren my truth-adorning heart and my jewel-producing nature, without the help of Qitrān,<sup>4</sup> not now only but long ago.

١ لادن *Ladan*. The resinous balsamic juice of *Cistus creticus* and other species; according to the *Burhān-i-Qāfi* it is called also عَنْبَرْ عَسْلَى Honey-ambergris and is used in medicine. It is the juice of a plant growing in sandy soil, of which goats are very fond, and their hair becomes covered with the exudation, the best is collected from their beards; *si femina quædam, cui in utero fœtus mortuus sit, vaginam snam vapore ladani vaporaverit; fœtus ille mortuus illoco excidit*. See also Ibn Baitār (Sonthcimer) I. p 409.

It is the لد of Genesis xxxvii 25 and xlivi. 11, where it is translated in our version *myrrh*. The Greeks called it στακτή. The true *myrrh* (Ar. مُرْمرُون *murrun*) is different.

The أشہب *Ashhab* is the white ambergris which was accounted the best.

2 A small obscure star in the Lesser Bear.

3 MSS. (A) and (B) have فیض عزیزان but غربیزان is a better reading.

4 Qitrān, the exudation from species of mountain pines, black in colour, used according to the *Burhān-i-Qāfi* (and *Qāmūs*) for inunction of camels affected with mange. It is, according to these, the exudation of the tree called عرعر 'ar'ar, (Juniper) the properties of which are thus enumerated in the *Makhanul-Adwiya*: Deobstruent, diuretic, emmenagogue, relieves cough and chest pains, and pain in the spleen; relieves flatulence, haemorrhoids, flatulent colic or uterine pains. Sitting over a hot infusion of it causes uterine spasm, while a poultice of it is antiflatus. I can find no mention in either of these books of its use as an abortifacient. It is perhaps *Juniperus Sabina* (Savine) which is powerfully ecbolic. According to Ibn Baitār (Sonth.) II. p. 94, it is *Pinus cedrus*, but this appears to be incorrect. See also II. p. 189, sv. عرعر 'Ar'ar.

The word سترون is derived in *Burhān-i-Qāfi* from أستور and و و i.e., mule-like, because mules have no offspring.

This one poem<sup>1</sup> of mine is worth a whole *Dauān* and a hundred caskets of jewels, nay more, every verse of it have I made better than particoloured hair<sup>1</sup>

Imprisonment has brought me to lamentation, and from the delicacy of my speech you see the joy which I have given in the very midst of my lamentation

Oh Lord, give me my sustenance from the date tree of thy favour, I have made the bud of my heart to sing the praises of thy Unity

Present me with the robe of honour of thy protection, for thy court is my original refuge, so I have fled to my refuge Keep far from the darkness of infidelity,<sup>2</sup> hypocrisy hated and enmity, that heart which I have embellished with the light of sincerity to Thee

Keep thou the Sun of Divine knowledge shining within my heart, for I have made my heart the mine of the jewels of true belief

#### SULTAN GHİYASU D DIN BALBAN I KHURD

Who had the title of *Ulugh Khān*, by the consent of the Maliks and Amirs adored the throne by his accession in the Qasr i Safed

<sup>1</sup> شعر The word شعر here has its double meaning. Sufī in his prosody says, 'A bait (poem) is called bait for the reason that بait means a house and they comprise the bait of poetry (شعر) with the bait of hair (شعر) and he quotes the verses by Abu l Ala Ma'arrī

الحسن يظهر في العين ووجه نعمت من الشعر ونعت من الشعر

The brilliancy of beauty is shewn forth in two tents  
The tent of poetry (*shārī*) and the tent of hair (*shīrī*)

<sup>2</sup> شرك *Shirk* 'Idolatry paganism polytheism' Ascribing plurality to the Deity Associating anything with God

The Wahhabī writers define *Shirk* as of four kinds

شرك العلم	<i>Shirku l ilm</i>	Ascribing knowledge to others than God.
شرك التصرف	<i>Shirku t taṣarruf</i>	Ascribing power to others than God
شرك العبادة	<i>Shirku l 'ibadah</i>	Offering worship to created things
شرك العادة	<i>Shirku l 'adah</i>	The performance of ceremonies which imply reliance on others than God

(the White Palace) in the year 664 H.<sup>1</sup> He was one of the "Forty Slaves" of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn, each one of whom had attained to the dignity of Amīr. Inasmuch as the reins of government had been in his hands even in the days when he was merely Ulngh Khān, the affairs of the State very quickly came into his grasp. He would not allow people of low origin to have the slightest authority. It is said that a man named Fakhr, who had for years served as chief of the Bāzār, had recourse to one of the Sultān's more intimate attendants, and offered a very large sum<sup>2</sup> on the condition that if the Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban would speak with him once only, he would give him all this money and valuable property.<sup>3</sup> When this request was represented to the Sultān he would not entertain it, and said 'to converse with people of low and mean extraction will lower my prestige.' He was altogether opposed to oppression, and, in the early days of his reign, punished certain of his Amīrs on account of some tyranny which they had practised upon their subjects, and having handed over one or two of them<sup>4</sup> he permitted the complainants to exact retaliation, and after that these Amīrs had paid the blood money, for shame they could never come out of their houses as long as they lived, and at last they left the world.

#### Verse.

Reputation arises from equity and justice;  
Oppression and kingship are as the caudle and the wind.

And all his praiseworthy qualities may be estimated from this, that he used never to omit the ceremony of purification, and on going into an assembly where one was preaching he used to

<sup>1</sup> Of the six years which intervened between the events recorded as having occurred in 658 H. and the accession of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban there is no known historical record. The *Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhī* of Ziāu-d-Dīn Barānī only begins from Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) has the word مال between تقبيل and بسيار.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) reads گرانمہ نقد و جنس

<sup>4</sup> يکدویی رابستہ۔ According to Firishita one of these was Haidār Khān the Amīr of Oudh, who had killed a man in the fury of intoxication. Balban after enquiry had the Amīr publicly flogged, and delivered him to the widow as a slave. He bought his release with a sum of 20,000 silver tankahs but never left his house afterwards and died from shame. (See also Elliott, III. 101.)

display emotion, and weep much, while as regards his treatment of sedition and revolt he used to show himself a merciless repressor.

He laid claim to the glory of an Emperor, because of this  
 That he adorned the world with wisdom and equity,  
 In days of retirement he would wear a blanket;  
 And he strove in prayer and supplication  
 His eyes fixed upon the ground, his heart boiling like a  
 cauldron;  
 A heart eloquent of speech, but a silent tongue;  
 Till his heart perceived with the eye of secret knowledge  
 All that was visible of these intricate matters

In this same year of his reign Tātār Khān the son of Arsalān Khān sent from Lakhnāt sixty-three elephants as a present; and in this year the Soltān proceeding to Patialā<sup>1</sup> and Kanpila, built the forts of Patialā, Kanpila, Bhujpur, and certain other forts, and with five thousand cavalry crossed the Ganges on the pretext of making preparation for an expedition to the Jhd hills. In two days after leaving Dehli he arrived in the midst of the territory of Kāthar<sup>2</sup> and put to death every male, even those of eight years of age, and bound the women, and inflicted such chastisement that up till the reign of Juktān-d-Dīn the territory of Bidāon and Amroha remained safe from the ravages of the Kātharis,<sup>3</sup> and he threw open all the roads of Bihār and Jaunpur, and all the roads of the Eastern part of India which were closed, and made over the territory of Miwāt, which lies in the Doīb, to strong handed governors, with orders to put to death the rebels, which they did, impounding some. Then he made an attack in the direction of the country at the foot of the Sintur

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) پتیالہ Patialā. The printed text has بیتلی Betali.

Patialā In Afghan Lashk, 22 miles north of Elah, a ruined fort still exists (Hunter Imp. Gaz.)

Kanpila In Farakhabad district, celebrated in Mahābhārata—(Imp. Gaz.)

Bhujpur The residence of the Ujjainish Rajahs, west of Arrah and north of Siāseram, a pargana in the Siekār Rohitās Bihar

<sup>2</sup> So also Turkh Firoz Shāh Firshita reads کنٹھر Katcher. MS (A) reads کنٹھر Kānthar. The district of Rohilkhand is meant

<sup>3</sup> Who Firshita says were notorious robbers and brigands

hills,<sup>1</sup> and built a fort on those boundaries, and having called it Hisār-i-Nau (New Castle) proceeded to the Jūd hills, and brought an army<sup>2</sup> towards Lāhor, and rebuilt the castle of Lāhor which had been laid waste by the Mughūls in the reign of Sultān Mu'izzud-Dīn Bahrām Shāh. Here he became ill, and the news of his illness<sup>3</sup> reached the confines of Lakhnautī, and Tughral, Nāib of Amin Khān, who had been appointed to succeed Sher Khān in that district, laid the foundation of rebellion, and fought with his master Amin Khān and came off victorious, and having imprisoned him gathered round himself the paraphernalia of royalty, and gave himself the title of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn, and completely defeated some imperial troops which had been sent to oppose him. Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn brought up an army against Tughral but he went towards Jājnagar and Tārkila (Nārkila)<sup>4</sup> and Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Beg Birlās<sup>5</sup> was ordered to pursue him, the Rāī of Sunārgām named Dhanūj<sup>6</sup> offering his services to the Sultān engaged to bring Tughral, and Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn proceeding by forced marches found Tughral, who had fled into a jungle,<sup>7</sup> walking about off his guard, and having put him to death sent his head to the court. The Sultān conferred that kingdom with a canopy and baton of office on his younger son Bughrā Khān, Governor of Sāmāna, who eventually received the

130.

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) reads كوهایہ سنبوز Kohpaya-i-Sanbūz. This seems to be a copyist's error, but I cannot suggest the true reading. The Kumāon hills must be meant.

<sup>2</sup> حصار نو نام نہاد MS. (A).

<sup>3</sup> Neither Firishta nor Ziāu-d-Dīn Barnī mention this.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) reads در بجهہ سرو نشته نارکیلہ and

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) ملک اختیار الدین تنگرس را Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Tangras. Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhī calls him Malik Bārbak Bektars Sultānī. See Elliott, III. 117, note.

<sup>6</sup> Called Danūj Rāī in Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhī. See Elliott, III. 113, note.

"The Jājnagar here mentioned was evidently east of the Brahmaputra and corresponds to Tippera. The Sunārgām, presently mentioned as on the road to Jājnagar, is described by Rennell as being once a large city and now a village on a branch of the Brahmaputra 13 miles S. E. of Dacca."

It is marked in Rennell's Map given in Vol. III. of Tieffenthaler "Sonner-gong." See Map N. 6. See J. A. S. B., 1874, p. 82.

<sup>7</sup> The printed text and MS. (A) both have که در جنگلی گردیده می گشت The above appears to be the meaning.

title of Sultan Nāṣir-ud-Din, and then left for the capital. Since, after the death of Sher Khān (who was uncle's son to the Sultan and one of the "Forty Sheres" of Sultan Shāmuq-ud-Din, and Governor of Lāhor and Mīralpur, and had read the *Khuqātak* in Ghaznā in the name of Sultan Nāṣir-ud-Din, the Mughals during his governorship not daring to invade Isfandistān) the road of communication had become opened<sup>1</sup> to the Mughals, accordingly Sultan Balban, to remedy this, despatched his elder son Sultan Muhammād, who is known as the *Khañ-i-Shāhi*, and *Qān-i-Mulk*, (having first conferred upon him a canopy and baton of office, and the signs and insignia of royalty, and having made him his heir-apparent, and giving over Sind with its dependencies to his care) with full equipment towards Multān, and the country right up to Tāttha and the sea-coast was in his possession. Amir Khwāra and Amir Nasr of Dehlī remained in his service for five years in Multān, and were enrolled among his intimate companions. On two occasions he sent large sums of gold from Multān to Shiraz and begged that Shāikh Sādi,<sup>2</sup> may God have mercy on him, would come to live with him. The Shāikh did not come, excusing himself on the score of old age, but commended Mr Khwāra to the care of the Sultan, writing in excessively laudatory terms concerning him, and sent a collection of autograph poems. Sultan Muhammād used to visit Multān every year to see Sultan Balban, and used to return distinguished with robes of honour and all

<sup>1</sup> The Calcutta text exactly reverses the meaning by reading سے مل دیا۔ Thus losing all the sense of the passage Cf. MSS (A) (B)

MSS (A) has, correctly, مل دیا۔

<sup>2</sup> Shāikh Sharaf-ud-Din Muqaddim ibn 'Abdu'llah as-Sādi. He was a native of Shiraz where his family for generations had been famed for eminence in learning. He is said to have lived to a great age, accounts differing between 102 and 112 years (Beale says 120). He spent 30 years in acquiring sciences, 30 years in travelling (he made the Hajj fourteen times) and 30 years in quietude. He died in the year 691 H (1291 A.D.). He was the contemporary of many great men, among them Amir Khwāra of Dehlī who entertained him. His *Kulliyat* are of world wide reputation. The *Mujma'ul Fugha* (I. 274) from which the above is taken does not give the date of Sādi's birth and gives the date of his death as 701 H which is wrong. According to the account given by Beale Sādi was born "about the year 671 A.H." The above account would however place his birth in either 689 A.H. or 699 A.H. Of his works the *Gulistan* and *Bistotr* are the best known.

For a full account of Sādi see the preface to Platt's *Gulistan*. See also *Hushkāla*, p. 284

possible rewards and distinctions, and on the last occasion on which they were able to meet, the Sultān instructed him in private with excellent counsels and pleasing discourses, which are mentioned in the books of the Histories of Dehlī, and having granted him permission to depart sent him to Multān; and in the same year *Itimar*<sup>1</sup> the Mughūl with thirty thousand horsemen having crossed the Rāvī by the ford of Lāhor caused great commotion in those districts, and the Governor of Lāhor sent a petition to *Khān-i-Shahid*<sup>2</sup> telling him of what had occurred. He while in his assembly read 30,000 as 3,000 and, marching with a large force, by rapid and continuous marches arrived at the boundaries of Bāgh-i-Sabz,<sup>3</sup> on the banks of the Lāhor river where he engaged the infidels and attained the dignity of martyrdom. This event took place in Zū-Hijjah of the year 683 H,<sup>4</sup> and Mir Hasan<sup>5</sup> of Dehli composed a prose lament, and sent it to Dehli. It is copied here in its very words.

### *The Lament of Mir Hasan.*

It is an old story that the tyrannous sphere, though it may for a time knit the knot of complaisance, and make a covenant of mutual sincerity, turns from its promise, and that discordant time, although it professes to shew acquiescence, and makes specious promises of fidelity, fails to perform them.

The wanton-eyed heaven, the pupil of whose manliness is sullied by the defect of the mote of meanness, at first, like a drunken man, gives some bounty in a ease where there has been no favour received to demand it, but in the end, like the children, takes the

<sup>1</sup> *Itimar*. Both in the printed text and in MS. (A) Ziāu-d-Dīn Barnī calls him Samar. Firishta calls him Tīmūr *Khān*.

<sup>2</sup> Called *Khān-i-Shahid* or the "Martyr Prince" because he fell in battle opposing "the accursed Samar, the bravest dog of all the dogs of Changīz *Khān*" (Elliott, III. 122.)

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) باغ سریر MS. (B) باغ سبز the text reads باغ سریر Bagh-i-Sarir with a footnote variant Bagh-i-Sard.

<sup>4</sup> Ziāu-d-Dīn Barnī says 684 H.

<sup>5</sup> Ziāu-d-Dīn Barnī attributes this lament to Amīr *Khusrū*. (Elliott III. 122). Firishta also states that Amīr *Khusrū* escaped when the Prince was killed, and wrote a lament. It seems probable therefore that the lament should be attributed to Mir *Khusrū*. The *Hasan* which occurs in Text and both MSS. (A) (B) may have had its origin in a copyist's error.

gift back again without any treacherous conduct having been committed. The habits and customs of the oppressive times are cast in the same mould, whether by experience or by hearsay, we see or hear that whomsoever it perceives coming to perfection like the moon, it desires to darken the face of his fulness with the blot of defect, and whomsoever it finds rising like a cloud him it strives to tear to pieces, and to scatter his substance to the extreme boundaries of the horizon. As in this orchard of amazement and garden of regrets, no rose blooms without a thorn so no heart escapes the thorn of sorrow. Alas! for the newly sprung verdure which has become yellow, withered in the bloom of its beauty by the autumn of calamity. Alas! for the many fresh-springing trees which have been laid low in the dust of the ground by the fierce blast of Death.

132.

Consider the winds of Autumn, how chill they are and cold,  
The cowardly blows they have dealt alike at the young and old.

One of the examples of this allegory is the death of the late Emperor Qā'ān-i-Mulk Ghāzī,<sup>1</sup> may God make manifest his demonstrations and weigh down the scale with his excellencies, on Friday the last day of the month of Zūl-Hijjah in the year 683 A.H., when the moon, like kindness in the heart of infidels, could nowhere be seen, the Sun with the company of the army of Islām came forth to smite with the sword, and the great Prince who was the Sun of the heaven of the kingdom, with the light of holy war shining on his noble brow, and the unchangeable determination of "jihād" firmly planted in his illustrious mind, placed his auspicious foot in the stirrup. By night they submitted to his judgment which solved all difficulties, that Itimar with the whole of his army had advanced into the plain at a distance of three *farsangs*. When morning broke, he commenced to march intending to leave that place, and at a distance of one *farsang* coming face to face with those accursed ones,<sup>2</sup> elected to draw up their forces in a place on the outskirts

<sup>1</sup> Qā'ān-i-Mulk Ghāzī. The eldest son of Ghīyāṣū-d Dīn Balban who was Khān of Multān. See page 187 *ante*.

<sup>2</sup> بَلَادُ الْمُكَافِرِ MS. (A)

of Bāgh-i-Sarīr<sup>1</sup> on the banks of the river of Lāhor. Accordingly he very strongly fortified a large village which was close to the river, and made such dispositions that when the infidels came against it, both rivers<sup>2</sup> should be in the rear of his army, so that neither could any man of his own army turn in flight nor could any injury be inflicted upon his army by that troublesome horde<sup>3</sup> and in very truth that choice of position was the acme of caution and the very height of skill in that world-conquering Khān, but since when Fate is adverse the thread of all plans becomes tangled, and the orderly row of enterprises becomes disordered,

He who falls in with evil fortune by the way,  
His affairs fall out just as his enemies desire.  
His Fortune like a mad man loses the right way,  
His senses, like the nightblind, fall into the well.

By chance that day the Moon and the Sun, which may be compared to kings, were suspended in the sign of the Fish,<sup>4</sup> and Mars, whose blood-red aspect is entirely due to the blood of the princes of the people, had drawn out from the quiver of that sign the arrow of disappointment and the dart of disobedience against that Orion<sup>5</sup> (white) girdled Khān, who was like Leo coming forth from a watery sign; the house of fear and calamity and the proofs of sedition and signs of harm thus became evidently

باغ سبز باغ تیز (A) MS. باغ سریر<sup>1</sup> Probably the before mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> The Rāvī and Satlaj. This battle was fought close to Multān, and is described by Firishta, who states that after having routed the Mughūl army, the Prince and some of his retainers were resting by the bank of the river when they were attacked by one of the Mughūl chiefs who was lying in ambush with 2,000 men, and the Prince was killed with many of his followers; the army which had taken the alarm returning just in time to see him die.

<sup>3</sup> I read مخاذبل شاوش MS. (A).

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) reads در نشانه ماهی

جاء القضاء ضاق المضا  
Lit. When Fate comes, the plain becomes narrow.

Other proverbs of this kind are the following :—

اذا نزل القضاء بطل المختار When Fate comes, caution is useless.

اذا نزل القضاء عمي البصر When Fate comes the eye is blind.

<sup>5</sup> The three stars in Orion's belt. See Lanc s. v. الجوزاء

manifest, while the hunt and indication of the proverb "In face of Fate wide becomes strait" became written on the consecutive pages (of his history). In short, at midday just as the courier of the heaven reached the country of noon, and the day of that world conquering Emperor was approaching its decline, suddenly a band made its appearance from the direction of those infidels. The Khan-i-Ghāzi at that same moment mounted his horse and issued an order in obedience to which all the cavalry and the body servants and retinue and retainers, in accordance with the mandate 'Kill the infidels all of them',<sup>1</sup> drew up in a line a hundred times stronger than the rampart of Sikandar.<sup>2</sup> After ordering the right wing and dressing the left wing, he himself of noble qualities, stood in the centre like the moon and the host of the stars, ready for the *jihād*, while the Tatar infidels, let confusion and dismay come upon them, crossed the river of Lāhor, and confronted the ranks of the Muslims. Thereupon these wild loving desert horn savages, placing the feathers of the owl<sup>3</sup> upon their illomened heads, while the Ghazis of Islam, kings of Turkestan and Khilj and notables of Hindustan, and all the soldiery made the battlefield a place of prayer—as the Holy Apostle, *may the blessings and peace of God be upon him*, declared that the holy war was closely allied to prayer, saying *We return from the lesser holy war to the greater holy war*,<sup>4</sup> reciting the *takbir*<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Quran IX 5

قَاتَلُوا الْمُشْرِكِينَ حَيْثُ وَجَدُوكُمْ

<sup>2</sup> The thick wall said to have been built by Alexander the great to restrain the wild natives of Northern Asia commonly known as the wall of Gog and Magog. See D Herbelot Vol. I p 640 II p 282 Ibn Khaldoun Proleg I 162

<sup>3</sup> The owl called by the Arabs عرب الليل is a bird of ill omen and is held to be unclean. Muslims being forbidden to eat its flesh (*Hayatu l Hauzanat*)

Hence the proverb تُوكِنْ فِي الدُّوْمَةِ حِيرَ مَا تَرَكَهَا لَصَيَادٌ

Had there been any good in the owl the hunter would not have passed it by. See also page 157 note 1. See also J A S B 1877 p 81

<sup>4</sup> According to Sufi writers there are two *Jihads* *Al Jihadu l Akbar* or the greater warfare which is against one's own lusts and *Al Jihadu l Asghar* or 'the lesser warfare against infidels' (See Hugbos Dict of Islam on *Jihad*)

<sup>5</sup> Cry ng *Allātu Akbar* الله اکبر God is Almighty. See *Mishkati l Masrib* X n 1

raised their hands in prayer, and in the first attack they put to the sword a considerable number of able-bodied men of the Mughul cavalry, and the lances of the Maliks of the Court so wounded the limbs of their enemies that above each of them the blood spurted up like a spear, while sixty selected Turks inter-weaving their arrows like closely-woven cloth, made it appear as though the west (of existence) of the Tatars was being torn to shreds.<sup>1</sup>

In the beginning of the fray the arrow of the king leapt forth  
The Tatars were all laid low.

As often as the great Lord, lion-hearted, wielding the sword,  
with a blade as bright as his own faith, sallied forth to  
attack from the midst of the ranks.

You would say that the sword was trembling in that battlefield  
at the excellencies of the monarch, and becoming in its entirety  
a tongue was saying to him, Up and make an end of these accursed ones, and entrust their discomfiture to thy servants, but do thou thyself refrain from personal action, for the sword is double faced, and the scimitar of Fate pitiless in its wounding—no one can tell what may happen to any one of us from the decree of the All powerful. I close my eyes against the fatal eye.<sup>2</sup>

Go not, that I may bind thy dust upon mine eyes.

Act not, for I greatly fear the evil eye.

The heaven has never seen such a brilliant countenance,  
I am as rue upon that fire to guard that eye.<sup>3</sup>

As long as he strenuously performed the duties of fighting and  
135. warfare, each of the weapons as it were entered into colloquy with  
him—the spear was saying, Oh King! refrain your hand from me

<sup>1</sup> There is a sequence of plays upon words in the original which cannot possibly be preserved in a translation. قير *tir* is a kind of cambric or lawn. It also has the usual meaning of "arrow."

<sup>2</sup> عین الکمال An eye supposed to have the power of killing with one glance. The Arabs says فَتَّا اللَّهُ عَنِكِ عَيْنُ الْكَمَال May God blind the fateful eye to thee.

<sup>3</sup> سپند According to *Burhan-i-Qâli*, a seed which is burned to avert the consequences of being "overlooked" by the evil eye. See Vüller's Lexicon.

For an interesting account of charms against the evil eye see Lane's *Modern Egyptians*.

this day, for the tongue of my point by reason of constant fighting  
and slaying is blunted, and I have no power left of opposing the  
enemy with thrusts, I fear lest I should leap up and should commit  
some untoward act The arrow too was saying,

Thou, the knot of whose bowstring opens the knot of the  
Jauzhar, do not advance to meet this danger! <sup>1</sup>

I myself in rushing forth to destruction cast dust upon my head,  
lest the close eyed heavenly of the heaven <sup>2</sup> who sits on the fifth  
roof near the door of the eighth mansion, <sup>3</sup> sitting in ambush, out  
of temerity and spite, should discharge against you the shaft of  
evil from the bow of fraud and malice, the arrow was saying,  
to day the thread of planning should not be let go from the hand  
of deliberation, for I am contorted with anxiety at this precipitate  
conflict and ill considered battle, wait a while! for Islam and the  
Muslims are like the tent ropes connected with the tent of your  
favour Oh God! in dealing with this people, do not so long  
delay putting the halter round their necks

I have willingly put my neck in the noose for thy sake  
Thou art my lassoer, who takest me with the noose of thy  
locks

In short, that mighty king, the defender of the faith, the proclaimer  
of infidelity, from mid day till eventide attacked that impious  
crowd with the whole main body of his army, cheerfully and  
willingly, while the shouts of the victors in the fight, and the  
clamour of those eager for the fray <sup>4</sup> deafened the ears of the world  
and of the sky, <sup>5</sup> and tongues of fire which leapt from the heads of

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) has مَسْدَاد as has the text MS B مَسْدَاد Neither is intelligible

Possibly we should read مَسْدَاد mafṣada Jauzhar the head and tail of  
Draco see Burhan : Q is also آن : Akbari II (J) p 9 also Kayshaf, I, 202

<sup>2</sup> مَهَاجِر تَرَكْ تَنَجْ چَشْمَ فَلَكْ MS (A)

<sup>3</sup> I read در حادثه ششم MSS (A) and (B) have در حادثه سیامده which makes  
no sense unless we supply a word such as سیامده for which there is no  
sanction The text reads در but it seems to me در is more likely to be  
right It might easily have become در by copyist's error

<sup>4</sup> مَعْوَاعِي عَالَدَانْ وَعَا وَعَلَيْنَ طَالَانْ عَنْ This is a better read  
ing than the text

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) and (B) read صَفَاحَ لَهْلَعَ for صَفَاحَ لَهْلَعَ in the text

136.

the flashing spears, and tongues of the swords made not a single mistake in even in a letter in transmitting the message of destruction. In that uproar like the day of resurrection every one thought of this Ayat *A day when a man will flee from his own brother*,<sup>1</sup> the surface of the earth, like the eyes of old men who have lost their sons<sup>2</sup> was full of blood, and the face of the sky like the head of sons who have killed their fathers, full of dust.

Alas ! my father why dost thou submit to the steel of the fire-like sword

Oh ! dost thou wish to inflict the wound of orphanage on my heart.

In the very midst of this weary conflict, and amid all this pain and anguish, suddenly an arrow shot by Fate struck the wing of that falcon of the field of foray, and the bird of his life took its flight from the cage of the body of that noble one to the gardens of the Compassionate and meadows of Rizwān<sup>3</sup>

Verily we are God's and verily to Him do we return.<sup>4</sup>

At that same moment the backbone of the religion of Muḥammad, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, broke like the heart of sorrowful orphans, and the rampart of the religion of Muḥammad fell in like the grave of poor people of low origin, and the assistance which the arm of the king alone could give slipped from our grasp, and the confidence which the army of the Muslims had possessed<sup>5</sup> was lost. Exactly at the time of sunset,

<sup>1</sup> Qur'ān Sur : lxxx. 34.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) بصر بیاد داده پسر بیاد داده. The text has بصر which is bald and destroys all the antithetical force of the sentence.

In MS. (B) the word پسر is omitted.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) گلشن حنان و روضه رضوان Rizwān, the name of the door-keeper of the garden of Paradiso. The word means "Pardon" "forgiveness."

<sup>4</sup> The formula of resignation to the Divine will uttered by pious Muslims in all times of adversity, more especially bereavement or in presence of death. In the Qur'ān II. 150, 151 we read, "We will try you with something of fear, and hunger and loss of wealth and souls and fruit; but give good tidings to the patient who when there falls on them a calamity say, 'Verily we are God's and verily, to Him do we return' these, on them are blessings from their Lord and mercy, and they it is who are guided." (Palmer).

<sup>5</sup> بیضه اسلام see Lane, Ar. Dict. بیضه اسلام. The placeo which comprises El-Islām (meaning the Muslims) like as the egg comprises the young bird, or the congregation or collective body of the Muslims.

the sun of the life of that king whose sun was setting sank into the west of extinction, and the heaven, after the habit of mourners, dyed its ruyent blue, while falling tears began to course down both its cheeks. Saturn, by way of fulfilling the requirements of fidelity and the demands of mourning, turned its robe to black and bawnied the people of Hindustan because of his death. Jupiter, in pity for that dust besoiled body and blood-stained mantle sent his garments and cast his tribun in the dust.

And Mars, may the hand of his power be tightly closed as the eye of the hennies, and the face of his sustenance be dark as the locks of Ethiopians, sore wounded by compassion for that calamity, with a rankling thorn<sup>1</sup> which brought forth his heart's blood, was trembling like the Fish<sup>2</sup> before the Sun, and like the Ram<sup>3</sup> in the bonds of the slughtress, while the Sun, for shame that it had not striven to avert this calamity and prevent this disaster, came not forth, but sank below the earth, and Venus when she saw what violence the heavenly bodies were undergoing at the hands of Timo, played her tmbour more vehemently,<sup>4</sup> changed the tune of the drum, and commenced music in a fresh measure, and because of the death of that slave chouthing king, others in place of uttering musical strains began to weep, and Mercur<sup>5</sup> who in forago and conquests in accord with the scribe, used to write many records of victory, in that tyranny<sup>6</sup> was blanckening his face with the contents of his inkhorn, and was clothing himself in a garment of paper made of the sheets of his own records, while the now moon in the shape of a crescent on the horizon, with bowed stature, in that day of judgment which had visited the earth, was striking its head on the wall and performing all the customary mourning duties.

137.

خار عقرب *Khar-i-Aqrab* The thorn of Scorpio Mars is called حار عقرب

<sup>3</sup> حوت *Hut* The sign Pisces

<sup>4</sup> جمل *Hamal* The sign Aries.

\* راد في الظببور *Rad fi al-azibbur* on the analogy of برباد في حذفه said of a liar

The طنبور *tanbur* is a kind of mandolin with chords of brass wire played with a plectrum. The word was originally دب فرة from its being likened to the tail of a lamb (Lane).

<sup>5</sup> Mercury is called دبیر علک *Dabir-i-Falak* The scribe of the sky -

<sup>6</sup> نظم *tazallum* MS (A) MS (B) The textual reading نظم must be wrong

Thou placest thy cheek in the dust, alas, I wish not this  
for thee

Moon of my days, I do not wish thee to pass beneath the  
Earth.

If thou goest out to the chase (*i.e.* diest) thy dust is my life :  
My life ! is the solitude of thy dust pleasing to thee ? I do  
not wish it for thee.

May God, be *He exalted and blessed*, raise the purified and  
sanctified soul of that warrior prince to lofty heights and high  
dignities, and give him, from time to time, cups full of the brilliancy  
of his beauty and glory, and make all the kindness, and  
clemency, and affection, and care which he evinced towards this  
broken down worthless one, a means of increasing the dignity and  
wiping out the faults of that prince. Amen, Oh Lord of the worlds !

And Mir Khusrū<sup>1</sup> also on that day fell a prisoner into the  
hands of Lahirī, a servant of the Mughūl, and had to carry a  
nosebag and horsecloth upon his head. He recounts this circum-  
stance in these words—

I who never even placed a rose upon my head,  
He placed a load on my head and said "It is a rose."<sup>2</sup>

And he composed in poetry and sent to Dehli two elegies written  
in *tarkīb-band*<sup>3</sup> which are found in the anthology known as

میر خسرو For an account of Mir Khusrū see index reference.

The poet, relates some of his experiences as a captive—"At the time  
that this learner of evil, the author, was a captive in the hands of the  
Mughūls—may such days never return!—travelling in a sandy desert, where  
the heat made my head boil like a cauldron, I and the man who was with  
me on horseback arrived thirsty at a stream by the roadside. Although  
the naphtha of my life was heated I would not inflame it with oil by  
drinking a draught of water. Both my guard and his horse drank their  
fill and expired immediately." Elliott, III, Appendix, p. 545.

<sup>2</sup> جل means both *horsecloth* and also *rose*. There is a difference in the readings MS. (A) reads, تو برة بوسونهاد و گفتا جل MS. (B) is like the text.

<sup>3</sup> ترکیب بند. In this class of composition a certain number of verses  
having the same metre and rhyme are followed by a couplet in the same  
metre but having a different rhyme—then the original rhyme is reverted to  
for a certain number of verses, and is again followed by a fresh couplet  
having the same metre, but a rhyme differing from both the original rhyme  
and that of the first interpolated couplet—and so on. In *Tarjī'band* as

Gharatu l Kanal<sup>1</sup> For a space of a month more or less folk used to sing those *tarlib bands* and used to chant them as threnodies over their dead from house to house

The following is one of them —

Is this the Resurrection day or is it a calamity from heaven 138  
which has come to hgt?

Is this a disaster or has the day of Judgment appeared upon the earth?

That trench which has appeared this year in Hindustan has given entrance to the flood of sedition below the foundation of the world

The assembly of his friends has been scattered like the petals of the rose before the wind

Autumn the leaf scatterer has one would say appeared in the guden,<sup>2</sup>

\* Every eyelash in the absence of friends, has become a spear point to the eye and each point of this spear has brought blood spouting forth to a spear a length

The heart writhes in agony since Timo has broken the thread of companionship

When the string is broken the pearls are scattered far and wide

Such a flood of tears has been shed by this people on all sides that five fresh rivers have appeared around Multan<sup>3</sup>  
I wished to bring my heart's fire upon the tongue in the form of words

When lo! a hundred tongues of fire appeared within my mouth

It has been stated elsewhere the plan is similar to the above but the interpolated couplet is always the same. This interpolation occurs not more than seven times both in Tarkib band and in Tarjib band

1 *Gharat illamal* The longest of the four Diwans of Amir Khusrau It contains poems written from the 34th to the 42nd year of his life for an account of this and the other Diwans see Elliott III Appendix See also II j Khalaf IV 311

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) reads گلستان for دو سد

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) agrees with the text MS (B) has a worthless reading

دھنی دنگر اندرونیں آمد پڑا

I dug deep in my breast, empty of all desire, and tears burst forth from both my eyes; when the earth is hollowed out then springs of water make their appearance.

Weeping has taken the bloom off my cheek, and disgraced me, because by reason of it, the skin has left my cheek and the bones have come in sight.

The planets are all conjoined in my eyes<sup>1</sup> perchance it portends a storm, since in a watery constellation a conjunction of planets is seen.

I only wish for that same collection (of friends) and how can this be!

It is essentially impossible--how can this *Banātu-n-Na'sh* become the Pleiades<sup>2</sup> (How can mourning become joy).

With what omen<sup>3</sup> did the king lead his army from Multān and draw the infidel-slaying sword in order to slay the infidels.

<sup>1</sup> The text has در حشمش we should read در حشمش as in MS. (A).

The astrologers state that when a conjunction of all the planets shall take place in one of the watery constellations (Scorpio, Pisces, Aquarius) a deluge like that which destroyed the world in the time of Noah will occur again.

<sup>2</sup> This compleat differing as it does in rhyme, but being in the same metre is characteristic of ترکیب بند *tarkib band*, see p. 196, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> بنات النعش *Banātu-u-na'sh*, this name "The daughters of the bier" is given by the Arabs to the constellation *Ursa Major*. See Lane, s. v. نعش -

The origin of the name "The daughters of the bier" is said by Sedillot in his Notes to the *Prolegomenes des Tables Astronomiques d'Olong Beg*, to be that "the Arab Christians called the "Chariot" or the four stars composing the body of the Great Bear نعش لعازر *Feretrum Lazarī*, and the three stars (the handle of the plough) of the tail *Maria, Martha ac ancilla*." The Persians have a superstition that if two people are together and one of them points out this constellation to the other, one of the two will die within the year.

The allusion to the Pleiades is explained by the following verses of *Ibn-l-Amīd* (see do Slano, *Ibn Khall.*: III. 263).

"I have seized on one of the opportunities which life offers to form with my companions a part of the band of the Pleiades, and, if you do not aid us to maintain our rank in that choir by sending us some wine, we shall be sad like the daughters of the hearse."

The Pleiades is considered a fortunate asterism (cf.) Job xxxviii. 13, "The sweet influences of Pleiades."

<sup>3</sup> MSS. (A) and (B) read طالع طلاق.

When they brought him tidings of the enemy, with that strength which he possessed, ruthlessly he displayed his wrath and unfurled his standards.

That army which was then present sought for no second army,

For this reason that Rustm must not be indebted to an armed host.<sup>1</sup>

One assault took him from Multān to Lāhor, saying  
In my reign can any one rebel against me?

Am I not such a lion, that my sword which is like fire and water

Has by its slaying turned every year of theirs to dust and ashes?

Such torrents of blood often have I set flowing over the earth,

That the vulture flies<sup>2</sup> over the surface of blood like a duck over the water.

In this year to such an extent do I stain the earth with their blood,

That the evening twilight reddens with the reflection of the earth

He was bent upon this enterprise and did not know that the Destiny of heaven had drawn the line of fate across the writing of the page of intention

His eyes were smitten by the stars; if I have the power I must heat a needle, and like a shooting star thrust it into the eye of the seven planets.

The first day of the month became Muharram<sup>3</sup> for him, 140.  
not for him only but for all people.

<sup>1</sup> These verses are transposed in the text. MS. (A) and MS. (B) give this order.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. (A) and (B) read پر کشیدہ بیس خون.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) reads شد محرم غرہ.

The Martyr Prince was killed on the last day of Zūl Hijjah the morrow of which was the sacred month of Muharram.

The 'Āshūrā (the tenth) is a voluntary fast day observed on the tenth of the month of Muharram. We read in the *Mīqāt* (VII.) Ibn Abbās said "I did not see his highness intend the fast of any day which he considered more noble than the 'Āshūrā and the fast of Ramaḍān" Again "the fast of

Since at the end of Zūl H̄ijjah he drove his dagger into  
the neck of his enemies.

That the day of 'Āshūra might arrive he entered the ranks  
of holy war like Ḫusain ; the dust of his steed served as  
collyrium for the eye of the brilliant moon.

What an hour was that when the infidel reached the van of  
the army !

One upon another his squadrons passed over the river and  
came upon them unawares.<sup>1</sup>

Thou didst see the king's steed,<sup>2</sup> casting the cloud of dust  
to the sky.

The wind-footed courier charging the infidels worthless  
as dust.

He raised a turmoil among the stars by the shouts of  
his army.

He produced an earthquake in the world by the rushing  
of his cavalry,

From the roll of the drums, the neighing of the horses, and  
the shouts of their riders, he caused a quaking of the  
plain and desert and mountain.

His horses were reeking (with sweat), with shoes as hot as  
fire, so that the hoofs of each fiery-shod steed struck  
sparks.<sup>3</sup>

What awe was there ! at one time drawing up for battle,  
What terror was there ! at another time raising the battle  
cries.<sup>4</sup>

From the flash of the sword in his hand he scattered heat  
and oppressiveness around him.

141. the day 'Āshūra I am hopeful will cover the faults of the coming year." (Matthews, Vol. I. p. 402).

"It is the only day of Muḥarram observed by the Sunnī Muslims, being  
the day on which, it is said, God created Adam and Eve, heaven and hell, the  
tablet of decree, the pen, life and death." (Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*).

جوق جوق آپ را بگذشت و نالہ در رسیده آن چہ ساعت

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) reads instead of حنگ as in the text.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) (B.) read ور سم هر آتشین نعلی.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) کارزار آراستن  
و ان چہ داشت بود گاهی نیرو دار انگیختن

<sup>4</sup> MS. (B) reads the same as (A) repeating هیبت in the second line.

While the very thought of his spear pricked the heart like  
so many thorns.

The brave-hearted were attacking, bent on consuming their  
enemies,

The faint-hearted were plotting intent upon flight.

[Whilst, the king the cherisher of brave men, in that  
field of battle,

Was doing deeds of bravery and urging on the warriors].<sup>1</sup>

Striking manfully blow after blow upon the ribs of the  
unmanly cowards,

And sending forth flames of fire from his well tempered  
sword.

Raising aloft like Jamshid the standard, to restrain the  
demons,

Urging on his steed, like the sun, to capture kingdoms.

Bringing the sky into supplication from that affliction.

Making the sun perform the Tayammum<sup>2</sup> with that dust.

[At that time when there was a distinction between brave  
and coward,

Many a one there was whose lips were dry and his cheeks  
pale].<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These lines are omitted in the text but are in both MSS.

گو شاه مرد پرور اندران کار

کار مردان کرد و مردان کار انگیختن

<sup>2</sup> Tayammum. This word signifies "Intention" and is restricted to the *Wuḍū* or ablutional ceremony performed with sand instead of water, which is permissible under certain circumstances, as for instance when water cannot be procured without incurring undue risk or labour. Qur'ān V 9. "If ye cannot find water then take fine surface sand and wipe your faces, and your hands therewith." This like so many of Muhammad's injunctions was excellent as a sanitary measure.

<sup>3</sup> The text and MS. (B) are both wrong here, repeating the preceding band as though this poem were a *safī'band*. The following is the correct reading as given in MS (A)

اندران وقت که فرق از مرد نا نام مرد بود

ای بسائیں را که لبها خشک و رو رها زرد بود )

Consequently in the translation I have omitted the incorrectly repeated lines, and have given these in their place.

The day was cast into darkness when they hurled<sup>1</sup> one upon the other,

The sun became pale when dagger was interwoven with dagger.

The day was nearing its decline, seeing that the swords<sup>2</sup> were weaving a sky of rust over the sun of the army.

The rows of swords in both ranks resembled (the teeth of) a comb,

The combatants are entangled one with the other like hair with hair.<sup>3</sup>

**142.** The Earth looked like a sheet of water when cuirass was knit with cuirass, the plain resembled a rose garden when shield was woven with shield.

The heaven flies away as though flying from an arrow,  
The arrows flying above their heads are thick as the feathers of a wing.

When half the force of the infidels had their heads swept off by the sword

Those infidel heads<sup>4</sup> which were matted together like the locks of black hair.

Ruby-red drops of blood sprang like tears<sup>5</sup> from the sword  
So that the gold-woven standards were besprinkled with the jewels.

Each single head was clef in twain when the swords blows met.

<sup>1</sup> MS. (B) reads تافتند which is the best reading.

<sup>2</sup> This is the reading of MS. (A) & از زنگار تیغ MS. (B) follows the text but with no intelligible meaning. The reading of MS. (A) is not quite satisfactory and it seems possible that we should read از جنگار تیغ i.e. The warriors' swords.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) has the following:—

شک را مانند آن صفحه‌ای تیغ از هر دو سو

MS. (B) has شاند را مانند while the text has this as an alternative reading for شاند را زانست.

MS. (B) is the reading adopted for this line, reading however بافتند (text) and MS. (A) for تافتند MS. (B) in the second line.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) هوسر.

<sup>5</sup> Insert از before تیغ MS. (A).

The cloven heads became as one again when head was thrust against head.

The slain were lying on all sides of that verdant plain<sup>1</sup>  
Like the figures which they weave on the green brocade.

Long had they been striving even from morning till evening, face to face, and hair to hair, and hand to hand.<sup>2</sup>

The king<sup>3</sup> wished to spread the carpet of victory but to what avail

Since the heavens had woven that carpet in another pattern.

<sup>4</sup>[His auspicious sword did not cease from contest for one moment.

From the declining day till night in that day of declining fortune].

Oh Lord ! was that blood which flowed over the face of the plain<sup>143.</sup>

Or was it a river urging its waves toward the lips of the thirsty.

Just as water drops to the earth when you sift it<sup>5</sup> in a sieve

So the blood dript from the limbs of the weary warriors.

The mortally wounded lay in the death-agony writhing on the ground, while from his throat blood burst in billows, spouting in the air.

The arrows drove the bodies over the sea of blood like boats,

Plying their oars madly and urging their course onwards.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) reads کشتنگان افتدند در اطراف آن صحرای سبز which is the reading adopted.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) reads رو بروی و مو بموی و بسو بسو برو باقتند.

MS. (B) reads دو بدو و مربوی و مربوی و بربوسو بربوسو باقتند.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (B) reads incorrectly خواست شد.

<sup>4</sup> The text and MS. (B) are again wrong here giving in this place the couplet beginning اندراون میدان, see page 196 note 3, instead of the lines which should follow

بُشْرَى زَمَانِ شَمَشِيرِ إِقْبَالِشِ نِيَاسُودِ لِزْ قَنَالِ  
ازْ زَوَالِ رُوزِ تَشَبِّهِ اندَرَانِ رُوزِ زَوَالِ

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) بیزی

<sup>6</sup> These lines follow here in MS. (A) in the text they are five couplets later.

The river bore those (the infidel enemies) to hell and the stream bore these (the Muslims) to Paradise, although the blood of infidel and Muslim was flowing side by side. The chargers were plunging and the heads of the riders falling.

The feet of the horses stamping and the heads of the riders bowing along.

Every spurt of blood which spurted from the body struck by an arrow.

Leapt without restraint like a man who leaps to avoid an arrow.<sup>1</sup>

The arrow of every man who from stoutness of heart had an arm nerved for the fight, fitted accurately to the bow flew straight to the heart of the enemy's army.

And he who from faint-heartedness has lost command of his arms and legs, was running now to the water and now to the plain.

The king, the commander of the army, was urging on the charger of his fortune, and it galloped with him in drawing up his line, and planning the scheme of action.

The heavens turned Victory backwards seizing it by the hair,

Although Victory was speeding towards us having left the accursed (infidels).

<sup>2</sup> [The infidels were expecting the coming of night, to take to flight,

Suddenly the scale of the balance turned against us].

What a night was that! when the sun had fallen from the sky!

And demons were hurling fire upon the earth, and the stars had fallen.

When nothing of day remained for that sun of fortune.<sup>3</sup>

1. These lines follow here in MS. (A) which reads چون کسی بکر تیر نپڑد.

2. Here again the text and MS. (B) are wrong. Here should follow as in MS. (A).

کافر اندر انتظار شب که تا پیروں شود

نایگیان میزان مارا پلے دگر گون شود

3. These are omitted in MS. (B.). MS. (A.) reads آفتاب بخت را

and the following are transposed in the text.

Some little daylight remained when the sun (of royalty) fell.

Although Husain of the famous Kerbelā<sup>1</sup> was in straits for want of water.

He was the Muhammad whose end came upon him in the water.<sup>2</sup>

The heart of mankind became (full of holes like) a fishing net because, from the craft of the demon the royal signet which was on the hand of Solomon fell into the water.<sup>3</sup>

The infidels were wallowing in blood as the donkey wallows in the gutter, the believers lay in the mud like jewels in the mire.

One army was passing through the water of the flood of disaster,

The other parched with thirst had fallen in with a mirage.

Each one of them was put down on the tablet of the earth for this reason that their affairs had fallen into the account of the day of reckoning.

<sup>1</sup> A city in Iraq 50 miles south west of Bagdad and six miles west of the Euphrates. Husain was slain there A.H. 61 in conflict with Yazid ibn Mu'awiya on the 10th of Muharram; the name of the place where Husain was cut off from the Euphrates was called Kerbelā. See Hughes Dict. of Islam art. Husain.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) reads كَمْ دَرَكَنْشَ بِهِ أَبْ إِنْتَدَ بُود but the text is the correct reading.

It refers to the circumstances already related under which the Khān-i-Shahid, the Martyr prince met his death. Firishta relates that having defeated the enemy the "generals of Hindstān discarded all caution and pursued the fugitives while the Muhammad, the Martyr Khān, who had not performed the mid-day prayer, went hastily with 500 of his army to the margin of a large tank which then was near, alighted and engaged in prayer when his party were suddenly attacked by one of the Mughūl Generals with 2,000 men who were in ambush" (*Tārikh-i-Firishta*, I. 143. *Bombay Edition*.) The Prince after a gallant fight was killed by an arrow and most of his men, killed. It was here Amir Khusrū was taken prisoner but escaped.

<sup>3</sup> The following is greatly abridged from the *Qissatu-l-Anbiyā*.

Solomon's famous signet ring in which lay the secret of all his power was stolen from him by the jinn *Aṣḡarjī* who while Solomon was bathing, personated him and demanded the ring from his wife (*Yaminah*) to whom he had entrusted it. Obtaining it from her he sat on the throne and ruled the kingdom, Solomon having been cast out as an imposter. Solomon entered the service of some fishermen who used to give him two fish daily as, his

The skull caps which were lying in the fresh crimson blood looked like cocoanuts engraved and ornamented with vermillion.<sup>1</sup>

145. The wounds of the heart were weeping tears of blood in bidding farewell to the soul, and the bodies were lying desolate owing to separation from life.

Alas! many were the living who were lying among the dead overcome with terror, their bodies blood-stained and their eyes sunk in (feigned) sleep.

Look at the deeds of this crafty old wolf (the sky) for lions were as though bound in chains and elephants in fetters at the hands of (infidel) dogs.

[This was not a battle, I verily saw that that was the day of resurrection. If these are the tokens of the resurrection, then I have seen it].<sup>2</sup>

Look at the revolution of the heaven, for it brought about such a change, that it made the centre of Islâm to go round and round (in perplexity) like the compasses.<sup>3</sup>

wages, one of which he ate but sold the other to feed the poor. In the meantime Âṣaf recognized that it was not Solomon who was ruling, and brought 40 holy men (زâlîb) before the throne each bearing an open copy of the Taurât (Book of the Law) which they rend aloud; Âṣtarjî the demon was not able to bear this, rushed up to the roof of the palace, cast the ring into the water and fled. Solomon happened to be fishing that day but being tired fell asleep on the bank of the river, a large snake came out of the water and taking the green bough of a tree in its mouth was fanning Solomon as he slept, when the fisherman's daughter passed by; she ran off to her father and begged him to marry her to Solomon. Eventually this was settled (though Solomon protested his inability to provide a dowry) and Solomon married the girl. The fish which had swallowed the ring fell into their net on the following day and was given to Solomon with two other fish, Solomon took them and sold two of them and gave the other to the fisherman's daughter to fry. She struck a knife into it and the ring fell out, the whole house becoming illuminated, she screamed and fainted, Solomon seized the ring and put it on, thus recovering his lost kingdom.

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) reads کشتنگان را سر کاریای سر. The text and MS. (B) read which seems preferable.

<sup>2</sup> The text and MS. (B) are again wrong: the proper lines here are

نی فرع بود آن قیامت را معین دیده ام

گو قیامت را نشان اینست پس من دیده ام

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) reads (variant adopted) دایرات آسمان بن MS. (B) is the same as the text except that it reads پوکار in both lines.

Has one ever seen an atom carry off the water of the sun's spring?

Has one ever seen a stone, which has rivalled the princely pearl?

When the king entered the cave of the protection of God, that man is a dog who did not wake the sleepers of the cave<sup>1</sup> with his lamentations.

That he entered the secret cave (of death) when fleeing from his enemies, is no disgrace.

The elect of God (Muhammad) fled towards the cave to avoid the attack of his enemies.<sup>2</sup>

And if a spark reached him from the arrow of his enemies this too is right<sup>3</sup> for the wrath of Nimrod at last committed Abraham to the fire.<sup>4</sup>

146. And if he went to the holy place (Paradise) do not he vexed and count it as a shame to him<sup>5</sup> for 'Iṣā through the spite of the Nazarenes devoted his life on the cross.

And if the (infidel) dogs were crafty as foxes to him, say this, that it is of a piece with the dog-like behaviour which was shewn to ('Ali) the Ḥaidār-i-Karrār (lion of repeated attacks).<sup>6</sup>

And if the demons caused him to drown, then say this that it is like when a demon drowned Rustum in the ocean.<sup>7</sup>

Every year he used to devote his life and energy to fighting the Mughūls,

At last he yielded up his precious life in this endeavour.

<sup>1</sup> Qur'ān, Sūratu-l-Kahf, XVIII. The seven sleepers of Ephesus. MS. (A) reads سُكَّتَ أَنْ آذَمِي كُونَةٌ. MS. (B) which the text follows reads شُكَّتَ ; and the text reads كُونَةٌ for آذَنَةٌ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. (A) and (B) read از رزم خصمان از.

<sup>3</sup> The text and MS. (B) are hopelessly wrong here : the correct reading MS. (A) is از تیر خصمان هم دراست.

<sup>4</sup> Qur'ān, xxi. 52-60.

Said they Burn him and help your gods if ye are going to do so  
We said Oh fire ! he then cool and a safety for Abraham.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. (A) and (B) read از نیگ شان دل بد مکن از. The reading in the text تَنْكَنْ is inadmissible.

<sup>6</sup> Abdur Rahman ibn Muljim slew 'Ali with a sword while engaged in prayer on the 19th Ramaḍān 35 A.H. in the Mosque of Kūfa.

<sup>7</sup> See Shāh Nāma (Turner Macan), Vol. II, p. 748. l. 8.

This is one of the tricks of fate which at one time sheds blood and at another gives life;<sup>1</sup> we are powerless, it is useless to strive against the all-powerful tyrant (fate). The mighty lion when stung by the ant roars aloud in agony.

The infuriated elephant when pricked by a thorn shrieks from pain.

[It was on Friday, the last day of Zūl Hijjah that this battle took place

At the end of eighty-three and the beginning of eighty-four].<sup>2</sup>

The sun and moon wept over the face of that one of auspicious features,

Day and night wept over the youth of that short-lived one..

Like his orders, tears from the eyes, flowed from east to west

Beheld the obedience of the servants<sup>3</sup> who wept without any master.

In his reign birds and fishes were so happy

That the fishes wept in the water and the birds in the air.

The heavens with its thousand eyes wept over the people of the earth like vernal showers upon the grass.<sup>4</sup>

The dew which falls every morning from heaven and waters the earth, consider that as the tears of the stars who are weeping in the highest heavens.

The people of Multān, men and women, weeping and tearing their hair, in every street, face to face and everywhere.

No one could sleep at night for the noise of the wailing, and the beating of the drums, for in every house the mourners were weeping bitterly.

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) ده جان ده

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) has the following lines in place of those in the text

جهنم بود و سلیمان ذی اسحاق رفت آن کارزار

آخر هشتماد و سه آغاز هشتماد و چهار

1st Muharram (684 A.H.)

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) بن بن فرمان

<sup>4</sup> This couplet is omitted from MS. (B).

They were preparing to perform the *wazū* in the water of their eyes,

Hoping for pardon for that they wept at the time of prayer.  
Their tongues were blistered like the feet of prisoners,  
So surely did they weep for the captives of calamity.

Their eyes poured forth blood upon the earth like the breath of the slain,

So bitterly did each one weep for his own dead<sup>1</sup>

And if by chance a captive returned from that bend of calamity,

Every one seeing his face wept honest tears of sorrow

[So great was the weeping that the waves of the tears were greater than those of the Jilun.]

This was my own condition, the state of the others how can I describe!<sup>2</sup>

Shall I wring my hands, or shall I with my own teeth make my arm livid,

Or shall I wear clothes of a darker blue than this blue heaven?<sup>3</sup> 148

Every man of reparation, tattoos his arm with the needle,  
But when I make my arm blue with my teeth, the name of the king leaps forth on my arm

Alas! that he by the tyranny of the blue sky, is sleeping beneath the earth, while<sup>4</sup> because of his sleeping there the whole horizon has become blue (dark)

There was both the blackness of the Hindu and the whiteness of the Turk, whereas now both Turk and Hindu are wearing blue (as mourning)

<sup>5</sup> [It was as though the people were tearing the heavens and dividing them among themselves,

<sup>1</sup> This is the order of the couplets in MS (A)

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) گرده چندان شد که موح داده اور حیچون گذشت  
حال من این دود حال دیگران تا چون گذشت

<sup>3</sup> Blue was the customary mourning colour in Persia

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) در

<sup>6</sup> This couplet is not in the text nor in MS (B) MS (A) reads

آسمان را گربا بدربد و قسمت کرد خاک

سکه اطراف و مبنی از حادث شد هرسو کدود

To such an extent was the earth in all directions blue with mourning garments.]

Now it has become customary to wear blue—so that henceforth it behoves the weavers of white cloth to dye their thread blue in the shuttle.<sup>1</sup>

In every street<sup>2</sup> of Cairo a river blue like the Nile was flowing; to such an extent were blue garments being washed in tears on all sides.

The dyers of blue cloth were as happy as if there was a bridal in their houses, because so many brides had their garments dyed blue in mourning for their husbands.<sup>3</sup>

The lovely ones who were smiting their foreheads and shedding tears of blood had their cheeks below their eyes red (with blood) while above their eye-brows it was blue.

The beauties have no need of blue (patches) and redness (rouge) after this,

For the cheeks are torn till they are red (with blood) and the face is smitten till it is blue (with bruises).

In such quantities do they tear their hair from their delicate brows, one and all

That the root of every hair becomes blue from such rough treatment.

[How long shall I tear out the hair of my head in this lamentation and mourning !

Nay I will pluck this body of mine like a hair from the head of my life].<sup>4</sup>

Alas ! that my heart has suddenly turned to blood on account of (the loss of) my friends.

The order of the following couplets differs from that of the text as will be seen.

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) reads باری کو ما for کو پا the latter is the correct reading.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) بھر کوی.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) عروسان پیر ٹنہای.

<sup>4</sup> MS. A. گوی سو تا چند از این غم زار و گویان بروکنم Not in the text.

این تن چون گوی باری از سو جان بروکنم

Alas! for that assembly who were a constant fresh joy to their friends

The eyes became flooded with water and blood on account of their friends, so long as I saw my friends in the midst of blood and water

Such priceless blood of my friends has the earth swallowed That it is my right to demand from the Earth the blood money for my friends

If it were possible for those who sleep in the dust to arise, I would devote the remainder of my life to seeing the existence of my friends

It were a pity that the eye should have its pupil always with it, and yet that its friends should be out of sight<sup>1</sup>

How can one bear to look at others instead of one's friends, My friends are gone! How can I embrace a stranger!

How can I clothe any other person in the mantle of any friends!

I will place their dust in my eyes (as a collyrium) How can it be right that the dust of my friends' feet should be so little valued<sup>2</sup>

In desire for my friends, even though they sever my head (from my body),

Still the desires for my friends will never be severed from my<sup>3</sup> head

Oh my King! whenever thou biddest me I will tear my garments of life to the very edge in mourning for my friends

My life has been torn to shreds in a hundred places through 150 grief, how can it be right that I should tear a shred into shreds for the sake of my friends<sup>4</sup>

My friends have gone of whom are you talking,

Once for all bring your speech to an ending and breaths a prayer for my friends

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) در چشم و بار از چشم دور

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) The order in the text differs

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) در هوای دوستانم گر سریم نیوون کندن

<sup>4</sup> I follow the text here MS (A) reads

[Always remember the departed, especially at the time of prayer,

Because nothing shows you the way to mercy save the guidance of prayer].<sup>1</sup>

O Lord may the illumination of the sun of mercy light upon their souls.<sup>2</sup>

May their souls shine like the sun from the bounty of thy light.

In the day of battle the Great Khān was their leader,

May the same Khān be also their leader to the Garden of Paradise.

If an angel flies thither in desire for him it becomes a fly,<sup>3</sup>

May the wings of the peacock of Paradise drive away the flies from them.

The bounty of mercy is the water of life in the gloom of the grave,<sup>4</sup>

Oh Lord, in the darkness of the tomb may they have the water of life.

[When the faces become black from the sun of resurrection

May the wings of the angels cast protecting shade over their heads].<sup>5</sup>

When they give<sup>6</sup> into their hands the record of their deeds taken from the book of punishment,

May the record bear as its heading the words "A book for the right hand."<sup>7</sup>

These lines are not in the text nor in MS. (B).

یاد می کن خفتگان را خامه در حال دعا  
کت برحمت راه ننماید مگر دال دعا

دال دعا *Dāl-i-du'a* *Dāl* signifies the letter with which the word *du'a* begins, while *Dāl* also means "that which shews the way."

یارب از<sup>۲</sup> MS. (A).

در هوایش گر ملک پرورد گردد مگس<sup>۳</sup> MS. (A).

در ظلمات گور<sup>۴</sup> MS. (A).

بر کف دهنده<sup>۵</sup> This couplet is omitted from the text.

چون ز خورشید قیامت رویها گردد سیاه  
بر سر از پر ملائک سایه گردان باد شان

بر کف دهنده<sup>۶</sup> MSS. (A) (B)

<sup>۷</sup> See Qur'an lxxxiv. 7, 8, 9 "and as for him who is given his book in his

May the drops of blood which were shed from their throats  
 Become the most costly rubies of their crown of pardon  
 For the thirsty ones<sup>1</sup> whose souls departed for lack of  
 water,

May the cloud of mercy rain continuously upon their heads      151  
 For the captives<sup>2</sup> who were long subjected to hardships,  
 Oh Lord<sup>1</sup> may the hope of speedy release make their way  
 light for them

May the affliction which thou suffered in imprisonment, ho  
 to those who have escaped from prison (by death) the  
 cause of their eternal salvation,

And those who have survived and have returned from  
 that calamity,

May they experience the mercy of the Author of good,<sup>3</sup> and  
 may the favour of the Sultān ho theirs

Since Muhammad has departed may the event be happy for  
 the king May his son Kaiqnbād be most fortunate and  
 his son Kaiqhusru be blessed

And the opening [of another threnody]<sup>4</sup> is as follows

My heart sit silent in sorrow for no trace of joy remains,  
 Grief, do thou take away the world, for no joy is left  
 therein

In the following odo too ho refers to the same disastrous  
 occurrence

Behold this calamity<sup>5</sup> which has ho fallen this year on the  
 frontier of Multan,  
 The right wing of the believers has been defeated<sup>6</sup> by the  
 infidel ranks

right hand he shall be reckoned with by an easy reckoning; and he shall go  
 back to his family joyfully

<sup>1</sup> MS نشگان را که هایی شل دی ای گشت (A) I follow the text here

<sup>2</sup> This is the reading of the text MS (A) reads نشگان MS (B) reads نشگان

<sup>3</sup> Vullers دردان

<sup>4</sup> These words are not in either MS

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) reads میں مل میر اسماں This is the preferable reading

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) شکست.

How can I explain that day of resurrection, from the agony of which the Angel of Death would have craved respite.

How can I describe the way in which the Ghāzīs, attacked the front of the Khaibarīs, like the Lion of repeated attacks.

But what help has anyone against the decree of fate which was ordained by and issued from the Almighty.

What was the condition of the battle field? it was one load of dead bodies,

So much blood was spilled and the load was lying upon it.<sup>1</sup>

The blood of martyrs, poured out like a libation, was mingled with the earth,

The necks of prisoners bound together with ropes in rows, like rose chains,

The heads strangulated in the tight noose of the saddle-cords,<sup>2</sup>

The necks caught in the toils of the head-ropes.

Although my head escaped that game of strangulation, Still my neck did not escape that noose of torture.

I was taken captive, and for fear lest they should shed my blood

My blood dried up, not a single drop remained in my weak and emaciated body.

I was poured out like water running without beginning and without end, and like bubbles thousands of blisters appeared on my feet from much travelling.

The skin was separated from my feet by the blisters, Like to the seams of a slipper burst open.

My heart, because of affliction, was as hard as the hilt of a sword

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) reads زمین رزم که شد بار کشته بود همه

MS. (B) زمین رزم که شد باز کشت بود همه

زمین رزم چه شد بار کشته بود همه

The real reading seems to be زمین رزم چه شد بار کشته بود همه. دوال پایی

<sup>2</sup> دوال بازی. See Richardson s.v.

From weakness my body was become wood like the handle  
of a club.<sup>1</sup>

Not a breath remained in my wind pipe by reason of thirst,  
My belly was like a drum from the duration of my hunger<sup>2</sup>  
My body was stripped naked like a tree in autumn,  
And like a rose torn into a thousand shreds by the thorns  
For sorrow the pupil of my eyes poured forth drops  
Like tho (scattered pearls) of a necklace broken from the  
neck of a bride

A Qurūn<sup>3</sup> driving me on in front followed along the way 153  
seated on a horse, like a leopard on a hill range  
Festor ab isto ore teterimus axillæ odori similes,  
Cipilli oris ejus pubi similes asqne ad amentum delapsi<sup>4</sup>  
If I lagged behind a step or two through fatiguo  
He would draw at one time his falchion<sup>5</sup> at another his  
javelin<sup>6</sup>

I kept heaving deep sighs and saying to myself  
Alas! I shall never be able to escape from this calamity!  
A thousand thanks to God Almighty who liberated me  
With my heart free from arrow wounds and my body  
unhurt by the sword

When he desired to make my body a brick for the grave,  
Water and clay built up for me now my palace of years  
But what good to me was my escape from that rope  
If snapped like the bond between the Muhājir and Ansār<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> جَعْمَار *Chuqmar* Pavet de Courteille in his Turki dictionary gives this word as جَعْمَار *Chuqmar*, with the meanings *massue gourdin*

<sup>2</sup> These lines are as follows in MS (A)

دَعَى سَادِدَ سَامِ وَرِدِينْ تَشِيدَ

دَعَى شَدَّ شَكْمَ مِنْ رَمَادِنْ نَاهَارَ

<sup>3</sup> I cannot find this word, possibly it is connected with the Turki *q rehi* an armed soldier

<sup>4</sup> See Elliot and Dowson, III 529

<sup>5</sup> طَلَاب *taghānā* there is a Turki word طَوْعَان *t ghāz* which means a falcon and another تَوْعَانَك *tagħanak* o saou semblable à l'épervier (P do C ) Hence the above translation by the word *falchion*

<sup>6</sup> تَحَمَّار *takhāmar* a dart having no point (Richardson)

<sup>7</sup> The *Ansār* or helpers of the prophet were those tribes of El Medinah

All those lives were poured out in the dust like roses  
 By the fierce blast of misfortune, this is Autumn not Spring.  
 The world full of roses and the assembly emptied of those  
 who can smell their perfume,  
 How should not my heart turn to blood like the rose bud  
 at this treatment!<sup>1</sup>

Not one of my friends of last year remains to me this year,  
 It is evident that "this year" also will become "last year."  
 Do thou also like me, oh cloud of the newly born spring  
 Now wash thy hands of water, and rain teardrops of blood.  
 Give me a cup, that from the depths of my regret  
 I may empty it of wine, and fill it with bitter tears.  
 Now that the date is 684 (H.)

To me in my three and thirtieth year comes the good  
 tidings of the thirty-fourth.

Not thirty-four because if my years should be thirty  
 thousand, when one comes to the account of Annihilation  
 neither thirty counts for aught nor a thousand.

I am not a poet, even though I were a magician, still then  
 I shall become dust.

I am not a Khusrū, even were I a Kaikhusrū, still at that  
 time my kingdom would be but the grave.

And in the preface to the Ghurratu-l-Kamāl he writes some  
 epitomised poems relating to this circumstance; the gist of  
 the matter is that they brought Tughrul to nothing, and the  
 prince who used to pray with lamentation and tears at the foot-  
 stool of the best of all helpers saying *Make me of thy mercy*  
*a victorious Emperor* rose to such power in the districts of  
 Lakhnautī and Chatar La'l that his head which touched the  
 stars, reached to the starless expanse of the highest heaven, and

who, while in other respects rivals, united so far as to espouse the cause of  
 Muhammad.

The *Muhājirīn* were the refugees from Mecca, and to avoid jealousy and  
 strife between them and the *Anṣār*, each of the *Anṣār* was made to swear an  
 oath of brotherhood with one of the *Muhājirīn*. This bond was however  
 broken shortly after the battle of Bedr. See Muir's Life of Mahomed, Vol. III.  
 p. 26, also Palmer's translation of the Qur'ān, p. xxxiv. and Hughes Dict.  
 of Islām s. v. *Ansār*.

<sup>1</sup> These lines follow here in MS. (A).

Malik Shamsu d Dīn Dabū, and Qāzī Aṣū desired to retain me by seizing my garments,<sup>1</sup> but the separation from my friends seized me by the collar. I was obliged like Joseph to leave that prison pit and turn my steps to<sup>2</sup> the metropolis, and under the shadow of the standard of the Shadow of God I remained in the city. In these very same months, the Khan-i-Buzurg Qaan Makh arrived from the conquest of Damieh,<sup>3</sup> and a rumour came to us that my words had reached him,<sup>4</sup> so that he made enquiries regarding the ripe fruit of my words, unripe fruit as it really was I laid it before him, and it was honoured with acceptance in his private hall of audience, and I was distinguished by a robe of honour and rewards, and I girded my loins in his service and wore the cap of companionship, and I gave for five years more to the Panjab and Multān water from the sea of my comfortable circumstances, till suddenly, by the potent order of the wise ruler, the star of my glory came into opposition with the inauspicious Mars,<sup>5</sup> the tums of its decline had arrived when the unlucky cavalcade of those born undst the influence of Mars came in sight, and at evening times, the bright sun<sup>6</sup> sank by the revolution of the heaven, a world of brave men struck by arrows had fallen, and the plain of the earth was full of broken caps, and Death itself was saying at that time "Where shall I place my cap and where shall I take my pitcher?" The sky fed upon dust and the sun swallowed a bowl of blood.

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How can we describe that day of resurrection  
When even the Angel of Death sought protection from  
the fray.

In that forge of calamity the rope of the infidels seized me also  
by the throat, but inasmuch as God Most High had lengthened the

<sup>1</sup> دلایل میامی داعس گنری نکندہ MSS (A) and (B)

<sup>2</sup> مصروف جامع See Muqaddasi DeGoeje's Glossary, p. 207

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) دهرا

<sup>4</sup> داورسند MS (A)

<sup>5</sup> صریح شخص مارس و ساتن Mars and Saturn are considered stars of ill omen, and are called in Arabic *nahsan*. The two misfortunes' (See Ibn Khaldun Proleg ii 218)

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) reads اولیٰ مشتری MS (B) اولیٰ مشترق So also footnote variant to the text The former is the reading adopted

rope of my life, I obtained release, and by the high road I made for the abode of favours, and attained to the sight of the dome of Islām<sup>1</sup> and at the feet of my mother became (as it were) an inhabitant of Paradise, while as for herself, as soon as her eyes fell upon me the fountain of her milk flowed from tenderness towards me.

Paradise always lies beneath the feet of a mother,  
See two streams of milk flow therefrom, the sign of  
Paradise.<sup>2</sup>

And I spent some time pleasantly and quietly in seeing my beloved mother and other dear ones in the fort of Mūminpur, otherwise called Patiālī<sup>3</sup> on the banks of the river Ganges."

In short, when the news of this heart-rending disaster reached the ears of the Sultān, having observed the duties of mourning for some days, a great affliction fell upon him, so much so that he could never again gird his loins, but he used to occupy himself in all matters, and sent a despatch addressed to Bughrā Khān who had acquired the title of Sultān Nāshiru-d-Din,<sup>4</sup> to Lakhnautī saying. Since so great a calamity has fallen upon your brother I desire that you should take his place as you are well able to do, that in looking in your face I may be able to forget the numerous

وَأَنْ شَاهِرَةٌ بَلْ رَا لِزَمْ  
1 The reading here is very uncertain, the text reads, which has no evident meaning: MS. (B) reads وَأَنْ شَاهِرَةٌ بَلْ رَا لِزَمْ  
وَأَنْ شَاهِرَةٌ بَلْ رَا لِزَمْ The word شَاهِرَةٌ here is clearly wrong. MS. (A) reads وَأَنْ شَاهِرَةٌ بَلْ رَا لِزَمْ and this is the variant I adopt although the phrase دار الا زدم house of benefits is not a very usual one. Still, I have thought it better to take this as the true reading than to suggest other hypothetical readings.

2 This refers to the two springs of Paradise mentioned in the Qur'ān, iv.

(Sūratu-r-Rahmān). وَمِنْ دُوِّنِهِمَا جَنَّاتٌ ..... فِيهِمَا عَيْنَانِ نَصَّا خَتَانِ

And besides these are gardens twain ..... In each two gushing springs. The proverb runs بَعْثَتْ دَرْبَى مَادِرَانِ See Roebuck O. P. 484.

3 Patiālī "Ancient town in Aliganj tahsil Etah District, N.-W. Provinces situated on the old high bank of the Ganges 22 mile north-east of Etah town." Imp. Gaz. xi. 90. Tieffenthaler I. 198, places it at a distance of about 75 miles from Dihlī and about 20 from Furrukābād.

4 See page 186.

sorrows which I suffer on his account. Nōsiru-d-Din who<sup>1</sup> had acquired permanent and independent control over that district (of Lakhnauti) put off for some time coming to Dibli, and even after coming to Dibli at the earnest solicitation of his father was not able to remain there, "the elephant bethought him of Hindnstan"<sup>2</sup> so that forgetting the demands of filial, paternal, and brotherly affection he became so restless from staying in that place that one day without his father's permission<sup>3</sup> together with certain of his kinsfolk he went forth on pretence of hunting, and marching by rapid stages reached Lakhnauti and busied himself with his own affairs.

## VERSE.

Why should I not betake myself to my own country ?

Why should I not be the dust of the sole of the foot of my friend ?

I cannot endure the sorrow of exile and absence from home,  
I will go to my own country, and be my own monarch.

Accordingly Sultān Balban, who was very depressed and dejected at this occurrence, so that day by day his weakness gathered strength, as he lay on his bed of sickness, being moreover past eighty years of age, conferred upon the eldest son of the Martyred Khān who was called Kaiqhusrū, the title of Khusrū Khān, and gave the affairs of Empire into his hands. Multān too was entrusted to him, and he made him the heir-apparent, and made a will to the effect that Kaiqnād the son of Buglā Khān should be sent to his father in Lakhnauti. After he had relieved his mind of anxiety as to the succession of Kaiqhusrū, and the other testamentary dispositions of the government having occupied him three days, he removed the baggage of existence from this world to

<sup>1</sup> MSS (A) and (B) .... ناصر الدین را کی. The text and both MSS. call him Naṣiru d-Dīn.

<sup>2</sup> His thoughts turned homewards. Another proverb of this kind is دوچ چمن ز خاطر بنبل نمیرود, *zauq-i-chaman* z *Māfir-i-bulbul namīraud*, i.e., the desire of the garden never leaves the heart of the nightingale.

<sup>3</sup> بِرَحْصَتْ پَدَر. MSS (A) and (B) The reading in the text *پَدَر* is at variance both with the sense, and also with the statement of other historians. Burnī says "He wanted to go to Lakhnauti so he found a pretext for doing so and set off thither without leave from his father (E. D III 124).

57. the next. This event took place in the year 686 H.<sup>1</sup> He had reigned twenty-two years and some months.

Oh my heart ! the world is no place of permanence and stay,  
Keep thy hand from the world—for it has no stability.

SULTĀN Mu'IZZU-D-DĪN KAIQUBĀD BIN SULTĀN NĀSHIRU-D-DĪN BIN  
SULTĀN GHIYĀŠU-D-DĪN BALBAN.

In the sixteenth year of his age, in succession to his grandfather, by the intervention of Malik Knehlān, who was called Itimar, and other Amīrs who were disaffected to the Martyred Khān, succeeded to the throne of Empire.<sup>2</sup> Then having bestowed Multān upon Khusrū Khān with his family and dependents, they sent him off there under some pretext and exiled his adherents, and when the Empire became established he appointed all the officers of the state to their old posts in the kingdom, and Malik Nizāmu-d-Dīn<sup>3</sup> was appointed Dādbeg<sup>4</sup> and they gave Khwāja Khafīru-d-Dīn the title of Khwāja-i-Jahān, and Malik Shāhik Amīr Hājib that of Wazīr Khān, and Malik Qiyāmu-l-Mulk obtained the post of Wakildar: and after six months he left Dihlī and founded the palace of Kilughārī, which is now a ruin, near the ford of Khwāja Khizr on the banks of the river Jumna; there he held public audiences, and by craft getting hold of the Mughals who had newly become Moslems, put the majority of them to death, and banished a certain number of them. The chief author and cause of this action was Malik Nizāmu-d-Dīn 'Alāqa the Wazīr (this Nizāmu-d-Dīn 'Alāqa is the same in whose honour Muhammad 'Aufī composed the books *Jāmi'u-l-Hikāyat* and

58. 1 1287 A.D.

2 Zīān-d-Dīn Barnī, author of the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* gives a slightly different account of the means by which Kaiqubād attained the succession. He states that shortly before his death Balban summoned to his presence Maliku-l-Umarā Kotwāl of Dihlī, Khwāja Husain Başrī the Wazīr and some others and charged them to set Kaikhusrū son of the Martyr prince upon the throne. After his death, however, the Kotwāl and his people who for some private reason (از جهانی ک اک بکشاف احوال عزالت دارد) had been unfriendly to the Martyr prince, were apprehensive of danger if Kaikhusrū succeeded, so they sent him to Multān and placed the son of Bughrā Khān, Kaiqubād on the throne with the title of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn (Elliott III. 124).

<sup>1</sup> Nephew of Maliku-l-Umarā Kotwāl of Dihlī.

<sup>2</sup> Chief Justice.

Tazkiratu *sh Shu'ara*), and to Malik Chhaju (who eventually became grantee of Karra<sup>1</sup> and Manikpur, and whom Mir Khnsru eulogises in the *Qirānū's Sa'dain* in these words,<sup>2</sup>

Khan of Karra Chhaju, conqueror of countries  
Who hast encircled thy feet with anklets<sup>3</sup> formed from the  
hips of Khanq)

was given Sāmanī, his daughter was united in marriage to Sultān Mu'izzu d Dīn Kaiqabād. At the end of the month of Zul-Hijjah in the abovementioned year, news arrived that the Tatar infidels whose leader was Itimar had attacked Lahore and the frontier of Multan. The Sultan appointed Shihuk Barbak with thirty thousand cavalry and giving him the title of Khan-i-Jahan despatched him to oppose them. He pursued the infidels as far as the foot of the Jut hills, and put the greater number of them to the sword, or made them prisoners, and having repulsed them he came to the Court.

Inasmuch as Sultān Kaiqabād, during the lifetime of Sultan Balban, had not attained the desires of his heart, and learned instructors had been placed in charge of him, at this time when he attained to the Empire finding himself completely unfettered he occupied himself with the full fruition of lustful delights, while the majority of the people took advantage of the luxuriosness of his reign to spend their days in wantonness and license. The ministrants of debauchery, jesters, singers and jugglers were admitted to close intimacy in his Court, in marked contrast to his grandfather's reign, and learning, and piety, and integrity were nothing valued, and Malik Nizamūn d Dīn 'Alaqā seeing that the

<sup>1</sup> Not كرّه as in the text, but كرّة MSS (A) and (B) also Barni. See note 3. Malik Chhaju was brother's son to Balban.

<sup>2</sup> MSS (A) and (B) معرف کرد، معرف سیفی See Haji Khalfa IV 510 9399 f t Qānūn's Sa'dain

<sup>3</sup> In the original there is a play on the word كرّا Karra which cannot be reproduced in English. The lines are as follows MSS (A) & (B),

حَانَ كُرْكَهْ كَهْرَبْ حَانَ كُرْكَهْ سَدِيْ بَاهِی

See Āīn-i-Akbari II 107 note 2 where Karra is said (as by Ibn Batuta) to have been the place of meeting of Mu'izzu d Dīn and Nasiru d Dīn. See also Kar-i-Imp Gaz of Ind. Vol VIII but Karra is on the Ganges and lies far away from the Jumna-Lakhnauti-Dill but so also does the river Sarj

Sultān was immersed in luxury and enjoyment, and utterly careless of his kingdom's affairs, stretched forth the hand of oppression and went to unwarranted lengths. The vain desire of sovereignty came into his heart, so that he set about devising the downfall of the family of Ghīyāṣū-d-Dīn. In the first instance having instigated Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn to murder Kāj Khusrū the son of Sultān Muḥammad the Martyr, he summoned him from Multān, and in the town of Rohtak raised him to the dignity of martyrdom and sent him to join his father.

59. In the same way he accused Khwāja-i-Jahān of an imaginary crime and had him publicly paraded on an ass through the city, he also imprisoned the Amīr and Maliks of the house of Balban who were related to the Mughals who had recently become Moslems, and deported them to distant fortresses, and destroyed the glory of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn.

Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Bughrā Khān, when the tidings of his son's ruinous condition reached him in Lakhnautī, wrote a letter full of hints couched in the language of enigma and innuendo to Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn warning him of the sinister intentions of Nizāmu-l-Mulk. Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn out of the hot-headedness of youth, did not act on his father's advice, and after much correspondence it was decided that Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn should leave Lakhnautī, and Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn should start from Dihlī and that they should visit each other in Oudh.

From what Mir Khusrū may the mercy of God be upon him, says in the *Qirānu-s-Sa'dain*,<sup>1</sup> and also from the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*<sup>2</sup> we learn that Bughrā Khān, on his accession to the throne of Bengāla with the title of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, was coming with a large gathering to attack Dihlī, and Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn also having collected his forces from the neighbouring districts advanced against him in the direction of Oudh; and since the river Sarū<sup>3</sup> lay between them the son alighted on this side and the father on

*Qirānu-s-Sa'dain*. The conjunction of the two auspicious planets, Jupiter and Venus, see II. K. 9399, also E. and D. III. 524.

<sup>1</sup> *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, the author of this work is Yāhyā bin Aḥmad bin 'Abdullah Sirhindī. (Elliott. IV. 6).

<sup>2</sup> The principal streams (of Oudh) are the Sarū (Sarjū) the Ghaghār (Gogra) the Sai, and the Godī (Gumtī). In the first mentioned divers aquatic animals and forms of strange appearance shew themselves. (*Aīn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II. 171).

the other side and neither was able to cross the river. The Amirs and Maliks of Ghuiyusu d Din's party, intervened with advice to come to peaceful terms and Sultan Nasiru d Din with a party of special retainers crossed the river as it had been agreed that the son should sit upon the throne and the father, standing below the throne, should pay the customary dues of reverence and respect to him. Sultan Mu'izzu d Din from excess of desire forgot that compact, and on the instant his eyes fell upon the splendid presence of his father he came down from his throne and running barefooted, was about to fall at his feet. The father however would not permit this, whereupon each embraced the other and for a long time they wept bitterly, and in spite of all the father's attempts to take his stand at the foot of the throne, the son forcibly took him by the hand, and led him to the throne and seated him upon it. Then he also took his seat and after a long time the Sultan Nasiru d Din returned to his own camp and sent as presents to his son a large number of famous elephants and very many extremely valuable presents and curiosities and priceless treasures from the country of Lakhnauti. The son also sent to his father an equal number of Persian horses, and other kinds of valuable articles and cloth goods and rare and unique presents such that the accountant of imagination is unable to estimate their number and value, and all sorts of delight and pleasure burst upon the Amirs of Ghuiyasu-d Din and Nasiru d Din and Mu'izzu d Din, and upon high and low of the armies, and the Maliks of both parties exchanged visits. Mir Khusrus relates in detail this meeting<sup>1</sup> in the *Qiranu s Sa'dain*, and in another place he writes in a *qasida*

Hail! to the happy kingdom when two kings are as one  
 Hail! to the happy era when two thrones are as one

*Ain-i Akbari* II 305 gives an account of the meeting of father and son For the river Sarju see Tieff I 250 259 260 291 also plate XIX facing page 292 in which the confluence of the Sarju and Ghagra is shewn as it was in 1768

The *Qiranu s Sa'dain* fixes the meeting between father and son as having taken place at Ajudl ya on the banks of the Ghagra

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Battuta gives a somewhat more fanciful description of this meeting of Nasiru d Din and Mu'izzu d Din. Pars Edn 1855 Vol III p 177, see also Elliott III p 596

Behold ! the son is a monarch, the father a Sultān,  
 Behold the glorious kingdom now that two kings are as one.  
 'Tis for the sake of kingship and world enslaving power,  
 That for the world, two world-protecting kings become  
 as one.

One is the Nāṣir of the age, the king Maḥmūd Sultān,  
 Whose edict in the four parts of the world is still as one.  
 The other is Mu'izzu-d-Dīn the world's king Kaiqubād,  
 In whose grasp Irān and Turān are welded into one.

And this is his also—

161. Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dunyā wad Dīn Kaiqubād Shāh  
 Hast thou ever seen one who is the light of the eyes of four  
 kings

On the last day<sup>1</sup> when Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn came to bid farewell in the presence of Malik Nizāmu-l-Mulk and Qiwāmu-l-Mulk, who were both of them counsellors and closely bound up with the Government, he gave Mu'izzu-d-Dīn many good pieces of useful advice on all subjects, with exhortation, and examples and instances, and first of all warned him against excess in wine and venery, then spoke of his carelessness with regard to state matters, and rebuked him severely for killing his brother Kai Khusrū and the other noted Amirs and Maliks of the adherents of Ghīyāṣu-d-Dīn; then he exhorted him to be continually given to prayer and to perform the fast of Ramazān, and to keep all the principal tenets of the Musulmān religion, and taught him certain fixed rules and essential regulations of sovereignty. At the time of taking his departure he whispered in a low tone telling him to get rid of Nizāmu-l-Mulk 'Alāqa as soon as possible, "for" said he "if he gets a chance at you it is small chance you will get" this much he said, and they bid one another farewell with great emotion, and Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn for a few days remembered his father's injunctions, and gave up his vicious pleasures, but when he had travelled a few stages the merry courtesans and all kinds of enticing musicians and enchanting jugglers, subverters of piety, skilled and clever, crowded round him on all sides, and enticed his feet from the firm path of fortitude and self-

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) در روز آخرین

restraint, by all sorts of gallantries and coquettices, and sense-ravishing gestures and allurements

The bitter parting advice of his father did not find place in his heart

For this reason that his heart was inclined to sweets of pleasure

And the elephant saw Hindustan<sup>1</sup> in its dreams and he broke through his foreordained repentance, which was as filmy as the web of a spider, at the first provocation, and used to say, "Which advice?<sup>2</sup> and what counsel?

I will not give up the delights of to day for tomorrow  
Let tomorrow bring what it may, say to it "Bring it"

In opposition to this view is the following,

It befits not a king to be drunken with wine  
Nor become entangled in lust and desire,  
The king should be always the guardian of his people,  
It is a sin that a guardian should be drunken  
When the shepherd becomes full of new wine  
The flock sleeps in the belly of the wolf

Heavy cups of wine used he to drink from the hands of the light-living cup bearers, and used to snatch a portion from his short ephemeral existence, and in this state malicious time used to foretell this calamity,<sup>3</sup>

Oh thou whose reign is the reign of faithless friends  
From thy love springs hate, from thy honour disgrace,  
Thou art as full of turmoil, but as empty, as the dium  
Lasting for one night like the candle, and for one day like the rose

In this licentious mode of life he made his way to Delhi where he arrived in the year 689 H (1290 A D ) There certain of his notable Amirs became suspicious of his intentions, and withdrew

<sup>1</sup> See note 2 page 210

<sup>2</sup> The text has دیگر میگیرد misprint for دیگر میگیرد

<sup>3</sup> The text reads دیگر میگیرد but MS (A) reads preferably دیگر

to the skirts of the mountains. Sher Khān<sup>1</sup> who was one of their number repented and returned, and was thrown into a prison which he only left to go to the prison house of the grave, the others were punished. They bestowed upon Firoz Khān ibn Yagh rash the Khiljī, who eventually obtained the title of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn, the title of Shāyista Khān,<sup>2</sup> and entrusted the district of Baran<sup>3</sup> to his control; accordingly he formed a plot by which he got Malik Ḥimār Kachhan, who had treacherously attempted to slay him, into his power, and took vengeance on him for the deed which he had failed to accomplish. Then was seen the truth of the proverb “He who digged a pit for his brother is fallen into it himself.

Thou hast digged a pit in the way<sup>4</sup> that thou mayest overthrow others.

Dost thou not fear lest one day thou shouldst find thyself in the midst of it?

This was the plan which Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn carried into effect. He was very anxious to act upon the advice of his father and remove Nizāmu-l-Mulk 'Alāqa, so he in the first instance appointed him to Multān, but Nizāmu-l-Mulk saw through this device, and kept making excuses for delaying his departure, whereupon certain of the king's retainers at a hint from him, poisoned Nizāmu-l-Mulk's cup, and despatched him to the land of non-existence. It so happened that this occurrence became a cause of injury to the State. At this same time the Sultān was attacked by paralysis<sup>5</sup> from his excesses in wine and venery, in addition to which other deadly ills and chronic diseases obtained the mastery over his body, and his constitution not being able to stand against them, his powers succumbed. The greater number of the Amirs and Maliks who were well disposed to him raised his son

1 MS. (A) reads ارسو خان Arsar Khān.

2 MS. (A) شایستی خان.

3 MS. (A) اقطاع بون.

4 MS. (A) توچاہی کندہ در دل.

5 لقوہ. *Laqwa* Facial paralysis. The disease is thus described in the *Bahrul-jawāhir* “a disease in which one half of the face is drawn to one side so that the breath and the spittle come from one side, the lips cannot be properly approximated and one of the eyes cannot be closed.”



Khān was ; they then ordered <sup>1</sup> a man whose father had been put to death by Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn to go to the palace of Kilūgharī, which he did, and finding the Sultān at his last gasp, he kicked him several times on the head, and then threw him into the river Jumna, and the Empire passed from the dynasty of Ghor, and kingship from the family of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn. This occurrence took place in the middle <sup>2</sup> of the month of Muḥarram in the year 689 H. (1209 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> The duration of the sovereignty of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn was three years and some months.

165. This is the changeableness of the ancient heaven,  
At one time it is like a bow at another like an arrow ;  
At one time it feeds you with kindness at another poisons  
you with enmity,  
This is an example of the custom of the revolving heaven.

We learn from the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*<sup>4</sup> that Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn, after the capture of the Shābzāda, was seized while sitting in durbar during that revolt of the populace, and was bound, and died in captivity of hunger and thirst : in the course of his sufferings he wrote this quatrain,

The horse of my excellence has been left far behind on the plain.  
The hand of my generosity has fallen between the hammer and the anvil.  
My eye which used to see the gold of the mine and the invisible jewel  
To-day alas ! is blinded for lack of bread.

And when the tumult between Itīmar Surkha and the people of Dihlī subsided, and Shāyista Khān had gained his heart's desire and seated the prince upon the throne, and had set the affairs of the kingdom going again, on the second day after this, Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn bade farewell to this transitory <sup>5</sup> unstable

1 MS. (A) فرمودند.

2 MS. (A) در اواست.

3 Firishta says 687 H. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* says 19th Muḥarram 689 H.

4 The *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* gives the date of the death of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn as the 19th Muḥarram A. H. 689.

5 MS. (A) omits فانی.



The duration of the kingdom of Shamsu-d-Din Kāi Kāūs was three months and a few days.<sup>1</sup>

The wine of the sky is not unmixed with the brine of sorrow,

The world's one employment is jugglery—naught else.

### SULTĀN JALĀLU-D-DĪN IBN YAGHRASH KHILJĪ

Whose name was Malik Firoz and his title Shāyista Khān, came to the throne in the year 689 H. as has already been said, with the consent and assistance of Malik Chihājū Kishlī Khān; and inasmuch he had previously been regent and governor of the kingdom<sup>2</sup> the affairs (of state) all devolved upon him.

It must not be forgotten that although Shihābu-d-Din Hakīm Kirmāni Jaunpūrī,<sup>3</sup> the author of the history called *Tabaqāt-i-Mahmūd Shāhī*, deduces the pedigree of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn and Sultān Mahmūd Mālwī from the stock of Qālij Khān, sou-in-law of Changīz Khān, there is a long story connected with this. This at least is clear that this ancestry has no real authority, any one of sound judgment will be able to detect the falsity of his claim to this descent; and as a matter of fact there is no connection whatever between Qālij and Khalj, in spite of the fact that Qālij has too rough a sound for the Turki tongue, and if it had any equivalent (of sufficient softness) it would be Qalj<sup>4</sup> with the meaning

<sup>1</sup> Neither Barnī nor Firishta reckon Kaikāūs (or Kaijumours) as having had an independent reign, and inasmuch as he was only an infant of some three years of age, it seems more rational to allude to him merely as the puppet that he really was. The only object in raising him to the throne was an attempt to save the kingdom from passing into the hands of the Khiljis. Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, who had been appointed Vizir when Niżāmu-l-Mulk had been poisoned, was ready to seize upon the throne. The fief of Barāñ had been conferred upon him with the title of Shāyista Khān, subsequently he was made 'Ariz-i-Mamālik. The plots he contrived to get rid of Kaiqubād have been detailed above.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) omits the word (ملکی).

<sup>3</sup> See the *Tabaqāt-i-Mahmūd Shāhī*.

<sup>4</sup> The editor of the text states in a footnote that this is a mere verbal quibble of no importance, because قلچ *qalj* and قالچ *qālij* are the same, the *alif* in قالچ being in place of the *fathah* which follows the *q* in قلچ in accordance with the customary mode of writing Turki, further he states that among modern Persians خ is frequently used for ق.

of a sword and in some histories it is said that Khilj is the name of one of the sons of Yâfig, (Japhet) the son of Nûh (Noah) on whom be peace and that the Khiljis descend from him God knows the truth of this. To make a long story short, Sultân Jalâlu-d-Dîn divided the greater portion of the valuable appointments between his sons and brothers, and bestowed the following titles—upon his eldest son the title of Khân Khânân, upon his second son that of Arkali Khân, and on his youngest son that of Qadr Khân, while he gave to his uncle Mâlik Husein the title of Tâju-l-Mulk. In this same way he bestowed various titles upon others, and allotted them estates, and having built a new town, and a new garden on the banks of the Jumna opposite to the Mâizzî palace he called it a citadel, "The Rocky Citadel"; when it was completed it was called "Shahr-i-nan" (New-town)<sup>1</sup> and in Shâhâñ, of the second year after his accession, Malik Chhajû Kîshî Khân went to Karrn, and became openly rebellious. The Amirs of the party of Ghâiyâtî-d-Dîn who held estates in that district joined with him, came to Bîdâon and crossed the Ganges by the ford of Bijlâna with the intention of attacking Dihli, waiting for the arrival of Malik Chhajû who was to come by way of Karrn,<sup>2</sup> (and)<sup>3</sup> Sultân Jalâlu-d-Dîn left Khân Khânân in Dihli and marched against them. Dividing his forces into two army corps he himself went by way of Kol, and reached Bîdâon,<sup>4</sup> sending Arkali Khân towards Amroha to oppose Malik Chhajû. Arkali Khân fought the enemy valiantly in many engagements during several days on the banks of the Râhab. In the meantime the people of Bairâm Dev the Raja of Kola, which was also called Koela, gave information to Malik Chhajû that Sultân Jalâlu-d-Dîn was in pursuit of him, and having frightened him exceedingly, urged him to take to flight. He was in such dread of the Sultân, that he did not know his head from his heels, and in the dead of night he made his escape, but eventually fell into the hands of the Kuwârs.<sup>5</sup> Arkali Khân crossed the Râhab,<sup>6</sup> despatched Bairâm

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) موسوم گردید.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) reads راجه کوئہ دریا۔ The reading in the text is adopted.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) inserts و here.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) reads دل و بادوں رسید جل. The text is preferable.

<sup>5</sup> The text gives an alternative reading ورائیان.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) عبور کردا.

Dev to hell, and pursued Malik Chhaju, and took him prisoner together with some of the other Amirs of the Ghiyasi faction. Then he went in the direction of Bahār and Kāvān Kūr, which is the same as Shāmsabād,<sup>1</sup> and when they took Malik Chhaju and the other captive Ballābī Amirs in fetters and chains<sup>2</sup> into the presence of the Sultān, he called to mind their old ties of relationship, and loosed them from their bonds, sent them to the baths, clothed them in rich garments<sup>3</sup> of honour, and made them partake of his own table, sending Malik Chhaju with the greatest marks of respect to Multān.

169. Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn who was the brother's son and son-in-law of the Sultān,<sup>5</sup> and had been appointed to the district of Karra, and Iltām Beg, the brother of 'Alāu-d-Dīn who subsequently became Ulugh Khān<sup>4</sup> was appointed to the post of Akhor Beg. In the meanwhile, the summons which is distasteful to all reached Khān-i-Khānān. The Sultān was greatly distressed at his loss. Mir Khusrū wrote the following dirge in memory of him :—

What day is this that I see not the sun shining,  
If night has come why do I not see the brilliant moon.  
Since two days my sun has remained behind the clouds,  
So that in my eyes I see nothing but clouds and rain.  
In Hindustān an evident danger has appeared,  
On every face I see thousands of wrinkles but I do not see  
the Khāqān.<sup>6</sup>  
The stone of the royal signet is hidden as a stone in the  
mine.  
My heart has turned to blood like the ruby for that I see  
him not.

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) omits باد.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) بند و غل.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) has ملک علی الدین را which is a mistake: and omits the و after the word داماد inserting it after the word بود.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) which reads بعد از آن الخان گشت.

<sup>5</sup> There are plays on the words طح meaning a fault, and the kingdom of Khātā or Cathay, and چین meaning a wrinkle and the kingdom of Chin or China. The title خاقان Khāqān is the title of the Emperors of Cathay. For the meaning of Khāqān, see *Tarikh-i-Rashīdī*, (Ross and Elias), page 30, note 1.

Lo therer is tho King, seated on his throne, with his conitissies  
 standing roond him on all sides,  
 All aro therer, hat still I do not see Khān i-Khānān  
 When I saw fortune blunded, I asked him, Dost thou wish  
 for sight?  
 Ho replied, What could I do with sight, since I cannot see  
 Mahmud Sultan!

And in the year following, Arkali Khān came from Maltān to  
 Dihli, and the Sultan leaving him in Dihli proceeded to Mandawar,  
 and after his arrival at that stage, having received with anxiety  
 tidings of the revolt of certain of tho Ghuyāsi Amirs, he made  
 over tho district of Budāon to Malik Magħlafī,<sup>1</sup> sent him off at  
 once and appointed Malik Mubārak to Tiberhiudah, then after  
 reducing the fortress of Mandāwar proceeded by an uninterrupted  
 series of marches to Dihli, and in those days a certain Saiyyid  
 ascetic and recluss, holding close communion with God,<sup>2</sup> relying  
 upon Him, boantifal,<sup>3</sup> adorned with so many excellencies and  
 perfections, Sidi Manlā<sup>4</sup> by name first came from 'Ajam (Persia)  
 to Ajudhaa in the service of the pillar of the Saints the master  
 Shaikh Farid, Ganj i Shakkār, may God sanctify his resting place,  
 and songht permission to proceed to the eastern parts of Hin-  
 dustan They said to him " Beware of crowds of men, and abstain  
 from intercourse with kings" When he reached Dihli, Khan i-  
 Khānān, the eldest son of the Sultan, displayed the greatest desire  
 to becomes his disciple.<sup>5</sup> In the same way the greater number of  
 the deposed Maliks and Amirs of the Balbaa party<sup>6</sup> used daily  
 both morning and evening to sit at the table of that dārīsh, who  
 would not accept anything from any one People used to credit  
 him with alchemistic powers, and used to come in such crowds that  
 a thousand *mans* of fine flour and five hundred *mans* of freshly  
 skinned meat, and three hundred *mans* of sugar used to be the daily

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) معلمی خاک

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) صاحب تقری

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) نادلی

<sup>4</sup> See Beale's Dictionary, page 240

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) ارادہ اعتماد

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) omits 85

expenditure of the Shaikh which he expended in alms ; the aforesaid Sidi although he engaged always in vigils<sup>1</sup> and the prayers of the five stated times, was, however, never present at the public prayer on Friday<sup>2</sup>, nor was he bound by the conditions of public<sup>3</sup> worship in accordance with established custom, and Qāzī Jalālu-d-Dīn Kōshkāni (and) Qāzī Urdū and men of note, and trusted chiefs, and all both great and small, used continually to worship at his monastery.

When this news reached the Sultān, the story goes that one night he went in disguise to his monastery, and saw for himself that he expended even more than was reported. Accordingly the next day he held a grand durbār and ordered Sidi Maulā with the Qūzī and the other Amīrs who were his disciples, to be brought before him with ignominious treatment of all kinds, bound in fetters and chains. He enquired into the state of the case, and asked each one whether the Sidi laid claim to kingly power. The aforesaid Sidi denied it, and fortified his denial with an oath, but to no purpose. At that time Qāzī Jalālu-d-Dīn lay under the Sultān's displeasure, he also denied the allegation. The Sultān deposed him, and nominated him as Qāzī of Budāon. In order to verify the claims to Saiyyidship, and to test the miraculous powers of the Sidi, he had a huge fire like that prepared by Nimrūd (for Abraham) lighted, and wished to have Sidi Maulā thrown into that temple of fire. The Ulama of the time, in consideration of the irreligious nature of that order, issued a mandamus which they communicated to the Sultān saying, "The essential nature of fire is to consume things, and no one can issue forth from it in safety unhurt." The Sultān accordingly desisted and gave up that ordeal, but he punished the larger number of those Maliks in that same assembly, and some he expatriated ; and inasmuch as the answers of Sidi Maulā<sup>4</sup> were all in accordance with reason, and no fault could be found with him either on the score of religious law or logic, the Sultān was reduced to extremity, and suddenly turning to Abū Bakr Tūsī Ḥaidarī who was the chief of the sect of Qalandars, and utterly unscrupulous, he

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) مَنَعَ.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) adds نِيْمَ.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) omits و.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) omits the words وَهُوَ أَجْلَسَ.

said "Why do not you dervishes avenge me of this tyrant," thereupon a Qalandar leapt up from their midst, and struck the unfortunate Sidi several blows with a razer and wounded him, then they shaved off the holy man's whiskers<sup>1</sup> with a knife even to the chin, and stabbed him in the side<sup>2</sup> with sackmakers' needle and then, by command of Arkali Khān, the second son of the Sultān, an elephant driver drove a rogue elephant over the head of the poor oppressed Sidi, and martyred him with countless tortures *may God be gracious to him.* They say that this same Sidi, for a whole month before this occurrence used to sing these verses at all times, smiling the while he sang:

In the kitchen of love, they slay naught but the good:  
 The weak natured, and evil disposed they kill not.  
 If thou art a sincere lover, flee not from slaughter,  
 He whom they slay not is no better than a corpse.

And just at this time, on the very day of his murder, a whirlwind black with dust arose, and the world was darkened; there was a scarcity of rain in that year, and such a famine occurred that the Hindus, from excess of hunger and want, went in ban and joining their hands threw themselves into the river Jamz and became the portion of the alligator of extinction. Many Muslims also, burning in the flames of hunger, were drowned in the ocean of non-existence, while the rest of the world took these signs and events as proofs of the verity of Sidi and evidence of his sincerity. Although no inferences can be drawn from facts of this kind, since they may finally prove to be on coincidences, still I myself have seen with my own eyes examples of such incidents, as shall be related in their proper places if God so will it.

God has never cursed any nation  
 Until the heart of a holy man has been grieved.

The remainder of the accused, at the intercession of Arkali Khān, were delivered from the danger which threatened the lives, and from the punishment intended by the Sultān; and this same year the Sultān for the second time marched again

<sup>1</sup> مبارک میاسن۔ MS. (A).

<sup>2</sup> او برباری۔ MS. (A).

Rantambhor, and destroyed the country round it, and overthrew the idols and idol-temples, but returned without attempting to reduce the fort. Arkali Khün went to Multān without his permission, at which the Sultān was very vexed.

In the year 691 H. the Mughuls under Chingiz Khân came up against Hindustān with a very large army, and fought a very severe battle with the Sultān's victorious forces in the neighbourhood of Sanām. When the Mughuls became aware of the size of the army of Hindustān they began to make overtures for peace. The Sultān theronpon summoned their leader, who was very closely related to Halākū Khân, and also his son, who called the Sultān his father. They accordingly had an interview and exchanged gifts and presents and each returned to his own country : and Alghū<sup>1</sup> the grandson of Chingiz Khân, embraced Islām, and several thousand Mughuls besides followed his example and having learnt to repeat the sacred and blessed formula, elected to remain in the service of the Sultān. Alghū was selected for the honour of becoming son-in-law to the Sultān. The Mughuls took up their abode in Ghiyāspūr in which is now the sacred tomb of the Prince of Holy men Nizāmul Auliya<sup>2</sup> may God sanctify his resting place. It is commonly known as Mughulpūr and those Mughuls were called the "new Muslims."

At the close of this same year the Sultān having gone up against the fort of Mandāwar ravaged and pillaged the country round it and then returned. 'Alāu-d-Dīn the Governor of Karra, obtained permission in that year to proceed to Bhilsa<sup>3</sup> and attacked that country<sup>4</sup> and brought much booty thence to present to the Sultān, and the idol which was the object of worship of the Hindūs, he caused to be cast down in front of the gate of Badāon to be trampled upon by the people.<sup>5</sup> These services of 'Alāu-d-Dīn being highly approved,<sup>6</sup> the jāgīr of Oudh also was added to his other estates ; and since 'Alāu-d-Dīn was very angry and incensed

<sup>1</sup> See *Tārikh-i-Rashidī* (Elias and Ross) p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Nizāmu-d-Dīn Auliya. See Beale. O. B. D., p. 211, also Āīn-i-Akbārī (J) III, 365.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) reads بھیسا! Bhilsa. The text has بھیسا! which is meaningless.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) لولیات را.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) omits معبود after خاق and has خلائق for خاق.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) افتاده for افتادو.

against the Sultān's consort, whu was his mother-in-law, and against the daughter of tho Sultān, because she always made a practice of speaking ill of him tu her father, he was anxious, on any pretext whatever, to leave tho Sultān's dominions and ge to a distance, and find some place of refuge for himself; accordingly he provided himself with new servants, and making all preparations as to personal clothing and furniture, he asked the Sultān<sup>1</sup> to bestow upon him the district of Chanderī, and leaving Dihlī came to Karra, and from theru under the pretence of attacking Chanderī, he went by way of Illichpūr, and made for the frontiers of the country of Deogir; leaving Malik 'Alāu-l-Mulk who was one of his friends, as his depnty in Karra, and having instrncted him to temporise with the Sultān, went off somewhere unknown to anyone, and when no news could be obtained of Malik 'Alāu-d-Din's whereabouts for a considerable time, tho Sultān was exceedingly sorry.<sup>2</sup> Suddenly news arrived that 'Alān-d-Din having gone up against the rebel Dco Gir, had conqnered the whole of his country as far as the confines of the country of the Deccan, and had taken as spoil much treasure, and elephants and property, soveral thousands of horses, together with valuables; silk and cloth goods, and jewels, beyond the limits of computation, and that he was making for Karra. This was a source of great gratification to tho Sultān, but the wise men of those times knew very well, both from analogy and inference, that 'Alān-d-Din<sup>3</sup> had gone to that country without permission from the Sultān, and had suffered much annoyance at the hands of Malika-i-Jahān who was tho consort of the Sultān, and also from his own wife, and had accordingly faced the world, always nursing in his breast sinister intentions. Now<sup>4</sup> that he was in a position perfectly tu put his rebellious ideas into execution, and had not the access tu the Court, it was strange that the Sultān seemed to suffer no apprehension as regarded him; but no one dared represent these views to the Sultān, whu was wholly and entirely ignorant of the annoyance which 'Alān-d-Din had suffered at the hands of the Queen-mother and his own wife, and if by chance they ventured

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) از جانب سلطان.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) تمام داشت دلگرانی.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) omits ۸۵.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) omits و.

to speak<sup>1</sup> of the possibility of the revolt and treachery of 'Alāu-d-Dīn, the Sultān attributed it to jealousy, and would never allow the idea of his contumacy or rebellion to enter his head.

In short, at the time when the Sultān was in the neighbourhood of Gwālīr he summoned a council of his Amīrs to deliberate about 'Alāu-d-Dīn and said.<sup>2</sup> "What in your opinion is 'Alāu-d-Dīn's object in coming hither with so great display and circumstance, what will he do and what ought I to do? shall I go to meet him by way of Chanderī or shall I remain where I am, or again shall I return to Dihlī?" Malik Aḥmad Chap who was a Vazīr of sound judgment and ripe experience and loyal to the backbone, did all he could to warn the Sultān by adducing logical arguments and quoting precedents, reminding him of the revolt of Malik Chhajū and the mutiny of the inhabitants of Kāṛṭā, events which were of recent occurrence, as testifying to the probabilities of the present position, and urged him to go out to meet 'Alāu-d-Dīn on the way by which he would arrive, and to put an end to his ostentatious display and pompous arrogance, to seize his elephants and property, and all the things which were likely to be of use; but the Sultān would not listen to his advice, and launching forth into extravagant eulogy of 'Alāu-d-Dīn declared that his mind was perfectly at ease on his account in every possible way, "for is he not" (said he) "my protégé<sup>3</sup> and foster child, he can never harbour any evil designs against me." Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn, and the other Amīrs also went with oily speeches to the Sultān, and brought forward all sorts of absurd arguments simply to suit the humour of the Sultān, and adducing weak examples induced him to return to Dihlī; Malik Aḥmad Chap rose up in wrath from that assembly, and spoke as follows: "If Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn with all this<sup>4</sup> pomp and royal display has arrived at Kāṛṭā and crossing the river Sarū makes for Lakhnautī, I do not know what can be done by any one to oppose him," and lamenting exceedingly the condition of the Sultān he repeated the following lines—

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) سخن از.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) کنگاش طلبید و گفت که.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) پروردہ بواوردہ.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) با این همه اسباب.

A foeman, though small one should never despise,  
For a mountain is made up of stones of small size

The Sultan then came from Gwîhat to Dihli, and 'Alau d Din having reached Knîsa<sup>1</sup> wrote despatches full of craft and coming to the Court, and worked upon the mind of the Sultan by presents of elephants and endless wealth, and begged for a kindly worded letter summoning him to the Court, while all the time he was engaged in preparations to start for Lakhnauti and having sent his brother<sup>2</sup> Zafar Khâa to Ondhi ordered him to hold in readiness all the boats on the river Saru. The simple minded Sultan Jalâl-d Din wrote a command with his own hand in accordance with 'Alau d Din's request and sent it<sup>3</sup> by the hand of two confidential and trusted body servants, one of whom was named Imâdu l Mulk and the other<sup>4</sup> Ziau d Din. These men when they arrived soon perceived by his manner and bearing<sup>5</sup> that the face of affairs was altered<sup>6</sup> and 'Alau d Din having prepared the dish for the Sultan, and having arranged for its service at a given signal, handed over<sup>7</sup> those two messengers to sentries who were charged to keep them so closely guarded that not even a bird should be able to flap its wings near them, then he wrote a letter to Ilmas Beg his brother, who was also a son in law of the Sultan,<sup>8</sup> and sent it to Dihli couched in these words "Inasmuch as in the course of this expedition, I have committed many unwaranted acts, in that without taking the orders of the Sultan I proceeded to Deogn, for this reason certain persons have aroused fear in my heart and anxiety—but seeing that I am the loyal servant and son of the Sultan, if he will march lightly equipped and by rapid marches come and lay hands upon me, and carry me off I have nothing to urge against

مکتوب میددہ ۱

<sup>۲</sup> MS (A) حورہ دراد رحہ طفر حاب the word حورہ in the text is omitted here

<sup>۳</sup> MS (A) فرسناد

<sup>۴</sup> MS (A) دیگری

<sup>۵</sup> MS (A) طرح وضع او

<sup>۶</sup> MS (A) کہ ورق دیگر گور شدہ literally ' that the leaves had changed colour '

<sup>۷</sup> MS (A) سپردہ

<sup>۸</sup> MS (A) اورم داعاد سلطان دود

imprisonment, and if, as they have said the current rumours are true, and the Sultān's mind is in reality turned against me, I must perforce lay violent hands upon myself and efface myself from the world." When Ilmās Beg laid that<sup>1</sup> letter before the Sultān, he on the instant sent<sup>2</sup> Ilmās Beg to reassure 'Alāu-d-Dīn and gave him a promise that he himself would follow. Ilmās Beg embarked in a boat, and going like the wind over the surface of the water,<sup>3</sup> on the seventh day joined Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn, and urged him to proceed to Lakhnautī,<sup>4</sup> but certain of the wise and far-seeing companions of 'Alāu-d-Dīn said, "What need have we to go to Lakhnautī when the Sultān by reason of his excessive greed for the wealth of Deogir, and the elephants and horses of that country will come here lightly equipped<sup>5</sup> in the very height of the rainy season.<sup>6</sup> At that time we will take any steps that may be necessary,<sup>7</sup> and whatever has to be done to meet the emergency, we have it all stored up and we will put an end to him on the spot."<sup>8</sup> Since the cup of the life of Sultān Jalālū-d-Dīn was full<sup>9</sup> and his heart was brim full of lust and greed for that fancied and ill-omened treasure,<sup>10</sup> and Fate too had rendered him deaf and blind, not one of these evil designs was perceived by him :

Verse.

When Fate lets fall from the sky a feather,  
All the wise men became<sup>11</sup> blind and deaf.

177.

Casting the advice of his well-wishers behind him,<sup>12</sup> he embarked on a boat with certain of his trusted followers and a thousand

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) را نامه آن.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) وعده فرمود و خصت کرده.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) شد روانه اب.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) نمود تحریص تکه نوی.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) ایکسال.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) بیشکال کال پیشہ or Turkī word, "saison des pluies" (Pavet de Courteilles.)

<sup>7</sup> MS. (A) اندیشہ کہ باید اندیشیم هر.

<sup>8</sup> MS. (A) همانجا می.

<sup>9</sup> MS. (A) پوشیده و.

<sup>10</sup> MS. (A) شوم شوم مو مال.

<sup>11</sup> MS. (A) گشتند.

<sup>12</sup> Lit. striking their words on the dorsum of his foot.

sowards, borrowing his speed from the wind and his haste from the stream, and set out for Koppa : he sent Malik Ahmad Chajp the Vazir with an armed force and a body of retainers by land,<sup>1</sup> Malik Ahmad Chajp was reading his garments but all to no purpose.

### Verse.

If the listener will not turn his ear to counsel,  
He will reap retribution from the high heaven.

The Sultān, whose life's boat had been wrecked by a contrary wind, and had been cast on the shore of destruction, arrived at Koppa on the 17th of the blessed month of Ramazān : and 'Alād-Dīn, who had kept his forces in readiness, had crossed the river Ganges between Koppa and Manikpur and had pitched his camp : then he sent Ilmās Beg to the Sultān, sending by him some valuable jewels, with strict orders to use all the means he could devise and all the craft he could command to separate the Sultān from his army and bring him to 'Alād-Dīn. His confederate therefore went and presented himself before the Sultān, and with great craftiness and deceit, and with obsequious humility represented that<sup>2</sup> if he had not come 'Alād-Dīn would have been utterly scared and would have escaped, "had to such an extent" said he, "have the evil speakers studded his ears<sup>3</sup> with reports of the unkind and ill-disposed utterances of the Sultān, and filled his mind with fear, that even now fear and suspicion is by no means entirely removed from his mind.<sup>4</sup> There is still a probability of that of which I spoke before, unless the Sultān should shew him some favour and kindness, and should re-assure him, and going alone, without any retinue, should take him by the hand and lead him here."

The Sultān taking his blood-thirsty words for the truth, ordered the cavalry escort which accompanied him to remain halted where they were, and he himself, together with a small body of retainers armed and ready for battle, proceeded a short distance forward, going forth to meet Death, while the arch-

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) ماخت (A)

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) & ۴.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) اڑا.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) omits ۴.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) omits ۵.

178. traitor Ilmās Beg further represented <sup>1</sup> saying "my brother is in great fear and awe of the Sultān <sup>2</sup> and is quaking from head to foot; and when he sees even this small body of men, he will be all the more alarmed, and will despair of the Sultān's clemency."<sup>3</sup> Accordingly the Sultān ordered this body of retainers to lay aside their arms which they did: those who were closely attached to the Sultān were greatly agitated at this foolish decision, but the Sultān would not be dissuaded by their objections. When they arrived near the bank of the river, the army of 'Alāu-d-Dīn was plainly visible drawn up in close order fully armed and equipped, and evidently expecting an engagement. Malik Khurram<sup>4</sup> the Vakīdar said to Ilmās Beg "We left our army behind that we ~~were~~ instigation, and we laid down our arms, what is this wishes to review ~~are~~ ready for action?" He replied "my brother wishes to make a proper ~~way~~, and following his usual course, he to future advantage," the Sunāv<sup>5</sup> before the Sultān, with an eye "When fate comes the plain ~~beet~~, accordance with the saying moment even did not discover the deceit of narrow"<sup>6</sup> up to that own free will walked deliberately into the jaws of enemy, but of his

and is quite occupied in that service<sup>1</sup> and he has been preparing food for breaking your fast, and to do honour to the arrival of his guest, and is now awaiting the honoured coming of the Sultan, so that he may be distinguished among his peers by the honour derived from the royal visit." The Sultan all this time was occupied in reading the sacred volume, they reached the river's bank by the time of afternoon prayer and he took his seat in the place they had made ready for him to sit in, and 'Alā'ud-Dīn having got every thing ready<sup>2</sup> came with a great gathering to pay his respects to the Sultan and fell at his feet.<sup>3</sup> The Sultan smiling, with affection and kindness and love smote him a gentle blow on the cheek, and addressing him with great show of frankness and clemency and warm-heartedness, began to give him words of counsel, and was talking to him affectionately and lovingly, reassuring him in every possible way, and seizing the hand of Malik 'Alā'ud-Dīn was drawing him near. At this moment when the Sultan laid hold of his beard, and, kissing him, was showing him marks of his special favour, and<sup>4</sup> had given his hand into his, 'Alā'ud-Dīn seizing the Sultan's hand firmly, withdrew it, and gave a signal to a party of men who were confederate and had sworn together to murder the Sultan. Then Muhammad Salim who was one of the scum of Samāna, aimed a blow with his sword at the Sultan and wounded him; on receiving that wound the Sultan made for the boat crying out as he ran: "Thou wretch 'Alā'ud-Dīn, what is this thou hast done!" At this juncture uno Ikhātayār dīn who had been a particular protégé of the Sultan ran behind him and inflicted a second wound which killed him, he then cut off his head and brought it to 'Alā'ud-Dīn.<sup>5</sup> By 'Alā'ud-Dīn's orders, the head of the unfortunate oppressed and martyred monarch was placed upon a spear and carried round Kaffa and Mamikpur from thence they took it to Ovili, and the holy servants of the Sultan who were in the boat were all put to death, some of them threw themselves into the river, and were drowned in the ocean of destruction. Malik Fakhru'd-Dīn Kuchi fell into their hands alive and was murdered. Malik Ahmad Chap having made prisoners of the Sultan's army brought it to

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) مساعی خدا علی.

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) omits g.

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) اسے.

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) adds g.

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) بردی.

Dihli and<sup>1</sup> pending the arrival of Arkali Khān from Multān (he was the worthy son of the Sultān and fitted to succeed him in the kingdom) as a temporary measure, with the co-operation of Maliku-i-Jahān, seated Qadr Khān the youngest son of the Sultān, upon the throne of Dihli, with the title of Ruknū-d-Dīn Ibrāhīm. The Amīrs and Maliks of Jalālu-d-Dīn's party came one and all to swear allegiance to him at his accession. He retained the name of King for one month. Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn lost no time,<sup>2</sup> but on the very day of the assassination of the Sultān, made open display of the insignia and emblems of royalty, and raising the imperial canopy over his own head<sup>3</sup> was addressed as Sultān and<sup>4</sup> in the middle of the rainy season marching uninterrupted he made straight for the metropolis of Dihli, and showering dīnārs and dirhems like rain over the heads of the populace, and pelting the people in the streets great and small with golden missiles from balistae and slings,<sup>5</sup> came to his own garden on the banks of the Jumna and alighted there. Day by day the Amīrs of the Jalāli faction joined themselves to him and swore allegiance to him, and by the hope of the red gold, all regret for Jalālu-d-Dīn was completely effaced from their black hearts.

Liberality is the alchemy<sup>6</sup> of the copper of faults;  
Liberality is the remedy for all pain.

. It is said that by the day when Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn reached Badāou sixty thousand sowārs had joined his standard, Malik Raknu-d-Dīn Ibrāhīm seeing that he had not the power to resist him went to Multān to Arkali Khān, with certain chosen Amīrs who remained faithful after the massacre (of Jalālu-d-Dīn), and the whole of the kingdom fell under the dominion of 'Alāu-d-Dīn.

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) inserts و.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) reads فرست نداده هم در روز.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) برس خود گرفته.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) inserts و.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) reads در عراوا و منجنيق.

<sup>6</sup> هر مس که بکیمیا رسید زر گردید. Cf. Roebuck. *Proverbs*, 398. *Kīmīyā*.

All copper which is affected by Kīmīyā becomes gold.

"The science (of Alchemy) has for its object the substance by which gold and silver is perfected by artificial means."

See Proleg : Ibn Khaldūn. (de Slane) III. 207. See also Skeat, s. v.

The kingdom is God's and greatness is His. The massacre of Sultan Jalalu d Din took place in the seventeenth of the month of Ramazan in the year 691 H (A D 1294) and the duration of his reign was seven years and some months.

### Verses

Hast thou seen the acts of the tyrant heaven and its star,  
Mention it not, what is the heaven, its revolution, or its  
arched vault?

How is it that the revolving heaven has cast the sun of the  
kingdom headlong into the dust,  
Dost be on the head of his sun of glory.

Sultān Jalālū d Dīn had a taste for poetry, and Amīr Khnusrū after the death of Mu'izzū d Dīn Kāiqubād, came into the service of the Sultan Jalālū d Dīn, and was honoured by being selected as an intimate companion, and was made Qar'an keeper to the Sultan, he was presented every year with the robes of honour which were reserved for the Amirs of the Saljūqūl and were tokens of special distinction and peerless trust.

In this same category were Amīr Ilaṣān and Mūid Tajarī and Amīr Arslān Katibī and Sa'd i Mantiqī and Baqī i Khatib and Qāzī Mughīs of Hānsī, who is one of the most learned men of the time of Jalālū d Dīn and wrote a *Ghazal* in nineteen metres<sup>2</sup> of which this is the opening —

Two pearly ears, a stately form, two lovely cheeks, with  
fresh youth bright,

Thy glory is the fairy's pride, a fairy then, at glory's  
height

And the rest of the learned men used to keep the Sultan's assembly embellished and adorned with the jewels of poems and delicate points of learning and philosophy, and the following few verses are the offspring of the Sultan's genius —

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) *امراي مهابي*

<sup>2</sup> عرب بوردة سري It would appear from the statement that this *ghazal* or ode was made up of nineteen lines each of which was in a different metre. The first of the above lines is either *Mutaq rib* or *Ramal*. It is called *Z bahrain* (of two metres) in prosody. The second line is in *Ramal*.

I do not wish those flowing locks of thine to be entangled  
 I do not wish that rosy cheek of thine (with shame) to burn.  
 I wish that thou one night unclothed may'st come to my  
 embrace

Yes, loud I cry with all my might, I would not have it  
 hidden.

And at the time when he was besieging Gwāliār he built a  
 pavilion and a lofty dome<sup>1</sup> and wrote this quatrain as an inscrip-  
 tion for that building :—

*Quatrain.*

I whose foot spurns the head of heaven,  
 How can a heap of stone and earth augment my dignity ?  
 This broken stone I have thus arranged in order that  
 Some broken heart may haply take comfort from it.

And Sa'd Mantiqī and the other poets he ordered to point out  
 to him the defects and beauties of this composition. They all  
 praised it exceedingly and said ! It has no fault, but he replied :  
 You are afraid of hurting my feelings, I will point out its defect<sup>2</sup>  
 in this *quatrain* :

It may be some chance traveller may pass by this spot  
 Whose tattered garment is the satin mantle of the starless  
 sky;<sup>3</sup>  
 Perchance from the felicity of his auspicious footsteps  
 One atom may fall to my lot : this will suffice me.

SULTĀN 'ALĀU-D-DĪN KHILJĪ.

On the twenty-ninth<sup>4</sup> of Zūl Hijjah in the year six hundred and  
 ninety-five (695 H.) (A.D. 1295) raised the banner of the Sultānātē

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) بنا کرد و.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) omits عیب.

<sup>3</sup> چرخ اطلس. The highest of all the heavens so called (اطلس) because  
 it has no stars. The literal meaning of اطلس is "worn out," "effaced." Thus  
 رجل اطلس التوب means a man whose garments are worn out. It also  
 by a secondary (post classical) meaning is used in the sense of "Satin."  
 Hence there is a double play on the word اطلس here, in its opposite senses.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) reads دوسم و نهم while our text has ڈریست و دوم.

of Dihli, with the consent of his brother Ilmūs Beg, to whom he gave the title of Ulugh Khān<sup>1</sup> and to Sinjar, his wife's brother, who was the *Mir-i-Majlis* he gave the title of Alp Khān, while to Malik Nuṣrat Jalisi he gave that of Nuṣrat Khān, and to Malik Badru-d-Din that of Zafar Khān,<sup>2</sup> and alighted at the plain of Siri, where he pitched his camp, and giving public audience delighted the hearts of the Amirs and all classes of his subjects by his boundless munificence, then he had the *Khuṭbah* and the *Sikka* promulgated in his own name and conferred<sup>3</sup> appointments and titles upon the Amirs, and distributing *jāgirs* gave his mind first of all to his principal object which was to overthrow the two sons of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn who were in Multān.<sup>4</sup>

### Veree.

As long as the head of the heir to the throne is on his shoulders,

Disorder is the mantle of the body of the state.

In the Muḥarram 696 A.H. (he sent) Ulugh Khān and Alp Khān against Arkali Khān and Sultān Ruknu-d-Dīn;<sup>5</sup> both these

Mir Khusrū in the *Tarīkh-i-Ālāt*, states that 'Alān-d-Dīn left Kāgra Manikpur on the 19th of Rabi'ul Āakhir 693 H. and after taking great booty from Rām Deo, Rāj of Deogir, returned to Kāgra on the 28th Rajab. His accession to the throne took place on the 16th Ramazān 695 H., and he arrived at Dihli on the 22nd of Zilhijjah of the same year.

The text has possibly been corrected to agree with this author's date. Baruī does not give the day of the month: nor does Firishta. The latter tells us that on the death of Jalālu-d-Dīn, Malika-i-Jahān of her own accord set Qadr Khān the youngest son of Jalālu-d-Dīn on the throne, with the title of Ruknu-d-Dīn Ibrahim, and finding he was too young, sent to Multān to summon the second son Arkali Khān, who refused to come hearing of 'Alān-d-Dīn's success with the army.

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A); the text reads *عَلِيُّ خَان*.

<sup>2</sup> Barnī says that the title of Zafar Khān was conferred on Malik Hizabru-d-Dīn, (Elliott III. 157).

<sup>3</sup> The text omits *مُؤْتَمِر* before *سِكَّة* supplied from MS. (A).

<sup>4</sup> It appears both from Barnī and Firishta that the youngest son of the late Sultān was in Dihli and that Arkali Khān was in Multān. See note 4, last page, and Elliott III. 169.

<sup>5</sup> Although the author has given no account of Qadr Khān's coronation he here gives him the title by which he was raised to the throne.

brothers were besieged<sup>1</sup> in the fortress of Multān. The inhabitants of the city and the Kotwāl asked for quarter, and made overtures for peace, and the two princes, by the intervention of Shaikh Ruknu-d-Dīn Quraishī *may God sanctify his resting place,*<sup>2</sup> came forth and had an interview with Ulugh Khān,<sup>3</sup> who treated them with the utmost respect, sending a despatch announcing his victory to Dihlī; and taking the family and tribe of Jalālu-d-Dīn he set out for Dihli. When they came near Bohar<sup>4</sup> a place in the vicinity of Hānsī, Nuṣrat Khān arrived with an order, in obedience to which they put out the eyes of both the sons<sup>5</sup> of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn, of Alghū Khān the Mughul son-in-law to the Sultān, and of Malik Ahmād Chap,<sup>6</sup> and handed over the Sultān's sons<sup>7</sup> to the Kotwāl of Hānsī and martyred them together with two sons of Arkalī Khān.<sup>8</sup> They kept the Sultān's wives and the rest of his children imprisoned in Dihli, sending Ahmād Chap and Alghū the Mughul to the fortress of Gwāliār, and putting out the eyes of some others also, scattered them in all directions and punished them with tortures, and very many of the old families they utterly destroyed and the hidden meaning of Sidi Maula<sup>9</sup> soon

<sup>1</sup> I read here مُحَصَّر though there is a question if we should not read مُتَحَصَّن. The text reads مُحَصَّم which is manifestly wrong: MS. (A) reads مُتَحَصَّر which is perhaps meant for مُتَحَصَّن MS. (B) which is of very little value as before pointed out reads مُحَصَّم.

<sup>2</sup> Barnī states that the sons of the Sultān sent Shaikhul-Islām, Shaikh Ruknu-d-Dīn to sue for safety from Ulugh Khān and received his assurances, (Elliott III. 161), MS. (A) omits العزیز. This Ruknu-d-Dīn was the son of Shaikh Sadru-d-Dīn 'Ārif and grandson of Shaikh Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakariyā (See Āīn-i-Akbārī, Jarrett III. 365).

Firishta gives a full biography of Ruknu-d-Dīn, his father and grandfather q. v.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) بَا اِلْخَان مَلَاقَات نَوْدَة

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) بوهار.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) هُرُود و پُسْر.

<sup>6</sup> Nāib Amīr-i-Hājīb (Barnī. Elliott III. 162). MS. (A) omits ب.

<sup>7</sup> MS. (A) omits سُلْطَان.

<sup>8</sup> Barnī merely states that the princes were imprisoned, and that all the sons of Arkalī Khān were slain.

<sup>9</sup> MS. (A) omits مَرْحُوم.

became evident, and (vengeance for) his blood did not long sleep<sup>1</sup>  
 In a short time<sup>2</sup> it became the cause of the shedding of the  
 blood of Sultan Jalaludin and his family, and of so many  
 thousands of others among the people who had been murdered.

The wealth of Qarun which still sinks down to the bottom  
 of the earth,

You may have read, that it was a source of envy to the  
 poor<sup>3</sup>

And in the year<sup>4</sup> 697 A H (1297 A.D.), Nasrat Khan having  
 been appointed to the office of Vazir, used strenuous efforts to  
 recover the money which Sultan 'Alau'd Din had lavished in  
 the commencement of his reign in order to gain over the affec-  
 tions of the people, and demanding the repayment of very large  
 sums deposited them in the treasury, and having summoned from  
 Kappa 'Alau'l Mulk the uncle of Zain'd Din Barni, the author  
 of the *Tasrik-i-Firoz Shahi* (whom Sultan 'Alau'd Din had re-  
 moved from the kotalship of Dihli and had sent as governor to  
 Kappa, appointing Nasrat Khan to the office of Kotwal) he  
 conferred upon him his old rank Alp Khan being appointed  
 to Multan. And in the year 698 A H (1298 A.D.) one Salil<sup>5</sup> a  
 Mughul commander, crossing the Indus came towards Hindustan,  
 and Ulugh Khan and Tughlaq Khan the governor of Depalpur  
 (who is Ghazi Mulk), were appointed to put down that rising,  
 and offered strong opposition to them<sup>6</sup> on the confines of Jatin  
 Manjhi.<sup>7</sup> The Mughul army was defeated, some of them were  
 killed and others taken prisoners, and the army of Sultan 'Alau'd  
 Din remained victorious with many spoils. A second time

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) میں سپدہ دو

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) صد

<sup>3</sup> See Qur'an XXVIII 70

<sup>4</sup> Omit سال MS (A)

<sup>5</sup> The text reads چلادی Clatalis MS (A) reads چلادی Chaldi so also  
 Barni (Ellott III 165) and Ibn-i-Akbari (Jarrett) III 317.

Firishta calls him Chaldi

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) نا اشان

<sup>7</sup> Both Barni and Firishta say Siwistan

Qutluq Khwāja, the son of Duā,<sup>1</sup> came from Māwarān-n-nahr with a countless host to attempt the conquest of Hindustān, and penetrated<sup>2</sup> as far as Dihlī, inflicting no injury on the districts through which he passed. In Dihlī itself grain became very dear, and the citizens were in great straits,<sup>3</sup> and Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn placing Ulughī Khān and Zafar Khān in command of the forces, sent them with a countless host to oppose the Mughul army, and a severe battle was fought on the frontiers of Gilī.<sup>4</sup> Zafar Khān was killed, and the Sultān had gained what he wanted in this.<sup>5</sup> Qutluq Khwāja after his defeat made his way to Khurāsān where he died.

A third time Targhī Mughul who was one of the *margans*,<sup>6</sup> that is to say accurate archers of that country, accompanied by 100,000 infantry and 20,000 valiant and renowned cavalry, seized the fort of the hills, and gaining possession of that country, penetrated as far as the township of Baran, where Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn Amīr Dād the Governor was entrenched; Malik Tughlaq Ghāzī-i-Mulk was sent from the metropolis to put down that disturbance.<sup>7</sup> Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn sallying from the fortress of Baran,<sup>8</sup> joined with Malik Tughlaq, and they jointly made a night attack upon the Mughuls.<sup>9</sup> The Mughul forces being routed, Targhī was taken prisoner and Malik Tughlaq brought him into the royal presence.

A fourth time, Muhammād Turtāq<sup>10</sup> and 'Alī Beg Mughul, who were the sons of the royal house of Khurāsān, brought together

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A), so also Firishta.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) در آمد.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) جا تنگ گشت.

<sup>4</sup> Or Kīlī (Barnī).

<sup>5</sup> Barnī explains this. He says " 'Alāu-d-Dīn returned from Kīlī, considering that he had won a great victory: the Mughuls had been put to flight and the brave and fearless Zafar Khān had been got rid of without disgrace."

<sup>6</sup> مرگن. This word is given by M. Pavet de Courteille in the meanings of fusilier: bon tireur: héros. It is a Turkī word.

<sup>7</sup> The reading of MS. (A) is here followed: *viz.*

ملک تغلق غازی ملک از درگاه بجهت دفع ان فندہ نامزد گشت.

MS. (A) از حصار بون برآمدہ.

<sup>9</sup> MS. (A) با تقاف شبیخون بو سخن اور دند.

<sup>10</sup> The reading of this name is a little uncertain. MS. (A) may be either قریان or قریان. Neither Barnī nor Firishta give any assistance: nor does

a very large army, which they divided into two and bore down upon Nagor,<sup>1</sup> while the other seized the fort of the Sunur hills, and occupied the country as far as the river Brah which they call Kali Pan<sup>2</sup>. Sultan 'Alau d Din appointed Malik Mānik his slave (who is Kafur Naib or Hazar Dinar<sup>3</sup>) with Mahla Tngliq Governor of Depalpur to proceed to Amroha, and while the Mughul army, having succeeded in capturing much spoil and many cattle, was marching to the banks of the river Rāhab Malik Manik came up in pursuit<sup>4</sup> and a severe battle ensued. Both the Mughul princes evinced great bravery, but were ultimately taken prisoners, and were put to death, while the greater part of these accursed ones became food for the sword of vengeance, and the remnant of the sword fled panicstricken to their own country. The heads of these two princes were taken to Badaon and impaled upon the battlements of the fort. One of the learned poets of that time wrote the following quatrain which was afterwards inscribed upon the southern gateway of that city.

### Quatrain

Noble fortress! whose helper may the assistance of the Almighty ever be!

- May the victory and conquest of the Emperor over be thy standard bearer!  
The Malik of this age became thy builder, and built thou anew,  
May Targhi, hī e 'Ali Beg<sup>5</sup> become thy captive

And Mir Khusru<sup>6</sup> has written an account of the fight between Malik Manik (who had obtained the title of Malik Naib<sup>7</sup>) in

either word appear in the Turki dictionary. The text reads تریان Taryaq which seems rather an *ex necessitate* reading. The *Tariq* is also read Turtaq (Elliott III 72).

<sup>1</sup> MS تاریخ نادر (A)

<sup>2</sup> MS کارہا کالی پائی مسکوینہ (A)

<sup>3</sup> So called because he had been originally purchased for a thousand darsas

<sup>4</sup> MS اربعت رسیده (A)

<sup>5</sup> MS علی بیگ (A)

<sup>6</sup> MS علیہ الرحمۃ (A) omits

<sup>7</sup> Firishta states that this title was conferred upon Malik Kafur (Hazar Dinar) on the occasion of his being placed in command of an army to proceed against Ram Deo, Raja of Deoghar a refractory tributary

the *Türkhi-i-Khusru-i-Patřī*<sup>1</sup> a marvel of literature, which mortal powers confess themselves impotent to approach or imitate, though to tell the truth all the writings of that king of poets, rightly named Khusru, are of this excellence, and to praise and crown them is an impertinence and error for any other.

Whenever any thought shines forth from his mind  
It is so subtle as to escape comprehension and defy imitation.

On the fifth occasion Iqbālmand and Kapak, Mughals, brought together an army to take vengeance for Turtāq<sup>2</sup> and 'Ali Beg, and invaded the frontiers of Multān. The Sultān on this occasion also appointed Malik Nāib, and Malik Tughlaq. They proceeded by forced marches while the Mughals were falling back, and pursuing them gave battle. Kapak was taken prisoner, but was ransomed by the infidel Tātārs, with the prisoners and abundant booty which had fallen into their hands.<sup>3</sup> From that day the Mughals lost their enthusiasm for the conquest of Hindustān, and the teeth of their ambition became blunted.

After these victories, the Sultān one night was holding a wine party quite at his ease with his companions, and was quaffing copious draughts of wine. The night, like the circulation of the wine cup, had come near to an end; suddenly some of the assembled guests began to make signs to each other<sup>4</sup> with hand, and eye, and brow that it was time to break up,<sup>5</sup> the Sultān happened to perceive it, he was annoyed and cried out Mutiny! Mutiny! and on the instant gave orders for Bahā (who was one of his boon-companions and choice spirits) to be killed. The rest fled in confusion. On the following morning when he came to realise

<sup>1</sup> This work, known also as the *Tārīkh-i-Alāī*, is a prose history of the first years of Sultān Alāū-d-Dīn Khiljī from his accession in 695 H. to the close of 710 H. (Elliot III. 68-69.)

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) omits تُرْتَاق and gives the pointing of Turtāq as تُرْيَاق.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) افتابه بود. This account differs somewhat from that given by Khusrū, who makes the invasion of Kapak separate from and precedent to that of Iqbāl Mudbir as he calls him.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) بکدیگورا.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) و نظر سلطان.

what had occurred, it was as clear as day to the Sultân<sup>1</sup> that his suspicion was groundless.

Wait, till the world removes the veil from the face of events,  
And till that thou hast done this evening, tomorrow is  
plain to thee.

Then he asked for Qâzî Bahâ<sup>2</sup>. They replied He was sent into eternity at that very moment<sup>3</sup>. The Sultan was very repentant and ashamed at hearing this, and vowed never again to drink wine, and ordered it to be proclaimed that the use of wine should be absolutely abandoned throughout the kingdom. Cask upon cask of wine was poured out in the court till it became a flowing river. Everyone who was discovered intoxicated, was hauled off to prison, and punished by imprisonment<sup>4</sup> and confiscation of property.

Piety and penitence became the order of the day the taverns were in ruins,<sup>5</sup> and the police officers had plenty of work, and there was no longer any need to purchase vinegar,<sup>6</sup> while the wine bibbers were giving expression by their actions to these verses

Now he sprinkles the flagon with salt, now he shatters the cup,<sup>7</sup>

How the policeman disturbs the peace of the tavern in which we sup

<sup>1</sup> The text has a note here to the effect that a ب should probably be inserted after سلطان but that it is not found in either of the two MSS before the editor.

سلطان را چوب روز روشن شد که آن کمان علطا دود

<sup>2</sup> The text here and in the former MS reads بھار بھار

<sup>3</sup> او خود همان ریحان بهرار سالها پیوست

<sup>4</sup> تعریف مالی و بندی منکرید

<sup>5</sup> حرایات حراب شد

<sup>6</sup> Wine not being drunk all the grapejuice could be used for vinegar. There is a hint here that every one was discontented and as we say sour looks which the Persians express by saying فلان کعن سرکه فروشی می کند کند as we say sour so and so sells vinegar. Qâzî says to his mistress

سرکه فروشی مکن پیچه که در عشق

پیچم ارین سرکه کم نگودد همان راء

<sup>7</sup> MS (A) omits را but the text is correct

And in the year 697 H. (1297 A.D.) the Sultān becoming suspicious of the newly-converted Muslim Mughuls was contemplating 188. to murder and eradicate them, and they also for their part, goaded by the extortion of the revenue collectors and their extortiōnate demands for refunding money,<sup>1</sup> were plotting a rebellion whilst the Sultān should be hunting and hawking.<sup>2</sup> One of them who was opposed to this scheme made it known to the Sultān. Secret orders were written and despatched to the Governors of the country saying that on a certain day<sup>3</sup> they should put to death all the new Muslim Mughuls with one consent wherever they found them.

Accordingly on the appointed date they despatched so many poor hapless Mughuls with the sword of injustice, and sent them on their travels to the kingdom of annihilation, that the mind cannot compute their number, and the name of Mughul no longer survived in Hindustān, although this custom of killing strangers has survived from that time.

And in the commencement of affairs, the fact of so many victories following one another in close succession led to extravagant ambitions in the mind of the Sultān; one of these was religious innovation, and moreover by the assistance of these four Ulugh Khān, Nusrat Khān, Zafar Khān and Alp Khān he was led to estimate himself as being superior to the Prophet *on whom be the peace and blessing of God*,<sup>4</sup> and his companions *may God be gracious to them all*.<sup>5</sup> The second was the conquest of the whole inhabited world like Sikandar; this led to his ordering his name to be inscribed on the currency and mentioned in the proclamation as Sikandar-i-ṣāñī.<sup>6</sup> When he sought the advice

1 This was spoken of above. 'Alāu-d-Dīn's officers disapproved of the lavish way he had squandered his money in gifts in the early days of his accession to power.

پرانیدن جانور <sup>و</sup> MS. (A).

در فلان ملا و MS. (A) omits.

عليه الصلوة و السلام MS. (A).

و MS. (A) omits.

6 Alexander the second. The accuracy of this statement is testified to by the existence of coins bearing this title. Gold coins weighing 166, 168·6 and 169·5 grs are in existence bearing the legend

سکندر اللہ ایں یہیں ا خلافہ ناصر امیر المؤمنین (See Thomas, p. 168.)

Sikandaru-s-ṣāñī Yāmīnu-l-khilāfat Nāṣiru Amīru-l-mūminīn.

of 'Alāu'l Mulk Kotwāl of Dihlī <sup>1</sup> restrained the Sultān from pursuing both these claims and said, "No one can evolve a religion out of his own brain unless he be aided <sup>2</sup> by God, and till he can perform miracles <sup>3</sup> This object cannot be acquired by the strength of dominion, and wealth, and majesty, and splendour, moreover such an attempt may be expected, may be certain to result in violent disorders and tumults of all kinds, nothing will be gained while disgrace will follow the attempt as for conquering realms, it is a worthy ambition, but needs the highest qualifications, as well as perfection of rule and a man like Aristotle, none of which are here existent."

If the Sultan clears Hindustān of infidels and frees the environs of Dihlī from these contumacious infidels, this will be in no way inferior to the world conquests of Sikandar" 189

The Sultan, after due meditation, was greatly pleased with these proofs deduced from reason and supported by precedent and bestowed a robe of honour upon 'Alau'l Mulk and gave him large rewards, and abstained from attempting to satisfy either of his ambitions. Two Amirs, who on account of the harshness of the Sultan, and the roughness of his temper, were unable to say anything of service, all sent presents of horses and valuables for 'Alau'l Mulk and were loud in praise of him.

### Verse

In my opinion that one is thy well-wisher,  
Who says that will be a thorn in thy path

In this year the Sultān proceeding to Deogir gained a fresh conquest <sup>3</sup> and doubled his spoils

That which he ent after that his sword cut double,  
That which he defeated after that his mace defeated again  
and again

And in the year 698 H (1298 A.D.) he appointed Ulugh Khan to the command of a powerful army, to proceed into the country of Gujerat against Rai Karan who had thirty thousand cavalry, and eighty thousand infantry, and thirty herd of elephants. Ulugh

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) مُؤْمِنٌ مَنْ عَدَهُ اللَّهُ يَسِّرُهُ

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) وَمُعَذَّرٌ مَنْ عَادَ شَوَّهَهُ The text reads دُوَّهَهُ correctly

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) حَمْدَهُمْ وَهُمْ حَمْدٌ



this rather unfui, and consequently plotted a rebellion, but eventually were dispersed, some of them went off to Rāi Hamir Dev in Jbain,<sup>1</sup> which is near Rantanbhor, and some went elsewhere

Ulugh Khān preceeded by continuous marches to his master at Dihli, and from this we gather that the massacre of the foreigners (above alluded to) took place after the arrival of Ulugh Khān from Gujrat. Historians have paid little attention to the due order of events, but God knows the truth.

And in the year 699 H (1299 A.D.) Ulugh Khan was nominated to proceed against the fortress of Rantanbhor and Jhāin, which is better known as Naushahr,<sup>2</sup> and Rai Hamir Dev, the grandson of Rai Pithora,<sup>3</sup> who had ten thousand cavalry, and countless infantry, and celebrated elephants, gave him battle but was defeated, and with great generalship withdrew the whole of his forces into the fortress of Rantanbhor.

Ulugh Khān having reported <sup>4</sup> the state of affairs to the Court, nighed the Sultān to capture the fort, the Sultan collected his forces <sup>5</sup> and marched against Rantanbhor, and in a short time, by skilful effort, and aided by the energy of his Maliks, completely subdued and took the fortress, and despatched Hamir Dev to hell. Great booty, and spoil, and treasures fell into his hands. Then he appointed <sup>6</sup> a Kotwal to hold that fortress, and having bestowed the country of Jhāin upon Ulugh Khan, left to attack Chitor,<sup>7</sup> and having conquered that place also within a few days,

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<sup>1</sup> Tieffenthaler, I p 322, mentions a city called Tschān at a distance of five miles from the fortress of Rantanbhor. This would appear to be probably the place spoken of in the text.

See Elliot, III 146 where Jhsin is said to be Ujjain, also p 172, note 1, where this opinion is abandoned.

<sup>2</sup> Tieffenthaler does not mention this name.

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) reads Rai Hamir Dev of Rantanbhor omitting سیدہ رائی پندھورا, but Barni calls Hamir Dev the <sup>امان</sup> nabsa of Rai Pithora, so that the reading of the text is adopted.

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) نموده

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) omits را

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) نمود

<sup>7</sup> Barni says that after taking Rantanbhor and putting Hamir Dev to death the Sultan returned to Dihli so also Farsīhta. See Hunter Imp Gaz III 430

and<sup>1</sup> having given it the name of Khizrābād, and having bestowed a red canopy upon Khizr Khan aforesaid, made Chitor over to him as governor. Among the events which happened in this expedition this was one, that Nuṣrat Khan had come from Kaffra<sup>2</sup> to Rantambhor, to reinforce Ulugh Khan before the Sultān arrived there;<sup>3</sup> and during the siege one day a stone struck him on the head, and he went without delay to the other world. One arm of the Sultān, that is to say Zafar Khan, had been broken in the fight with Qutluq Khwāja, and now the second arm was broken also.

When the army was encamped in the neighbourhood of Malhab<sup>4</sup> the Sultān one day was engaged in the hunting field;<sup>5</sup> when night came on he remained in the plain, and at dawn of day he posted his troops all round, while he himself with a select following ascended an eminence and was watching the sport.<sup>6</sup> In the meantime the brother's son of the Sultān, Akat Khan,<sup>7</sup> together with a band of new-Muslim Mughuls who were engaged in performing the duties of guards, attacked the Sultān relentlessly and smote him with arrows, seized him and wounded his arm. As it was the winter season, and the Sultān was wearing a cap<sup>8</sup> stuffed with cotton his wounds were not fatal. Akat Khan wished to alight from his horse and strike off the Sultān's head from his body, but some of the attendants pretending to side with him and take his part, cried out, the Sultān is killed! Akat Khan was satisfied at hearing this, and made off with all speed to the camp on horseback, and entering the royal hall of audience seated himself upon the throne, and drawing the canopy over his head, the Amirs, in accordance with ancient custom, gave in their allegiance to him

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) و.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) از کتره.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) omits پاچا.

<sup>4</sup> The reading here is doubtful. The text has در نواحی قصبه پنهان with an alternative reading سون پت in a footnote. MS. (A) reads در نواحی ملہب Firishta (Bo. Text p. 186) reads تلیب Taltib.

<sup>5</sup> قمرغه Qamurgha, lieu de chasse. (Pavet de Courteille). A Turkī word signifying hunting ground. Firishta loc. cit. also uses this word.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) omits و.

<sup>8</sup> MS. (A) reads کله پریندہ.

<sup>7</sup> Firishta also says Akat Khan.

as the rightful king,<sup>1</sup> and raised no overt objection. Akat Khan was so overwhelmed by his inordinate lust that on the instant he made an attempt upon the *haram*,<sup>2</sup> but Malik Daur *Harami* who was on guard at the entrance to the *haram* with his men armed and equipped, said, Till you shew me the head of the Sultan I will not permit you to set foot within this private chamber. Sultan 'Alau d-Din, whom he had somewhat regained consciousness<sup>3</sup> after that perilous attack, bound up his wounds. He was convinced in his own mind that Akat Khan, in unison with the Amirs who had revolted, had had the audacity to make this disgraceful attempt upon his life, for that were it not so, he was not the man to attempt it alone.

Accordingly his intention was to make his way to Jhun (where Ulugh Khan was) with the fifty or sixty attendants who had remained with him, and see what course Ulugh Khan would recommend. One or two of his confidential retainers pointed out the unwisdom of this course and urged him to go at once to the royal pavilion and kingly court.

Before they arrived at the Court fifty horsemen joined them, and Akat Khan took the road to Afghinpu, but a body of men who had been despatched in pursuit of him by forced marches made him prisoner,<sup>4</sup> sent him into the Sultan's presence, and then utterly destroyed all his family and relations wherever they found them, among whom Qutluq Khan his brother also perished.<sup>5</sup>

### Verse

One who injures the country is better behaved

And at that same time 'Umar Khan and Mangu Khan the two

<sup>1</sup> The words توره و تورزك *tora o torzak* are Turki words (P do O) or signifies the royal family. It also means king law right also a custom introduced by Chengiz Khan تورزك *torzak* means simply 'right' or 'authority.' Hence the words in the text would mean that they acknowledged him as rightful king with due formalities.

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) omits حامى .

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) مدد

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) او را د مسلکر کرد

<sup>5</sup> The account given by Barni of this occurrence is the same as the text (Elliot III 17 -173) Firuzita also calls him Saleimān Shah, Akat Khan, though Briggs in his translation calls him The Prince Rockn Khan



the entrance to the Red Palace, and compelled the chief men whether they would or no, to swear allegiance to him.

The Sultan, when he heard this tidings, did not publish it, nor did he betray any signs of emotion, until he had succeeded by superhuman effort in entirely<sup>1</sup> reducing the fortress. A week had hardly passed after this exploit of Hāji Manlā when Malik Hamidūn Dīn, who was Amir of Koh, with his sons who were renowned for their valour, and a body of the cavalry of Zafar Khān who had come from Amrohā to oppose the Mughuls,<sup>2</sup> engaged Hāji Manlā in fight, and having destroyed him, put to death the hapless Suyyid Zada also, and sent their heads to Rantabhor. The Sultan nominated Ulugh Khān to proceed to Dihli to track out those who had taken part in that<sup>3</sup> rebellion, and bring them to destruction. He also completely eradicated the family and relations of Maliku l Umarā on the suspicion that Hāji Manlā would not have embarked on this enterprise without their mitigation.<sup>4</sup>

The Sultan after adding the fortress of Rantabhor and its surrounding districts to the *jāgir* of Ulugh Khān returned (to Dihli). Ulugh Khan was taken ill that very day while on the road, and died,<sup>5</sup> and Rantabhor became for him like the Paradise of Shaddad.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> مسد تمام فرق الحمد و الغالية فتح قلعة دست داد و (A)

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) سبیت عرض معلی

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) در آن فتد

<sup>4</sup> The text reads شروع درین اصر نموده ناید و نموده ناید as also MS (A), but we should, read نموده ناید as without this the sense is not very obvious

Barni states, "The sons and grandsons of the old *kotwal* Maliku l Umarā had no guilty knowledge of the revolt, but they and every one belonging to that family were put to death."

<sup>5</sup> The *Tarikh*: Firoz Shah states, in opposition to our author, that Ulugh Khān did not die till four or five months later, when he had collected a large force for the purpose of attacking Tilang and Ma'bar. Firishta also states that Ulugh Khan died about six months later.

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) reads حکم بیشتر شد و بیدا کرد See Qur'a 1xxxix 5

"Hast thou not seen how thy Lord did with 'Ad? with  
Iram of the columns? the like of which has not been created in  
the land."

Moreover a band of robbers of Jālor, whose leader was Mir Muhammad Shāh, were captured in Rantambhor after the fort

*Iram of the columns* "This city is said to have been situated in Yemen, between Hazramant and Sana'a. It was founded by Shaddād ibn 'Ād, who was excessively strong and mighty, and whom he heard of Paradiso and of what God had prepared therein for his saints, 'palaces of gold and silver and abodes beneath which rivers flow, and upper chambers above which are other upper chambers, (Qur'ān xxxix. 21) he said to his mighty men 'Verily I will take to myself upon the earth a city like unto Paradise.' Then he appointed thereunto a hundred men of his servants and mighty men of valour, and under the hand of each of them a thousand helpers, and bade them search out and find an open space of the plain in the land of Yemen, and choose the best thereof in soil. Then he provided them with wealth, and designed for them the pattern of their work, and wrote to his three chief lords Ghānim-ibn-'Ulwān, Zalīhāk ibn 'Ulwān, and Walīd ibn-r Raiyyān, and charged them to write to their lords in the utmost parts of their cities that they should collect all that was in their land of gold and of silver, of pearls and of rubies, of musk and ambergris and saffron, and should send them unto him. Then he sent unto all the mines, and took out therefrom all the gold and the silver that was in them, and he sent his three agents to the divers into the oceans, and they brought out therefrom jewels, and gathered them together as it were mountains, and all of this was brought to Shaddād. Then they sent the miners to the mines of rubies and emeralds and all other jewels, and they brought out from thence immense riches. Then he ordered and the gold was beaten and fashioned into brieks, and he builded therewith that city, and he commanded the pearls and the rubies, the onyx and the emerald and the corneliau, and the walls of the city were set with them. And he made for it upper chambers, and above them other chambers supported on columns, and to all of them pillars of emerald and of onyx and of ruby. Then he caused to flow beneath the city a wide channel which he brought to the city from beneath the earth a space of forty leagues, like to a large canal. Then he ordered, and there were made to flow from that channel, rivulets in the streets, and highways and streets flowed with clear water. And he ordered banks to be made for that canal and for all the rivalets, and they were overlaid with red gold, and the pobbles thereof were made of all kinds of precious stones, red and yellow and green. And there were planted on either bank of the stream and of the rivulets trees of gold bearing fruit, and the fruits of them were of those rubies and precious gems. And the length of the city was made twelve *farsakhs* and the breadth thereof like unto the length. And the walls of the city were high and lofty, and there were builded therein three hundred thousand palaces set with all kinds of jewels within and without. And he built for himself in the midst of the city on the bank of the canal a palacee lofty and high, towering over all those palaces \*

\* \* \* \* \* and theropassed

in the building of it five hundred years.

was taken. When the Sultan asked Muhammad Shah (who had been wounded) 'If I should spare your life and have you cured, and you should thus escape this deadly danger, how would you treat me in future?' he replied, 'If I should get well and should have an opportunity, I would kill you and ruse the son of Hamir Dev to the throne.' The Sultan wondered, and was amazed at this audacity, and enquired of his most shrewd and astute Amirs the reason why the people had so turned against him, and why these continual riots and seditions were so constantly occurring, and further sought to know how to set about remedying these evils. They shewed him several paths of conduct which would end naturally in four things. *Firstly*, that the King should in his own person be aware of the enterprises both good and bad which are going on in his kingdom. *Secondly*, that he should put an end to wine bibbing, which is the source of so much evil. *Thirdly*, abandonment by the maliks of their gadding about to each others' houses and holding deliberative meetings. *Fourthly*, to demand back the money which he had lavished, from all classes, whether soldiers or populace, because it is the fountain head of all riot and sedition, especially upstarts and nouteaux riches,<sup>1</sup> and in a short time these regulations would by their inherent good, be acceptable to the Rais, and pass from potentiality to actuality just as has already been related in a former place.

The Sultan did away with wine drinking, and brought the other

Then Almighty God wished to send a warning to him and to his host, calling him to repentance, and he chose to himself Hud ibn Khaldūn who came and called upon Shaddad to before and confess the power and unity of God, but he persisted in his idolatry and disobedience. Then Hud warned him of punishment to come and of the fall of his kingdom but he would not be moved from his evil ways.'

At last he was informed that the city was finished and he set out to go to it with three hundred thousand, leaving all his kingdom to his son Mursad who had it is said believed in the words of Hud. When Shaddad arrived with one day's journey of Iram a voice came from heaven, and he and all who were with him fell dead, not one remained, and all who were in the city died, the workmen and artificers the agents and warriors, not a soul remained alive. And the city sank into the earth.'

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1 MS (A) reads مادم in place of مادم

2 The Persian phrase is دلخواهی در کنایه دانکوشان سیلا

regulations also into force, and also published several new rules of his own, which have never been heard of either before or after his time, whether they were in accordance with religious law or not ; one of these rules was that regulating the price of grain, and cloth, and horses, and all necessaries essential to the comfort of the soldiery and populace, and the bestowal of rewards and alms upon all classes of the people, the detail of which is told at some length in the history of Ziā-i-Barnī.<sup>1</sup> Those laws were the most extraordinary of all : this cheapness of provisions was one of the chief sources of the prosperity of the people, and formed a stout wall of defence against the irruption of the Mughuls. And inasmuch as in mentioning some of these events and occurrences in the original work,<sup>2</sup> the chronological sequence has not been preserved, and they have been only incidentally mentioned as occasion arose, for this reason they have also been recounted here in the same manner.

196. In the year 700 H. he ordered 'Ainu-l-Mulk Shihāb Multānī to proceed to Mālwa with a large army [and Kōkā the Rānī who had forty thousand cavalry and 100,000 infantry, not being able to stand against him fled].<sup>3</sup> 'Ainu-l-Mulk ravaged and pillaged that country and returned victorious with countless spoils.<sup>4</sup> The Khusrū of poets has described this in the '*Ashīqā*, in these words :

He gave 'Ainu-l-Mulk a signal with his brow  
To turn his face towards the kingdom of Mālwa ;  
From the clear-sightedness which 'Ainu-l-Mulk possessed,  
That which he ordered was brought into sight.  
He marched with an army drawn up in array,  
And placed round them sentinels like the eyelashes.<sup>5</sup>

And in the year already mentioned the Sultān set out for Sorath<sup>6</sup> on a hunting expedition, and despatched to hell Satal

<sup>1</sup> The *Turīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī*. Elliot and Dowson, III. pp. 192 *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) در اصل کتاب.

<sup>3</sup> The words in brackets are not found in MS. (A).

<sup>4</sup> Firishta gives the date of this expedition as 704 H. and calls Koka the Rājā of Malwa. The text and MS. (B) reads رانی *Rānī*.

<sup>5</sup> There is a series of play upon the words عین 'ain and دید dīd both of which mean "eye" which is quite lost in translation.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) reads سوانہ. Sawāna. The text has سوونا Sorath. *Aīn-i-Akbarī* II. (J.) 243, 358. Bayley, *Hist. of Gujarat* p. 2.

Dev a rohel who had taken refuge in that fortress with a huge army, the Sultān's army having before been unable to reduce it, but it now fell into their hands. And in the year 701 H. (1301 A.D.) the fort of Julor was reduced by Kamālu-d Dīn Kārk and he sent Kanhar Dev, a headstrong rebel to the lowest abyss of hell.

And in the year 702 H (1302 A.D.) he sent Malik Kāfür Nāib<sup>1</sup> with a large army and complete equipment towards Tilang and Marhat<sup>2</sup> and an immense quantity of treasure with elephants and horses, jewels and cloths, fell as spoil into the hands of the troops.

And in the year 709 (1309 A.D.)<sup>3</sup> Malik Nāib Kāfür went a second time to Arunkal<sup>4</sup> and having taken much treasure and several fine elephants and seven thousand horses as a present from Rai Nadar Dov the Governor of Arunkal made him a regular tributary. And in the year 710 H. (1310 A.D.) the country of Ma'bār<sup>5</sup> as far as Dhor<sup>6</sup> Samundar came into the possession of the Muslims.

And in the year 711 H (1311 A.D.) Malik Nāib brought to court and presented his spoils consisting of three hundred and twelve elephants, and twenty thousand horses, ninety-six thousand māns of gold, and many chests of jewels and pearls besides other

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) reverses the order of this name. The text has نایب کافر.

<sup>2</sup> Telingā or Telengāna, the ancient name of one of the principal kingdoms of S India. See *Ain-i Akbari* II (J) 237, also Hunter *Imp Gaz* I part Andhra, also Gunningham *Anc Geog of India* p 519, 527

<sup>3</sup> There is a great gap here in the history partly due to the confusion of dates, and absence of chronological sequence mentioned by the author. Baini gives no assistance and Firuztā very little.

<sup>4</sup> Warangal was the ancient capital of Telengāna (Tieff III 5) See Hunter *Imp Gaz* XIII 521 Regarding Marhat or Maharashtra see Hunter, *Imp Gaz* IX 166, also Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, Preliminary Observations, also Gunningham, *Anc Geog of India* p 553.

Arangal or Warangal Baini gives Laddar Dev as the name of the Rai of Arangal Elliott III 201 So also Firuztā See text I p 207

<sup>5</sup> Ma'bār Coromandel See Ibn Battūtah (Pitre Edn) III 328 *Ain-i Akbari* (Jarrett) III 51, 60 Abu'l Fedā (Reinaud) I cxlviii

Ma'bār extends from Kulam (Gavalum) to Nilāwar (Nellore) Wassāf (E and D III 32)

<sup>6</sup> Firuztā says Khwaja Haji and Malik Naib were sent to conquer Ma'bār and Dhor Samund where there were idol temples full of gold, and jewels I cannot identify Dhor Samund

booty beyond the limits of computation; Amīr Khusrū who was with that army has given full particulars in the Khuzāinu-l-Futūh: some attributed these victories to respite before punishment, and some to the miraculous powers of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, while others held that the peace and security of that reign were due to the unbounded blessings of the Sultānu-l-Mashāikh Nizāmu-l-Auliya<sup>1</sup> may God<sup>2</sup> sanctify his resting-place.

At length when the Sultān's mind was satisfied, and he gained some leisure from the administration of the State, he set himself to provide for the future of his two sons, allotting to each one a province in the neighbourhood, and setting apart districts for them. Among other events was the marriage of Khizr Khān to Dewal Rānī, and Girāi's account is of a nature to last to all eternity, and those who have the taste may read the account of that in the 'Ashīqa;<sup>3</sup> then having bestowed upon Khizr Khān the canopy and staff of office, and having made him his heir the Sultān sent him away to Hatnāpūr<sup>4</sup> and the foot of the hills. When affairs were settled,<sup>5</sup> and the heavens began to act with their ingrained natural deceit, and commenced displaying those evil traits, and old age overcame the Sultān's health, his followers deserted him;

### Verse.

In the world, when a king becomes advanced in years  
 His worshippers grow weary of him ;  
 His head, which is worthy of a crown,  
 He must recline on musk not on ivory.<sup>6</sup>

### 198. Various disorders affected him,<sup>7</sup> and hectic fever which leads<sup>8</sup> to

<sup>1</sup> Nizāmud-dīn Auliya was the son of Ahmad Dānyāl. He was born at Badāon. He died A.H. 725 and is buried at Dihlī.

See *Aīn-i-Akbarī* III. 365. *Firishta* gives a long biography of him.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) omits وَ.

<sup>3</sup> See E and D III 552, 553.

<sup>4</sup> Text reads ہستناؤر پور. MS. (A) reads ہستناؤر Hastināwar (? Hatnāwar). See *Aīn-i-Akbarī* (J) II 104 and III. 70. also Hunter *Gaz. Ind.* v. 352.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) يافت قرار.

<sup>6</sup> It was the custom to bury kings with musk, camphor and other odiferous substances. The throne was of ivory.

<sup>7</sup> MS. (A) شد و عارض.

<sup>8</sup> MS. (A) reads موجب ستوح for موجب.

ill temper, and suspiciousness, and causes the health to become deranged, gained the mastery over him, and when only such a small amount of health remained that it was like a single lamp to light the whole house Khizi Khan in fulfilment of a vow he had made, in singleness of heart and sincerity of spirit set out from Hataipur<sup>1</sup> barefooted upon a pilgrimage to the holy men of Dihli, and performed his thanksgiving for the restoration of his father's health, but it is a very strange fact that he never once went to visit the Sultan I-Mashaih wal Auliyā,

"Shukh of the sects, Pillar of the faith, Nizāmu d Dīn  
Like Khizi and Masih with a breath brings bones to life"

with whom he was connected by bonds of affection and sanctity

And Malik Naib informed the Sultan of the coming of Khizi Khan with considerable embellishment, saying that Alp Khan, the maternal uncle of Khizi Khan, who had arrived from Gajrat, out of policy and prudence, having regard to the affairs of the State and in his desire to become Naib and Vakil, had himself summoned his sister's son, and further remarked that if this crude idea and immature desire had not fixed itself in the mind of Khizi Khan, why had he come unbidden to the Court?

The Sultan whose health was upset and his brain disordered and disposed to entertain absurd prejudices in accordance with the saying<sup>2</sup> "When a man's health is disordered his fancies are disordered," from his great lack of discrimination taking this suggestion as the actual fact, and regarding this assertion<sup>3</sup> as the truth instantly gave orders for the execution of Alp Khan.

Malik Naib and Malik Kamalu d Din Krik seizing that unhappy wretch like a meek lamb, cut him to pieces inside the Royal palace. After that Malik Naib induced the Sultan (on the ground that Khizi Khan had taken claim at the murder of his uncle and that it was not expedient for him to return to his own place in the court), to issue instructions that, to allow of the restoration<sup>4</sup> of order in the State, he should go for some

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) reads Hataiwa Khusrū in the 'Asl qa states When the Sultan recovered in some degree Khizi Khan set out on his expedition to Hataipur (E and D III 554)

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) ح

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) reads ح

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) omits ح of text line 1 and ح of text line 2

time to Amroha till a command should issue summoning him to the presencee. In the meantime he might engage in hunting, and he was to return to the Court his canopy and staff of office, and all the other insignia of royalty. Khizr Khāu having obeyed this order with a sad and distraeted heart, after a little while relying upon the sincerity of affection he entertained for his fathier and the confidence between them, wrote to him to this effect,<sup>1</sup> that he had never committed any breach of trust which could cause the Sultān to be so wroth with him; then overeome by sorrow he determined to leave Amroha for Dihli. When he arrived to do obeisance to his father, the chord of fatherly affection was stirred in the heart of the Sultān, he clasped his son to his breast, and kissed him several times on the forehead, and motioned to him to go and see his mother. Khizr Khān went thither, and Malik Nāib out of villainy,<sup>2</sup> on the instant went baek to the Sultān and filled his ears with lies, saying,<sup>3</sup> ‘Khizr Khān has now eome for the second time to the palace with evil intentions without orders, and the Sultān takes no notice of the matter.’ The Sultān upon this oceasion gave orders to send both brothers, Khizr Khān and Shādī Khān, to the fortress of Gwāliār.<sup>4</sup> Malik Nāib, after these two heirs had been deported, and the way was clear for Malik Shihābu-d-Din, the son of the Sultān by another mother, who was yet a lad of tender years, made him heir-apparent and exaeted from him an agreement.

After two or three days the Sultān's life became intolerable through his affliction, and he would willingly have purchased a breath at the price of a world, but it was not to be had.

#### Verse.

Sikandar, who held sway over a world,  
At the time when he was departing, and was quitting the  
world,

200. It could not be as he wished, though he would have given  
a world eould they have given him in return the brief  
respite of a moment.

<sup>1</sup> I follow the text here. MS. (A) omits بعرغش.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) reads از دوی حرامخوارگی.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) omits و گفت and inserts اک.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) کالیور. *Kalewar*.

The mint of Existence was emptied of the coin of life  
 This event took place in the year 715 H (1316 A D)<sup>1</sup> The duration of the reign of Sultān 'Alād-Dīn was twenty one years

'Alād-Dīn who struck his stamp upon the golden coin  
 Subdued a world beneath the palm of his gold scattering hand<sup>2</sup>

By the revolution of the sky, that stamp became changed,  
 Let that gold  
 Remained the same in appearance, and you may see it now  
 passing from hand to hand

[Account of Amir Khusru and Mir Hasan may God have mercy on them]<sup>3</sup>

And among the poets<sup>4</sup> by whose existence the reign of Sultān 'Alād-Dīn was adorned and honoured, one was the Khusru-i-Shā'irān (Prince of Poets), may God shew him mercy and acceptance, whose writings, whether prose or poetry, have completely filled the world from one remotest end to the other

He completed his five works, collectively called Khamsa,<sup>5</sup> in the year 698 H (1298 A D), in honour of Sultān 'Alād-Dīn,

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) reads خمس Khamsa in place of سنت sant and this is correct as 'Alād-Dīn died on the 7th Shawwāl 715 H see E and D III 555 but see also p 208 'On the sixth Shawwāl towards morning, the corpse of 'Alād-Dīn was brought out of the Red Palace of Siri and was buried in a tomb in front of the Jamī Masjid' (Tanqīh-i-Firuz Shahi) See also Thomas Patlan Kings of Delhi p 158 n 1

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) reads پرواز کف دست { See Thomas Pathan Kings pp 158 et seqq,  
<sup>3</sup> These words are not found in MS (A)

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) reads دار حملہ شعوی کے زمان

<sup>5</sup> These were the following --

Hasht Behisht سکندر نامہ Sikandar nama

Lail wa Maynam شیرین و حسرو Shirin wa Khosro

Panj Ganj پنج گنج

Khusru was of Turki origin his father Amur Mal mud came to Delhi during the invasion of Chingiz Khan into the service of Sultan Muhammad I ulqila Shah by whom he was advanced to high office but was eventually murdered Mir Khusru succeeded his father but gave up office and became the devoted disciple of Nizamuddin Auliya His Khamsa was written in imitation of the Khamsa of Shukh Nizami

He is said to have written 400 000 couplets Neither Khamsa is now extant

within the space of two years. Among these works is the *Maṣla'u-l-Anwār*<sup>1</sup> which he composed in two weeks as he himself says (in these verses) :

The year of this ancient heaven which had passed away  
Was after six hundred and ninety eight.

Following on the steps of the sky traversing star<sup>2</sup>  
In two weeks did the full moon<sup>3</sup> arrive at completion.

In the *Nafahāt*<sup>4</sup> it is stated upon the authority of Sultānu-l-Mashāikhī Nizāmu-l-Auliya, may God sanctify his sacred resting-place, that on the day of judgment each individual will boast of some one thing, and my boast (said he) will be of the heart-burnings of this Turk Allāh<sup>5</sup> (God's champion); Mir Khusrū probably alludes to this when he says :—

Khusrū my friend, strive in the right way

That you may be called Turk-i-Khindā (God's champion).

201.

Another poet was Mir Hasan Dihlavi<sup>6</sup> whose anthology also has enslaved the east and west of the world. Although in that reign there were other poets who composed anthologies, still by reason of these two eminent poets the mention of the others sinks into insignificance.

"When the sun comes out the stars disappear."

The death of Mir Khusrū took place in the year 725 H. (1325 A.D.). He is buried in Dihlī at the foot of the sacred tomb of his

<sup>1</sup> مطلع الانوار *Maṣla'u-l-Anwār*. "Ortus luminum. Poema persicum, quod ad Pentada Khosrewi Dehlewi, anno 725 (inc 18 Dec. 1324) mortui, pertinet. Viginti libri qui singuli historiam unam continent." H.K. 12256.

<sup>2</sup> اختر گردون خوام *Akhtar-i-gardān khirām*. <sup>3</sup> مہلی کام *Mah-i-Kāmil*.

<sup>4</sup> نفحات *Nafahāt*. The *Nafahātu-l-Uns* see Hāji Khalifah.

*Nafahātu-l-Uns* "halitus familiaritatis e viris sanctitate eminentibus prodeuentes, auctore Molla nostro Nür-ed-din Abd-el-rahmān Ben Ahmad Jāmī anno 898 (inc. 23 Oct. 1492) mortuo." H. K. 13922.

<sup>5</sup> ترک اللہ *Turk Allāh*.

<sup>6</sup> میر حسن دھلوی *Mir Hasan Dihlavi*. Mir Hasan Dihlavi, whose name was Shaikhi Najmu-d-Dīn Hasan, was one of the most accomplished poets of his time. He, like Mir Khusrū, was a disciple of Nizāmu-d-Dīn Auliya, *Majma'u-l-Fuṣāḥā* I. 196). He died as our author tells us (in 739 A.H.) at Daulatābād in the Deccan, where he was buried. So also Atash Kada p. 351.

[ - 11 - ]

own spiritual instructor<sup>1</sup> may God shew mercy to them. Maulānā Shihāb<sup>2</sup> wrote an enigmatical chronogram upon that, and having had it engraved upon a tablet of stone had it fixed above the shrine<sup>3</sup> of Mir Khosru. It is as follows —

Mir Khosru, the Khosru of the kingdom of eloquence,  
That ocean of excellence, and sea of perfection,  
His prose is more attractive than flowing water,  
His poetry poorer than the most lumpy streams,  
A sweet-singing nightingale without a rival,  
Honey-tongued parrot without an equal  
In tracing the date of the year of his death,  
When I placed my head upon the knee of thought,  
One phrase 'Adīmū l-Mīl'<sup>4</sup> came as the date,  
Another was Tūqī-i-Shakkar Maqāl<sup>5</sup>

Mir Hasan, in the year in which Sultān Muhammad having laid waste Dihli built Daulatābad<sup>6</sup> in the Deccan, died in that

<sup>1</sup> Nizām d-Dīn Auhya<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See p. 99 note 2 of this work.

<sup>3</sup> There is no English equivalent that I am aware of for the word مزار which means "a place of pilgrimage". The word "shrine" conveys this idea better than most others.

<sup>4</sup> The letters of المیل give the date 725. Thus  $70 + 4 + 10 + 40 + 1 + 30 + 40 + 500 + 30$ . So also do those of شکر مقال طوطی شکر مقال Thus  $0 + 6 + 0 + 10 + 300 + 20 + 200 + 40 + 100 + 1 + 30 = 725$ . Not counting the hamza.

Mir Khosru died in the month of Ramazan 725 A H (1325 A.D.) and is said in the Majma'u'l Fuzūl to have been buried in the burial place of Shukh Shakkar Ganj, as above stated in the text he was buried close to the grave of his spiritual guide Nizām d-Dīn Auhya.

<sup>5</sup> 'Adīmū l-Mīl means "peerless" Tūqī-i-Shakkar Maqāl, "Parrot of homed speech".

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) omits اہاد ساخت فرمودن

Daulatabad Lat  $19^{\circ} 57' N$  and long  $75^{\circ} 18' E$  28 miles N W of Hyderabad

It was originally called Deogiri or Deogarh, and was the capital of the Yadava kingdom. After being taken by 'Alād-Dīn, which event is noteworthy as being the first appearance of the Muhammedans in the Deccan it was given back to its Raja Ramchandra who rebelled, was subdued by Naib Malik Kafur taken prisoner and sent to Dihli whence he was restored to his kingdom. Finally in 1338 (739 A.H.) Muhammed Fughlaq Shah

country, and was buried in the city of Daulatābād where his tomb is well known, and is visited as a shrine of sanctity.

'Ārif Jāmī,<sup>1</sup> may his resting-place be sanctified, says—

Those two parrots from whose birth  
Hindustān was filled with sugar,  
Became at last a mark for the arrow of the sky  
And were silenced and prisoned in the cage of earth.

SULTĀN SHIBĀBU-D-DĪN IBN 'ALĀU-D-DĪN KHILJĪ

202. Who was a child, ascended the throne as a puppet in the month of Shawwāl, 715 A.H. (1316 A.D.) by the exertions, and with the consent of Malik Nāib, and was styled by the above title. He sent Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Sanbal to the fortress of Gwāliār to put out the eyes of Khizr Khān and Shādi Khān. He also caused the mother of Khizr Khān, Malika-i-Jahān, to be imprisoned, and confiscated all her property, and having thrown the Shāhzāda, whose name was Mubārak Khān, into prison, intended to put out his eyes, but fate did not second his efforts.

deserted Dihlī for Deogiri which he renamed Daulatābād and issued stringent orders to all the inhabitants of Dihlī to remove to the new capital.

Ibn Batūṭa (Paris Edn. IV. 46) who visited at this time, compares it to the former capital, and say that the citadel was named دویقیر. This was evidently the old name of the city, Deogir as we should probably read دیوقیر.

1 Nūru-d-Dīn 'Abdu-r-Rahmān was born in 817 A.H. (1414 A.D.) at Jām Khurāsān, whence he took the name of Jāmī.

His father's name was Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Alīmad. He was from his earliest years distinguished for his mental powers, and at the early age of five received the name of Nūru-d-Dīn (Light of the Faith) and later he was known as Maulānā. He became very famous and attained to the highest dignity attainable by a mystic, that of 'Ārif. He wrote many works in poetry, grammar and theology, among others the *Haft Aurang*, a series of seven poems, viz., *Silsilatu-l-Zahab*, The golden chain; *Qissā-i-Salāmān wa Absāl*, Story of Salāmān and Absāl; *Tuhfatu-l-Akrar*; The Offering to the Wise; *Subḥatu-l-abrār*, Rosary of the Pious; *Yūsuf wa Zuleikha*, Yusuf and Zuleikha; *Lailī wa Majnūn*, Lailī and Majnūn *Khirad Nāma*, Book of Wisdom.

He died in the year 898 H. (1492 A.D.)

See: Ḥājī Khalīfah 14412. *Yusuf and Zuleikha* (Griffith's Preface.) Beale (*Dict. of Or. Biog.*). p. 132.

When his attempts to uproot the family of 'Alāu d-Dīn became known, two sirdars named Mubashshir and Bas̄hir in concert with a body of pāks of the garrison of the Hazār Sotūn palace, one night murdered Malik Nāib<sup>1</sup>

*Verse.*

If thou doest evil, hope not for good,  
For never wilt thou gather grapes from thorns,  
I do not imagine that thou who hast sown barley in autumn  
When harvest comes wilt gather in wheat

Then, having released Shāhzāda Mubārk Khān from prison, they appointed<sup>2</sup> him to be Nāib to Sultān Shihābu-d-Dīn in place of Malik Nāib. Mubārk Khān earned on the affairs of the state for one or two months after that, and succeeded in conciliating the Amirs and Maliks. Then he sent Sultān Shihābu d-Dīn to the fortress of Gwālīr where he finally died in the year 716 H<sup>3</sup>

*Verse.*

No one has ever seen a trace of fidelity in Time,  
Everyone who seeks fidelity from Time is in error

The Sirdārs having put some of these pāks to death,<sup>4</sup> scattered the rest of them in all directions 203

*Verse.*

Good requites good, and evil meets with evil,  
This is the way of the world — requital of actions

And the period of the reign of Shihābu d-Dīn was three months and a few days

SULTĀN QUTBŪ D DĪN MUBĀRK SHAH INN 'ALAU-D DĪN KHILJI  
Ascended the throne of Dihli with the consent of the Amirs

<sup>1</sup> Thirty five days after the death of 'Alāu d-Dīn (Barri) i.e., 715 H (1316 A.D.)

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) مصوب گردیده

<sup>3</sup> There is a difference here of great importance between the printed text and the MS. The former has 710 H while MS (A) reads 716 H which is correct, as is seen from the *Nuh Siphr* of Mir Khusru

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) مجبوب علیہ

With regard to the succession of Shihābu d-Dīn, see Firāzītā who describes him by the name of 'Umar Khan (Briggs' *Firāzītā* I 383). His full name was Shihābu d-Dīn 'Umar according to Mir Khusru

and Vazirs in the early part of the year 717, II.<sup>1</sup> and apportioning appointments and suitable *jāegirs* among his most trusted Amirs, specially distinguished by promoting to high office one Nasau, Barāwar bacha,<sup>2</sup> who was very handsome, and had been brought as a captive from Mālwa. He had been the protégé of Malik Shādī Nāib-i-Khāṣṣ, the *Hājib* of Sultān ‘Alān-d-Dīn.<sup>3</sup>

He gave him the title of Khusrū Khān. The tribe of Barāwar<sup>4</sup> are a family of servile position in Gujrāt; but now in the kingdom of Dihli, the Sultān, to such an extent was he infatuated by his beautiful face, raised him, in spite of his unfitness for the office, to the trusted post of Vazir.

*Verse.*

If thou desirest thy kingdom to be glorious  
 Give not high office to an upstart;  
 Unless thou wishest that thy state should be ruined  
 Entrust not thy affairs to the inexperienced.

And Sultān Qutbu-d-Dīn, inasmuch as he had undergone the affliction of imprisonment, on the very first day of his reign had all the prisoners liberated, and appointed Malik Fakhrū-d-Dīn Jūnā the Son of Ghāzī Malik, who eventually was entitled Muḥammad ‘Ādil, to be *Mīr Ākhor*.<sup>5</sup>

In the first year of his reign he contemplated the conquest of Deogir otherwise called Daulatābād,<sup>6</sup> but his Amirs opposed and dissuaded him.

<sup>1</sup> So also the *Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhī* of Barnī, but Khusrū in both the *‘Ashīqā* and *Nuh Sipihr*, says the beginning of 716 II. In the latter poem the date is specifically stated to have been the 24th of Muḥarram, 716 H. But Firishta says the 7th of Muḥarram, and the editor states in a footnote to the translation of the *Nuh Sipihr*, that in some loose extracts the date is 717 H.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Alān-d-Dīn having died on the 7th Shawwāl 715 and Shihābu-d-Dīn having reigned three months and a few days, would bring the accession of Qutbu-d-Dīn to about the middle or end of Muḥarram 716, so that we may consider this as the correct date unless there was an interregnum of a whole year, of which there is no evidence.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A).

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) omits ، after خاص.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A).

<sup>5</sup> Master of the Horse. Akhor is a Turkish word signifying stable. Cf. Akhtā, a Turkī word signifying, a gelding.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 271 note 6.

## Verses

It was not deemed expedient, from motives of wisdom,  
That the world's King should move from his place,  
Who knows, what are the hidden designs of evil wishers,  
Or who, in all sincerity, is well disposed to the king ?

In the year 718 H (1318 A D) Soltān Qutb al-Din sent Sar  
Sulṭhān Kōtīrāl<sup>1</sup> with orders to proceed to Gwāthār and put to  
death Khūzī Khān and Shādi Khān. Having done this he sum-  
moned Dānat Rām and included her in his harem. With  
reference to this Mir Khusrū writes

## Verses

In short one who is acquainted with the secret of this mystery  
In thus way opened the door of this treasury of secrets,  
That when the Sultan Mubārik Shah in cruelty  
Turned against his own birth and kin with anger and frown-  
ing,

He considered that the interests of the country demanded  
their murder,  
And thought that they deserved the sharp sword  
His object was to empty the country of noble men by mal-  
icious enterprise

Secretly he sent a messenger to Khūzī Khan  
Making treacherous protestations of hearty good will  
Saying, Oh thou shining light who remainest far from the  
assembly,

Thy body ill at ease and thy countenance without light,  
Thou knowest that this is none of my doing,  
The oppressed remains while the oppressor disappears  
If thou art imprisoned, by the Lord of the world  
When the time comes he himself will loosen these bonds.

In this matter haste and anxiety are not fitting,  
An elephant extricates itself from the mire by patient en-  
deavour  
Now, we too are engaged in plumbing this matter  
So that by clever contrivance we may free you from that  
captivity

1 "A rottan named Shādi (Mir Khusrū E and D III 655 )

If thou art fitted to become a king  
 We will make thee ruler over a wide kingdom.  
 But the affection for some one which springs in thy heart  
 Is not fitted for the loftiness of thy ambition.  
 Dewal Rānī who is but a handmaiden to thee,  
 For whom even were the moon needed as handmaid this were  
 an easy matter,  
 I have heard that she is so dear to thee  
 That thy cypress-like form stoops to kiss her feet.  
 This is not fitting that from shortsightedness  
 The king should be enslaved by a slave.  
 The gourd is in any case of no account in the garden  
 That it should attempt to raise its head in emulation of the  
 205. *Ohinār.*

A straw which places its foot upon the face of the stream  
 Is carried hither and thither by the wind and buffeted by the  
 floods.<sup>1</sup>  
 [My heart's desire makes this request, that thou should'st give  
 up that mistress of thine.]  
 Since she went from here, send her back hither again  
 Send her to take her place at the foot of my throne.  
 When the infatuation of thy mind is somewhat less  
 We will send her back to thee to be thy handmaid.  
 When the messenger went and took back the message  
Khizr Khān's heart no longer enjoyed any rest.  
 First he wept tears of blood which flooded his eyes and lips,  
 Then he sent back an answer mingled with blood  
 Saying, since the Shāh has attained his ambition in becoming  
 a sovereign,  
 He must leave Dewal Rānī to me.  
 If however you desire to deprive me of this wealth  
 You desire to see me despoiled of wealth and light.  
 Since this heart's delight holds her head as high as mine  
 Cut off my head, afterwards thou wilt know.  
 When the messenger, from that grief-stricken soul

<sup>1</sup> Here follows in the text the following verse given above in brackets.

تمنای دل ما میکند خواست که زان زانو نشین برواید مت خاست

With a footnote saying that this verse is in the 'Ashīqa but in none of the three MSS. It is also not in MS. (A.)

Bore those fiery sighs to the palace of the king,  
The Emperor waxed wrath from head to foot  
From his heart he smiled, as lightning smiles in the cloud,  
The flame of the fire of <sup>1</sup> enmity shot forth,  
He who sought a pretext, was provided with a new one <sup>2</sup>  
In anger he sent for Sar Salahi (the Ketwūl)  
Saying you must travel this day before nightfall a hundred  
    krohs,  
Go to Gwāhār at this moment without delay,  
And with the sword cut off the heads of the lions of the  
    country,  
That I may be safe from the nobles of the country,  
Because this disturbance small as it is, risks the existence of  
    the country  
At his order the tyrant set out,  
The pigeon was tied <sup>3</sup> by the foot and the hawk hungry.  
In that day and night he travelled several leagues  
He arrived and again imprisoned him intending (to kill him) <sup>4</sup>  
He made known the orders he had received from the throne,  
The garrison of the fort set about carrying out this severe  
    measure,  
The ruthless soldiery entered shamelessly <sup>5</sup> into that pure 206.  
    place of chastity,  
The veiled ladies <sup>6</sup> were thrown into consternation and screamed  
    so that the roof and doors shook with their cries  
In that palace every arrow like beam <sup>7</sup> became curved like a  
    bow,  
The day of resurrection became a guest in that Paradise,  
From the corners of the rooms in great consternation  
The male lions leapt forth in wrath,

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) reads شعلہ کیں زد ریارہ

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) reads بھی حری را ناد دیا

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) ملے The text has a misprint ملے

<sup>4</sup> The text is wrong here MS (A) reads correctly

رسید و ندہ کرد از بویادگ

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) دی آئی

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) درو پرشیدگان

<sup>7</sup> تیر <sup>2</sup> has here the two meanings of arrow, and rafter or beam.

The arms had lost their strength, and the bodies their power,  
Force was dead, and wit had sunk to sleep.<sup>1</sup>

Shādi Khin Wālū waxed wrath, and sought aid from the  
protection of God most High,

Nimbly he leapt upon the Kotwāl and fought with him for a  
long time, threw him to the ground and sought for a sword  
wherewith to slay him.

Inasmuch as he had lost his sword of victory

What did that unattainable strength avail him ?

Allies ran up to help him from right and left

They fell one after the other and that fallen one rose up.

Each fierce (lion) was attacked by ten dogs.<sup>2</sup>

See how the dogs vent their wrath upon the lions,

Hey for the meanness of the cowardly sky

That permits dogs to hunt lions !

When they had forcibly bound those two prosperous chieftains,

The time bound the hands of fortune and prosperity.

Those wondrous men fell into disgrace,

Blood-reeking swords appeared on every side

When the murderous clashing of daggers was heard,

The blood-thirsty murderer appeared from the door,

Hard as a rock,<sup>3</sup> source of grief, though his name was Shādi  
(Joy)

As repulsive as the document of a dowry, and the grief  
arising from debt.

Artful enough to depose Dajjāl<sup>4</sup> from his place,

<sup>1</sup> توان مرده خرد درخواب رفته MS. (A).

<sup>2</sup> بهریک شریغ دهگان سک بیاویشت MS. (A).

<sup>3</sup> جمادی MS. (A).

<sup>4</sup> الدجال دجال Ad-Dajjāl called also المسیح الکذاب Al-Masīḥa-l-Kazzāb.

The false Christ or Antichrist who is to appear as one of the signs preceding the resurrection. Cf. 2 Thess. ii. So called according to some because he will cover the earth with his adherents like as the tar covers the body of the mangy camel, the word دجل dajala in Arabic having the primary meaning of smearing with tar.

According to others he is so called because of his lying (secondary meaning of دجل) in arrogating to himself godship; or again from دجل dajala in the twofold signification of "covering" (truth with falsehood) or "gilding," see Lane s. v.

Hideous enough to make Satan forgetful of his own ugliness,  
 On each side of his face was gathered a dark cloud,<sup>1</sup>  
 From every hair sprung a sword <sup>2</sup>  
 Fierce wrath as cutting as the executioner's sword,  
 A glance as piercing as the chisel of Farhād,<sup>3</sup>  
 His lips writhed in an angry smile,  
 Through wrath searing his lips between his teeth  
 His one desire and wish was revenge and punishment,  
 From head to foot a statue of hatred and scorn,

207.

According to the *Mishkāt*, Dajjal will be the second of the ten signs or tokens which are to precede the resurrection. After three of these signs have occurred, namely, the rising of the sun in the west the coming of Dajjal, and the appearance of the beast which is to emerge from the mountain of Sifah, repentance will no longer avail anything.

The coming of Dajjal is to be a time of calamity such as has never before been known. He is of low stature though bulky, with splay feet, blind, with the flesh even on one side of his face without the mark of an eye. His right eye is blind, like the seed of a grape, and the word *كُفْر* kufr, Infidelity, is written between his eyes, he is to appear from the middle of a road between Syria and Iraq and will mislead on the right hand and on the left. The repetition of the Chapter of the Cane (Qoran XVIII) will be a means of repelling his wickedness. He will not be able to enter either Mecca or Medina. His stay upon earth is to last forty days, one day equal to a year, and another day equal to a month, another day like a week and rest of the days like ordinary days. Dajjal will it is said bestow great abundance upon those who believe in him, but sorely afflict those who reject him. He is to perform miracles such as killing a youth by severing him in two with a sword and restoring him to life. Then Jesus will descend from heaven and will destroy Dajjal at the entrance to a village called Lud in Palestine. The Jews of Isfahan will follow Dajjal before whose coming there will be three years during the first of which the sky will withhold one third of its rain and the earth one third of her productions during the second the sky will withhold two thirds and the earth two thirds, during the third neither sky nor earth will yield rain nor produce and every animal in the earth will die. He will then come forth upon a white ass, the space between the ears of which is seventy feet.

<sup>1</sup> His whiskers      <sup>2</sup> MS (A) *سَمِعَةٌ* The text reads *سَمِعَةٌ*

<sup>3</sup> *دَارِهٌ* Farhad. See Beale Dict Or Bieg p 87 for the story of Farhād who in order to gain the lovely Shirin with whom he was madly in love, attempted to cut through a mountain, he was on the point of completing his labour when false intelligence was sent to him by the husband of Shirin that she was dead, whereupon he cast himself headlong and was dashed in pieces.

When he gave the signal and brandished his sword on all sides<sup>1</sup>  
 Not one leapt like lightning from that mass of clouds.

May God have mercy !

How could anyone draw the sword of revenge upon that  
 crowd of moonlike faces.

Whose heart would not be torn with distracting grief  
 In pity for so many young and beautiful men ?

Oh Lord ! may the breast of heaven be rent a hundredfold  
 To think that it has brought so many noble ones to the dust.

How can you look for pity for the blood he sheds, in the heart  
 of the butcher ?

Whose one desire is to see his knife stained with blood.

When the bloody butcher binds roses upon his head,

Why should he withhold his knife from the rose-like body ?

Since no one of them desired that the sword should succeed  
 in shedding their blood,<sup>2</sup>

There leapt from their midst like a whirlwind

A man of low origin, a Hindū by birth

Dusky of hue, like to Ahriman,<sup>3</sup>

Nay ! a thousand Ahrimans would stand aghast at his face ;

Grief-increasing like the pleasure of those in distress,

Wrong in judgment like the intellect of young people ;

Unlucky to look upon as a young owl,

Like a morning in Dai<sup>4</sup> at Ghaznī cold and inhospitable ;

Like the night of sorrow his forehead full of gloom,

Like the nature of a wicked man, accursed.

A lip like the sole of a ploughman's foot,

A cheek like the mouth of a man with paralysis ;

That hideous one had a mouth like a helmet,

His smile like the yawning of a burst shoe ;

Long whiskers twisted over his ears

1 MS. (A) اشارت کرد و هرسو راند چون تیغ.

2 MS. A تیغ خون را.

3 Ahrimān, the Satan of the Persians, is said in their traditions to have . been born out of the thought of the Almighty and of his pride in the world, while the first man (whom they call Gaydmārth) was born from the sweat of the brow of the Almighty wiped off in bewilderment at the sight of Ahrimān. See Albirūnī (*Chron.*) p. 107.

4 The tenth month of the Persian year. See Albirūnī (*Chron.*) p. 52. It answers to our month of December.

His whiskers taking the place of the ring in the slave's ear,  
 Lightly he leapt out from the line of warriors,  
 [You would think that a wave of blood would burst from him, 208  
 His skirt tucked up in his wrathful haste, his sleeves drawn  
 back for bloodshed ]<sup>1</sup>

He demanded a well tempered sword from his officer,<sup>2</sup>  
 Drew it, and tightened up the skirt of his tunic,  
 [The head of that cypress like noble fell from his shoulders  
 He who was renowned for his youth and beauty]<sup>3</sup>  
 Martyrdom was evident<sup>4</sup> in Khizr in that palace,  
 Just as the tree praises God when its branches put forth leaves  
 The heaven kept lamenting over his punishment,  
 The angels continually assisted him in his martyrdom,  
 Rizwan threw open the gates of Paradise,  
 All the Huris began to sing his praises  
 From that martyr's shout of triumph which came forth from  
 the Shāh,  
 The sun and moon joined in the martyr's sooth  
 When the dagger was raised aloft and the Shāh's face was  
 seen amid its clustering locks,  
 Lamentation arose in that assembly like<sup>5</sup> the roll of thunder,  
 The sun made his body a shield to protect him,  
 But Fate turned it on one side from before him  
 When the sword of Fate severs the cord of Hope,  
 Neither sun nor moon can become a shield for thee,  
 With one blow which that ruthless one struck  
 He made the Shāh's head a guest in his bosom  
 To wash away the blood, the revolving water wheel of the sky  
 Required that the spring of the sun should yield all its blood,  
 But since there was no longer a breath of life in his body,  
 Of what avail was it to wash the blood from the surface of it.  
 Dewal Rani, who was a woman of dignity and beauty,  
 Was the life-spring of Khizr Khan's existence

<sup>1</sup> A footnote to the text states that these lines are not in either MS — MS (A) contains them

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) در فرماده

<sup>3</sup> These lines are not in the text MS (A) reads

در آمد گردن سر و گرا می \* ۵۶ از سرسری حود بود نامی

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) شهداد حامت

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) چون رعد

Since the Khizr of the sky had lain in ambush to slay him  
 That very well of life<sup>1</sup> of his became the sword of enmity.  
 When we look in this crystal globe carefully  
 Many life giving springs are also fatal to their Khizr.  
 The soul of the lover was poured out with his life blood,  
 But still was hovering round about the beloved one.  
 A rose from which thou hast tasted a pearl of dew,  
 Then wilt shed thy blood<sup>2</sup> for it a hundred times.  
 Instead of rose water they drew his heart's blood from that  
 rose,  
 See how they (mercilessly) robbed him of his blood !

And when the foundation stone of this edifice of his destruction  
 of the family of 'Alān-d-Dīn was laid, the question was asked of  
 a devotee, why this should be ? His reply was because 'Alān-d-Dīn  
 had cast a firebrand into the family<sup>3</sup> of the uncle of his bene-  
 factor, and as a consequence similar treatment had been meted out  
 to his own family.

Verse.

209. In this full voiced, ro-echoing dome (the world)  
 Whatever speech you utter that same will you hear.

At all events, after the usurpation by Sultān Qutbū-d-Dīn, all  
 the rules and regulations made by 'Alān-d-Dīn, each of which  
 embodied some wise purpose or far-seeing design, were thrown  
 into confusion, and dissoluteness and wickedness, contumacy and  
 rebellion sprang anew to life during the reign of Sultān Qutbū-d-  
 Dīn, who threw open the doors of license and gratification of  
 desires to the people ; and when Malik Kamālu-d-Dīn Garg, after  
 that Alf Khān had been summoned to the presence and had been  
 executed, proceeded to Gujrāt where he attained martyrdom,  
 'Ainu-l-Mulk Multānī was nominated by the Court,<sup>4</sup> and having  
 quelled the disturbance there regained possession<sup>5</sup> of Nahrwāla  
 and all the country of Gujrāt, Sultān Qutbū-d-Dīn married the

دیوں رانی ۱.

خون خود (MS. (A).

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) reads خاندان instead of خان و مات خانمان and in place of خانمان.

نامزد شہ ۴.

در ضبط اورد و (MS. (A).

daughter of Malik Dinar, and having given<sup>1</sup> him the title of Zafar Khan sent him to Gujrat. He performed<sup>2</sup> the important duties of that province better and more satisfactorily than 'Aīn-i-Mulk.

In the year 718 H (1318 A.D.) Sultan Qutbu-d-Din marched for Deogir with a larger army, and the Rais of that country were not able to stand against him.

He slewed<sup>3</sup> Harpal Deo who had rebelled during the time which followed the death of Ram Deo.<sup>4</sup> The country of the Marhattas also fell into the hands of Qutbu d Din who, having given Khushu Khan the canopy and staff of office ordered him to proceed to Ma'bar, and having left Yakkhan in Deogir as Amib, returned to Dihli. Near Badri-i-Sakun<sup>5</sup> Malik Asadu d Din ibn Yaghraish Khan who was called Malik Khamūsh, and who was the uncle's son of Sultan 'Alāu d Dīn, was smitten with the ambition of chieftainship,<sup>6</sup> and plotted a rebellion against the Sultan, who however was warned<sup>7</sup> of this design by one of his loyal adherents and gave orders for the immediate execution of Malik Asadu d Din. He also sent orders that twenty of the relations of 210 Yaghraish Khan who were aware of this conspiracy<sup>8</sup> some of whom were children, should be executed, and when he reached Jhain he sent Shadi Kath<sup>9</sup> his chief captain to Gwahar to bring the family and relations of the murdered Khur Khan and Sudi Khan with the remainder of the harem of 'Alāu d Dīn to Dihli, after having

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) inserts حفرا

<sup>2</sup> MS A نکند The textual reading is preferable

<sup>3</sup> The Sultan ordered him to be slain and his skin to be hung over the gate of Deogir.

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) omits اس

<sup>5</sup> Called Ghat-i-Sakun by Barni

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) reads سری

<sup>7</sup> MS (A) حضرت اگر کرد

<sup>8</sup> There is a direct opposition here between the printed text and the MS. The latter MS (A) writes اس واقعہ حضرت اشیخ, and this is adopted as it seems more reasonable than that entirely innocent persons should have been put to death though the statement that some were children is in keeping with the reading of the text. This latter is moreover supported by the statement of Barni. They had no knowledge whatever of the conspiracy, but were all seized and slaughtered like sheep.

<sup>9</sup> MS (A) reads شادی کند Shadi Kath and this is the name given also in Barni's history. Neither the text nor the alternative reading given in its footnote is correct.

killed Sultān Shihābū-d-Dīn, which he carried out. Sultān Qutbū-d-Dīn was led by the fact that Khizr Khān had been a disciple of the Sultān-i-Mashāikh Nizāmū-d-Dīn Auliyā, to regard that holy Shaikh with suspicion and distrust, and in opposition to the wishes of the holy Shaikh, sent for Shaikh Ruknū-d-Dīn from Multān, and honoured Shaikhzada-i-Jām, who was one of the opponents of Shaikh (Nizāmu-d-Dīn) with special distinction.

*Verse.*

When God<sup>1</sup> desires to openly disgrace any man  
He leads him to abuse those of holy and pure nature;  
And if God desires to hide the sins of any man  
He leads him to talk little about the sins of other sinners.

His habits also underwent great change, and his heart emboldened him to walk in the valley of bloodshed as his father had done, so that rivers of blood began to flow, and he put to death without any cause Zafar Khān Wali of Gujerāt.

In the mean while Yakkakhī had prepared a rebellion in Deogir, and had arranged to assume the insignia of royalty. At last when Khusrū Khān reached Deogir, the men of the army who had been sent to Deogir seized Yakkakhī and made him over to Khusrū Khān, who sent him bound to Dihli where he was executed. The Sultān<sup>2</sup> also put to death Malik Shāhīn who was known by the title of Wafā Malik, without any reason save the representations of some intriguers.

In these days the Sultān used generally to array himself in women's garments, and adorning himself like them with gold and jewels, used to give public audience. Moreover he openly indulged in drinking and other forms of vice, inter marem feminamque disserimen nullomodo facere solebat.

*Verse.*

Statura cuiusvis ut littera *Alif* erecta, idem quod litteræ *Dāl* et *Nūn* incurvescebat, adeo *Alif* in rimam omnium inserebat.

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) omits the word *لله* in error.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) omits the word *الله* but it appears to be required.

He used to command buffoons and jesters to insult with jest and witticisms his most trusted and eminent Amirs, as for instance 'Aiuul Mnlk Multuni and Qurabeg who held fourteen appointments, and summoning them for that purpose to the roof of the H̄z̄ar Sutun palace, they used to perform low buffooneries, et nudifici, gestu turpi et obsceno, in vestes nobilium honoritorum mingebant. Thus he prepared everything that was necessary for the downfall of the kingdom.

### Verse

There was the rose, the leaf adorned it too

And the kingdom seemed to say —

Oh ! King what can come to pass from wine bibbers  
 What too can come to pass from unrestrained lust  
 The king maddened by lust, the empire ruined, the enemy  
 before and behind

It is only too plain in such a case, what must come to pass  
 And after the murder of Zafar Khan, he raised Husamuddin  
 who was half brother<sup>1</sup> to Khusru Khan to succeed to the position 212  
 enjoyed by Zafar Khan and nominated him to proceed to Gujarat.  
 Husamuddin collected together the Barawar<sup>2</sup> crew from all  
 parts of that country and nursed a scheme of rebellion in his  
 brain. The Amirs of Zafar Khan's party<sup>3</sup> however seized him  
 and sent him to Dihli. The Sultan led by the feelings he ente-  
 tained towards Khusru Khan took no steps to punish him but  
 had him set at liberty on the instant and gave him extraordinary  
 privileges. Then he appointed Malik Wahiduddin<sup>4</sup> Quraishi,  
 to Gujarat in place of Husamuddin. He it was who was the

<sup>1</sup> Barni calls him درادر مادر which the translator renders maternal uncle  
 But if our text is correct it would appear that he was not درادر مادر but درادر مادری  
 that is to say half brother by the same mother, but by a different father. This is the meaning of the word درادر احبابی here used, and would  
 further account for Barni later on calling him baseborn

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) دراد

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) طور حاں

<sup>4</sup> Thus the printed text. Barni also calls him Wahiduddin so I have adopted this reading. MS (A) reads وحید الدین Wahiduddin

cause of the arrest of Yaklakhī.<sup>1</sup> Khusrū Khān having arrived on the frontier of Telinga, and having blockaded the Rāi of that country in one of his fortresses, accepted several head of elephants<sup>2</sup> with treasure and valuables beyond all power of computation as a present from him, and moved his camp towards the Maithili country,<sup>3</sup> and having gained possession of nine hundred and twenty elephants and a diamond weighing six dirams, came into the country of Ma'bar, and relying on that<sup>4</sup> wealth entertained the idea of disobedience and rebellion, and obtaining permission to remain there, put to death several Amīrs whom he had with him. Malik Talbīgha Yaghda<sup>5</sup> and Malik Talbīgha Nāgorī and Malik Hāji Nāib, with certain other Amīrs of the Sultān's party, becoming aware of his secret intentions threw him by force into a litter, and, marching with all haste by forced marches, conveyed him from Deogir to Dihli in seven days and acquainted the Sultān with his nefarious designs. Khusrū Khān however in the private apartment of the palace where he enjoyed the special companionship of the Sultān, gained him over by artful and specious representations, and fully persuaded the Sultān of the villainy of the Amīrs.<sup>6</sup> The Sultān took his words as Gospel, so greatly was he influenced and controlled by him, and was incensed against the Amīrs, censured them<sup>7</sup> severely and subjected them to many indignities, and although they brought forward many veracions witnesses in support of their allegations it was all of no use, and the wretched witnesses were severely punished.

213. The story of Farazdaq the poet fits in with this, namely when he accompanied by his wife, appealed to the Khalifah of Baghdād, he got Ja'far the Barmecide, to plead for him, and used his wife Zubeida Khātūn as an intermediary. Hārūn the Khalifah was

<sup>1</sup> The printed text has simply يكليخى but MS. (A) reads يكلىخى Yaklakhī. Yakalakhī it will be remembered, had been appointed Governor of Deogir after Harpāl Deo had been taken and put to death. According to Barnī, Yaklakhī was "an old servant of 'Alān-d-Dīn, who for many years was nāib of the barīds" (couriers). Yaklakhī now revolted and was arrested by Wahīdu-d-Dīn.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) omits.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) جرکت نمود و.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) بقوت آن اموال.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) reads thus. Barnī calls him Mālik Talbagha Yaghda.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) omits سلطان خاطرنشان after.

<sup>7</sup> MS. (A) omits ایشان ب.

favorably disposed towards Zabeidn, and passed orders in accordance with the petition of the wife of Farazdaq<sup>1</sup>. He accordingly wrote these lines —

An advocate who appears before thee clothed  
Is not like one who comes before thee naked<sup>2</sup>

That is to say an intercessor who comes near thee wearing drawers will not be so influential as she who comes naked. From that day this became a proverbial saying among the Arabs.

As soon as Khusîn Khan became quite assured in all ways of his predominant influence over the Sultân, he gave orders for the assembly of all his tribe from Gujrât and began to introduce them into the service of the Sultân. The Sultân reposed entire confidence both in him<sup>3</sup> and in his family, and gave up the reins of Government absolutely into his hands,<sup>4</sup> abandoning himself to rioting and debauchery<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Abu Fîrâs Hammâm or Hamzam the son of Ghâlib surnamed Abul Akhtâl was a celebrated poet of the tribe of Tamîm. He was commonly known as Al Farazdaq because of his stern and forbidding countenance. The meaning of farazdaq is said to be a lump of dough which has been kneaded (Freytag *Hamasah* II 555). It was a nick name given him according to Ibn Kutaibah on account of his ugly face. He further states however that he was so called on account of his short and dumpy stature which made him be compared to the crust (farazdîqa) with which women polish their teeth. But the first explanation is best, because the poet caught the small pox and when he recovered his face remained deformed and wrinkled (Ibn Khall do Slane III 623).

<sup>2</sup> Read مُسْتَرًا for بَشِّلَه which appears to be intended for بَشِّلَه. The occasion on which these lines were spoken was, according to Ibn Khalliqân, when Nawâr the granddaughter of Duhua wished to marry one of the Qurâish tribe, and asked Al Farazdaq to act as her legal guardian because he was the son of her uncle. He however availed himself of a formal promise given by her to abide by his decision as to her affairs to say he would marry her himself. Nawâr was very angry at this and went to 'Abdullah ibn az Zubâr sovereign of Hijaz and 'Irâq to obtain redress. Al Farazdaq set out also. They stopped at different houses. Al Nawâr stayed with al Khâula's wife of Abdullâh ibn az Zubâr, and Al Farazdaq with Hamza their son. Al Khâula interceded for al Nawâr, and her intercession prevailed over that of Hamza whereupon Farazdaq spoke as above (Ibn Khall (do Slane) III 624).

<sup>3</sup> MS. قَمَّا دَرَا وَ قَبِيلَةُ اُو نَهَدَ وَ (۱)

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) omits دَرَا

<sup>5</sup> MS. (۱) مَشْعُول

*Verse.*

214. Casting aside the Qur'ān and the sword  
Taking instead to the cup and flagon.

The attendants who were loyal to the state were struck dumb and were compelled by the necessity for time-serving to throw themselves upon the protection of Khusrū Khān,

*Verse.*

If the times give the reins of authority to a wolf,  
You must save yourself by saying, God save you Sir !

And the family of Barāwar<sup>1</sup> gained entire control of the Court of the Sultān, and used to assemble by day and by night at the house of Khusrū Khān to plot sedition and rebellion against the Sultān, and when Qāzī Ziāu-d-Dīn, who was known as Qāzī Khān, made these facts known, the Sultān who was the slave of his lust immediately summoned Khusrū Khān in private,<sup>2</sup> and informed him of what had been said, whereupon Khusrū Khān said, the people see the great kindness which the Sultān shews me and regard it as excessive, and from motives of jealousy falsely accuse me. The Sultān believed him and<sup>3</sup> made over to him the keys of the royal treasury and of all the other store-houses as well : Khusrū Khān<sup>4</sup> regarded this as a proof of his complete ascendancy deduced from it a favourable omen for his future :—

*Verse.*

When he saw his affairs so prosperous  
He considered that omen as a proof of victory ;  
From that favourable omen the heart of Khusrū Khān,  
Like a strong mountain, became firmly established.

Eventually, one night the Sultān was holding a drinking party in the company of Khusrū Khān, and the Amīrs of the guards withdrew from their posts. Qāzī Khān came down from the roof of the Hazār Sutūn palace and was engaged in examining if the doors were safe, and the guards posted.

<sup>1</sup> MS. براو (A).

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) adds در خلوت.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) تصدیق او کرد و ..... مسپرد.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A).

In the meantime one Randhol<sup>1</sup> the uncle of Khusrū Khān 215.  
 with a body of the Barāwās, having daggers concealed under  
 their arms came upon Qāzī Khān, and kept him engaged in  
 talk on one way and another, till, taking him off his guard,  
 they stabbled him and despatched him as a martyr to his abode  
 in Paradise. There was a great uproar,<sup>2</sup> and the Sultān, who  
 at that moment had no other companion than Khusrū Khān,  
 enquired what was the tumult. Khusrū Khān rose from beside  
 him and went out to instigate his followers to murder the  
 Sultān, then returned and said that some of the horses of the  
 stables had broken loose, and were fighting among themselves.  
 At this moment Jāhiriyā the uncle of Khusrū Khān approached  
 the Hazār Satūn with a party of his men, and having assassinated  
 Ibrāhim and Ishāq who were on guard at the palace, made  
 for the Sultān. The Sultān rising,<sup>3</sup> half intoxicated as he was,  
 ran towards the haram, Khusrū Khān caught him from behind  
 by the hair of his head, and as the Sultān was begging him  
 to aid his escape Jāhiriyā arrived, aimed a blow at the Sultān  
 wounding him in the side, then with his sword cutting off the  
 Sultān's head<sup>4</sup> threw it down below from the roof of the palace.

*Verse.*

The bed of that dear one was one of thorns  
 For his brocaded bed led to his ruin.

When the populace saw what had occurred, every one of them  
 went into hiding and there was dismay in all quarters. Putting  
 to death some of the Amirs at the door of the palace, the  
 Barāwās entered the Sultān's haram and tore Farid Khān and  
 Mangū Khān, the two infant sons of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Din, from  
 their mother's arms and cut off their heads, and committed every  
 kind of violence they wished, and in one moment scattered to the  
 four winds all the honour and glory of 'Alāu-d-Din and  
 Qutbūn-d-Din.

*Verse.*

In one hour, in one moment, in one instant<sup>5</sup>  
 The whole course of the world becomes changed.

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A). زندگوں.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) omits بلند.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A). بوجاسته.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A). سرسلطان را.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) has بیک ساعت بیک دم لحظہ بیک.

And when they had glutted themselves with murder and rapine, they sent for certain of the Amirs namely 'Ainu-l-Mulk Multānī, and Malik Fakhrū-d-Dīn Jūnā, by whom is meant Sultān Muhammād ibn Tughlāq Shāh, and Mālik Wahidu-d-Dīn Quraishi with the two sons of Qarābeg and other notable Amirs, and kept them all that night till morning upon the roof of the Hazār Sūtūn; and when it was day they made all the 'Ulamā and chief men of the city swear allegiance to Khusrū Khān, and read the *Khuṣbah* in his name. By craft they got the upper hand of a certain party whom they suspected of being opposed to them, and sent them to the world of non-existence, and made over the family of Qāzī Zīān-d-Dīn Qāzī Khān,<sup>1</sup> all except his wife who fled,<sup>2</sup> to the aforesaid Randhol.<sup>3</sup>

Husnūn-d-Dīn, the brother by the mother's side of Khusrū Khān, was given the title of Khān-i-Khānān and Randhol<sup>4</sup> became Rā'i-i-Rūyān, and the harams of Sultān Qutbū-d-Dīn and the other princes and relatives they divided among themselves. Khusrū Khān took to himself<sup>5</sup> in marriage the chief wife of the Sultān. These events happened in the year 720, H. (1320 A.D.) and the duration of the reign of Sultān Qutbū-d-Dīn was four<sup>6</sup> years and some months.

### Verse.

Since the world began so it has been, and so will always be,  
To everyone the end of all things will be as this.

### NĀSHIRU-D-DĪN KHUSRŪ KHĀN

Whose name at the first was Hasan Barwabacha, in the aforesaid year sat upon the throne of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Qutbū-d-Dīn, by the co-operation of his own tribe; and the Amirs who have already been mentioned, whether they would or no, were constrained to give in their allegiance to him, and addressed him by this title. The rites and ceremonies of Islām tended towards neglect while Hindu customs and heathen observances obtained currency.<sup>7</sup> Idolatry and devastation of mosques became wide-

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) omits و.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) گریخت (A) گریخت.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) رندھول.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) رندھول.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) omits در.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) reads چار.

<sup>7</sup> MS. (A) دراج گرفت.

spread, and although Khusrū Khān, to conciliate the people scattered gold and lavished presents on all sides so that in a short time he squandered the greater part of the treasure of Alāu-d-Din and the wealth which Qatbu-d-Dia had amassed,

*Verse.*

Who was it had acquired the wealth,  
Who was it squandered it?

still the hearts of great and small were not so attuned to this disloyalty and irreligion of his that he could bring them into harmony with his own.

And in the year 721 A.H. (1321 A.D.) Khusrū Khān put out the eyes of certain of the offspring of 'Alāu-d-Din, for instance Abūbakr Khāsa, and 'Ali Khān, and Babādur Khān,<sup>1</sup> and gained over<sup>2</sup> certain of the Amīrs, such as 'Ainul Mulk and some others.

The Hindūs gained ground and increased their influence in most of the provinces, and a torrent of destruction swopt suddenly upon the followers of Islām and destroyed their wealth and property, giving their families to the wind of extinction.

The affair of the Ghazz which had happened in the time of Sultān Sinjar<sup>3</sup> was forgotten, and the state of mankind was expressed by this verse—

*Verse.*

You will never see your fellowmen happy save at the door  
of death,  
You will never find a virgin save in the womb of earth.

Khusrū Khān<sup>4</sup> issued *firmāns* to all the outlying districts and invited the people to side with him, he also bestowed upon Yūsuf Sūfi Azlbacha<sup>5</sup> the title of Sūfi Khān while Ikhtiyāru-d-Din Sanbil was styled Hātim Khān. He also made Kamālu-d-Din Sūfi Wakildar, and the son of Qura Qumār 'Arzu-l-Mulk; Malik Fakhru-d-Din Jūnā the son of Ghāzi Malik he appointed Akhur Beg, and was especially desirous of gaining his good will, with the object of using his influence to induce Ghāzi Malik also, who

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A).

<sup>2</sup> مُنْفَقٌ سَلَخْت *Munfaq Sallaxt*.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) سِنْجَر.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) omits *و*.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) The text reads بِرْ وَارْجَعَهُ.

was one of the notable Amirs of 'Alāu-d-Din and was posted to oppose the Mughuls, to leave the frontiers of Dipālpur and fall into his trap. At that time he put into effect every means he could devise and gave 'Ainu-l-Mulk Multānī for a time the title of 'Ālam Khān. At last having gained over Ghāzī Malik, he wrote a letter<sup>1</sup> expressing his sincerity of purpose, and desiring him when the day of battle should arrive to flee from Dihli to his own country, that is Mālwa, and return when the danger had passed.<sup>2</sup>

And of the Amirs, some sided with Khusrū Khān out of lust for place and property, but some others were rebellious. When Ghāzī Malik heard this startling news his zeal for Islām and for the preservation of the honour of his benefactor was stirred, so that he girded up his loins for vengeance, and sending despatches to the Maliks of the various districts sought their aid in extirpating that ungrateful wretch. Malik Fakhru-d-Din sent secretly a letter to his father conveying his intention to fly from Dihli and asking for post-horses,<sup>3</sup> which in the Hindi tongue are called *dāk chauki*, and for the posting of cavalry escorts at several places along the route.

219. At last one night by the assistance of the Son of Bahram Iba<sup>4</sup> the governor of Multān and Uchh<sup>5</sup> he fled from Dihli with a party of horsemen and made his way by forced marches towards Dipālpur.

#### Verse.

Seated upon that fleet Burāq<sup>6</sup>  
He hastened steadfastly with unity of purpose.

1 MS. (A) نوشت مشتمل بر مکتوبی.

2 I read here بعده از قرار گرفتن مراهب although MS. (A) is the same as the text مذهب.

3 *Ulāq* or *Ulāgh* travail sans salaire—cheval—courrier—petit bateau. (Pavet de Courteille).

4 MS. (A) and text footnote.

5 The text has a misprint آنچہ here.

6 The animal upon which Muhammad was mounted during his ascent to heaven known as the معراج (mi'rāj) Qur'ān XVII. i.

In the *Mishkātu-l-Maṣābih* it is thus described, "After this a white animal was brought for me to ride upon. Its size was between that of a

And Ghāzi Malik himself previously to this had sent two hundred cavalry into the fort of Sarsuti When Khusrū Khā awoke from his slumber of neglect he recognized that the departure of Mīlik Fakhrud Dīn Jūnā was a strong proof of the decline of his own power<sup>1</sup> accordingly he despatched the son of Qarrā Qamār, whom he had appointed 'Āriż-i-Mamālik,<sup>2</sup> in pursuit of him He proceeded as far as the town of Sarsuti, but on his arrival there was obliged to retrace his steps without having an opportunity of accomplishing his object, and conveyed to Khusrū Khān tidings regarding the real state of affairs

Ghāzi Malik, after the arrival of his son, was demonstrative<sup>3</sup> in his expressions of satisfaction, and gave effect to the aspirations of the Mīlikhs, further by issuing orders for the commencement of the jihād<sup>4</sup> he made amends for the previous delay, and gave full satisfaction to the demands of bravery by marching in the direction of Dihlī

Khusrū Khān having bestowed upon his brother Khān-i-Khānūn the canopy and staff of office, despatched Sufī Khān with the other Amirs of this caravan against Ghāzi Malik who for many years had done yeoman's service in the various wars with the Maghuls, and had everywhere returned victorious and triumphant But on the other hand Mālik Bahārām Iha, the Governor of Multān and Uchh, arrived to reinforce Ghāzi Malik The two armies selected as their field of battle a spot near the reservoir of Thānesar<sup>5</sup> At the first onset the breeze of victory blew favourably for the armies of Islām, the standards of the infidels

mule and an ass and it stretched as far as the eye could see The name of the animal was Buraq' (Mīkātu'l-Maqabīh, Matthews II 651) The word Buraq signifies brilliant like lightning, or swift as lightning

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) reads درجت سو برق جل جل \* Mustermaster General See p. 291

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) و مودود

<sup>3</sup> Holy war undertaken in defence of the religion of Islam

<sup>4</sup> حوض تی نسر This is the lake with which one of the alleged derivations of the name Sthānesvara is connected viz Sthanu (a name of Maladeo) and Sar a lake See Hunter Imp Gaz XIII 280

This holy lake is situated (says Cunningham) to the South of the town it is called by various names It is the centre of attraction for most pilgrims It was in full repute in A D 600, but in the Pauranic legends is given an antiquity long anterior even to the Pandus themselves, the sacred pool is at least as old as the R g Veda itself (Cunningham, A G India, pp 335 336)

were overthrown, and the adherents of Khusrū Khān abandoning their elephants and horses, and ammunition and standards fled precipitately to Dihli. Ghāzi Malik with all speed pursued and scattered these ungrateful wretches<sup>1</sup> and reached Dihli in one long march.<sup>2</sup> Khusrū Khān having rallied his scattered and panic stricken forces, opened the doors of the treasury and gave his army three and four years' pay together with large rewards and promises of appointments and governorships; and things being as they were, he brought out from confinement in the *haram* the remainder of the princes of the family of 'Alāu-d-Dīn whom he had blinded, and put them to death; then, led by hostile Fate, he marched on from the city in great force and proceeded to the Hauz-i-Khāss<sup>3</sup> where he encamped, his camp extending in one line of tents from the Hauz-i-Khāss to Indrapath,<sup>4</sup> while Ghāzi Malik encamped in the vicinity of the tomb<sup>5</sup> of Sultān Razzīya. In the meanwhile 'Ainu-l-Mulk, in accordance with agreement, having descried the unsuccessful army of Khusrū Khān fled with haste towards Dhār and Ujjain;<sup>6</sup> his defection was a cause of great despondency to the followers of Khusrū Khān. On the following day the array of battle was drawn up and the followers of the truth engaged in close conflict with the partisans of infidelity, and utterly vanquished the impious horde.

At the outset the army of Khusrū Khān obtained the mastery, and the army of Ghāzi Malik suffered a repulse, but Ghāzi Malik planting firmly the foot of resolution like another Rustum came to the rescue, and with three hundred cavalry, men of tried

### ۱ MS. (A) کافر نعمتیہی.

<sup>2</sup> The distance traversed in this march was about 90 miles as the crow flies, a long march but perfectly feasible for cavalry.

<sup>3</sup> Barnī says the Hauz-i-'Alāi. The royal lake constructed by 'Alāu-d-Dīn.

<sup>4</sup> Indrapath. MS. (A) اندرا پتھ. Barnī tells us that Ghāzi Malik's force lay encamped at Indrapath so that the two camps were face to face. It lies just outside Dihli. Its etymology, Indraprastha, points it out as the probable place where Indra slew the Vritras with his thunderbolt formed of the head of the horse-headed Dadhyanch (see also Cunningham 335).

<sup>5</sup> I read here حظیرہ not خطیرہ as in the text and MS. The burial place of Sultān Razzīya is not apparently mentioned in any of the histories, but as she was taken prisoner at Kaithal and put to death there (638. H.) it is not unlikely that she was buried near Indrapath.

### ۶ MS. (A) شناقت.

valour, whom he had kept in concealment in an ambush, utterly discomfited the infidel hordes<sup>1</sup> and Malik Talbagha<sup>2</sup> Nûgor, and the son of Qutra Qumâr<sup>3</sup> with the other nobles of that ignoble kingdom, in that battle became food for the sword,<sup>4</sup> as such hypocritical knaves should. Khushâ Khân brought to bear all temerity and manliness in spite of his amanly character, and fought bravely till the close of the day, but<sup>5</sup> at last finding he was unable to withstand these boarhearted warriors, he turned 221. his back in flight, and made for Talpath, his canopy and standards and borrowed<sup>6</sup> retinue fell into the hands of Ghâzi Malik.

Khushâ Khân returning from Talpath came to the tomb of Malik Shâdi<sup>7</sup> who was an old patron of his, alone and distraught, and hid himself there in despair, but the following day they laid hands upon him, treating him with all possible indignity, and brought him to Ghâzi Malik,<sup>8</sup> so that he reaped the reward of his infamous and abominable deeds.

#### Verse.

The tree thou didst nurtore has borne its fruit,  
Dost thou not see even now its fruit in its bosom,  
If it has borne thorns it is thou who didst plant them,  
If it has brought thee silk attire it is of thy own spinning.

And the following day Ghâzi Malik left Indrapath<sup>9</sup> and alighted at Kûshk Sabzî<sup>10</sup> Great and small came out to welcome his coming, and gave vent to expressions of congratulation. The day following he went on to the city of Dihli, where tidings was

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) حمیت کوشاںرا

<sup>2</sup> Text تلپاتھ MS (A) تلپاتھ.

<sup>3</sup> Shâyista Khan

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) omits درخ

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) inserts و.

<sup>6</sup> عاریتی

<sup>7</sup> MS (A) آمد

<sup>8</sup> MS (A) omits ملک

<sup>9</sup> MS A اندپاتھ. The text reads تلپاتھ But the real reading should be اندپاتھ, Indrapath, as is shown by what has gone before, and also by Barni

<sup>10</sup> کوشک سبزی "the Green palace" but although this is the reading of the text and both MSS, I think we should read for کوشک سبزی undoubtedly کوشک میری kushk-i-Siri, the palace of Siri. This is the reading of the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shah.

brought to him that the rascal Khān-i-Khānān had crept into the corner of a garden,<sup>1</sup> where he was lying concealed.

Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn proceeded by order of Ghāzī Malik, and having mutilated and disgraced him<sup>2</sup> paraded him about the city where he met with condign punishment. This event took place in the year 720 A.H. (1321 A.D.). The duration of Khusrū Khān's rule was four months and a few days.

*Verse.*

That which thou doest they will shew thee again,  
That which thou givest, they will return thee the like.

SULTĀN<sup>3</sup> GHĪYĀSHU-D-DĪN TUGHLAQ SHĀH<sup>3</sup>

Who is the same as Ghāzī Malik, ascended the throne in the year 720 A.H. (1321 A.D.) by the consent of the Amirs and nobles and was styled by this title. In the space of one week 222. he ordered and regulated the important affairs of the state with a perfection unattainable to others in the course of years.<sup>4</sup>

He appointed his own relations to various posts and showing many favours to the Amirs of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and to some of the Maliks of Qutbū-d-Dīn gave them districts. Then he directed his ambition to the rebuilding of the fortress of Tughlaqābād and all the lofty edifices, and set about it (without delay),<sup>5</sup> and Badr Shā'ir Shāshī<sup>6</sup> invented as a chronogram for the date of building

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) omits *وَ*.

<sup>2</sup> مُسْلِم سَخْتَن Muslīm Sākhtan is the term applied to a form of punishment which consisted of cutting off the nose, ears and lips. The literal meaning is "making a public example."

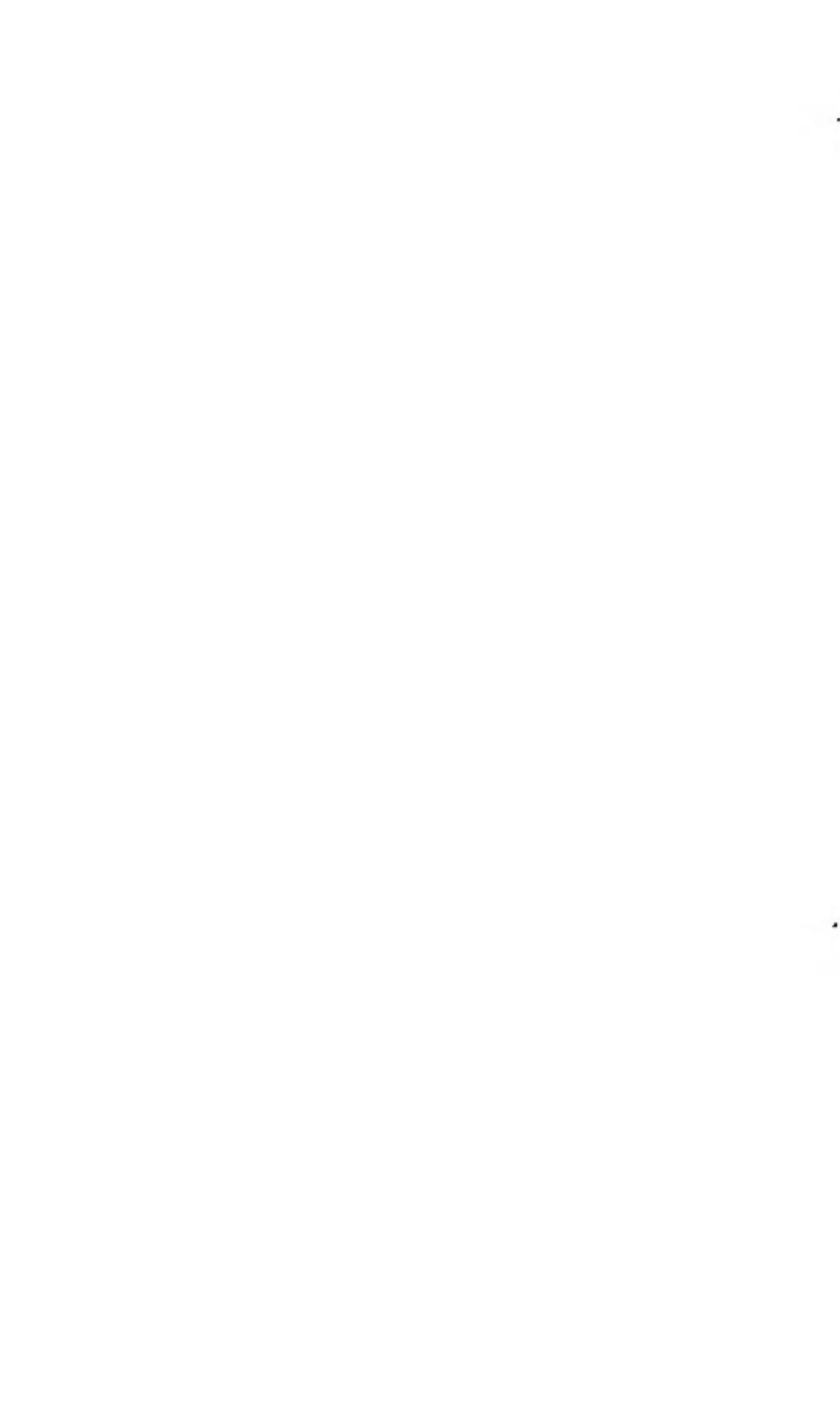
<sup>3</sup> MS. (A). The text omits the prefix سلطان —

Barnī gives an account of the mode in which Ghāzī Malik succeeded to the throne, not as an usurper but as the rightful successor in the absence of any scion of the house of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Qutbu-d-Dīn. (See Elliott, III. 228-229).

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) omits the words دَلَدْ نَقْنَدْ and the words are so foreign to the style of the author that they must be regarded as an interpolation. The Editor of the text supplies them from one copy. See footnote to Text.

<sup>5</sup> There is a difference here. The printed text reads دران نمود شروع دران نمود Shew'd great alacrity therein, but MS. (A) reads simply شروع دران نمود set about it. This seems the preferable reading.

<sup>6</sup> Badru-d-Dīn Chāchī, "was a native of Chāch in Turkestan. He was a man of great repute as a scholar who passed a large portion of his life in



meantime<sup>1</sup> 'Ubaid Rākātī<sup>2</sup> the poet, a turbulent fellow, the notorious<sup>3</sup> opponent of Mir Khusrū (on whom be mercy) who rascal that he was wrote the following famous verses :

223. Khusrū's own verse was very raw, so by mistake he took Nizāmi's<sup>4</sup> saucepan by mistake, his flummery<sup>5</sup> to cook.

(Mir Khusrū in many of his compositions complains bitterly against him and Sa'd Falsafi) joining with Shaikhzāda Dimishqī on the occasion of the late arrival of the stage from Dihlī, spread a false report that the Sultān Tughlaq was no more, whereupon great dismay spread through the Muslims. 'Ubaid also terrified the Amīrs by his account of Ulugh Khān, and infidels springing up put to death many of the soldiers of the army;<sup>6</sup> Malik Tigīn and other revolutionary Amīrs planned an insurrection against Ulugh Khān who with fifty sowārs came by rapid marches to the metropolis, whereupon the Amīrs took themselves off, each to his own district; and Malik Tigīn who had gone to the country between Multān and Jaisalmir<sup>7</sup> was taken prisoner with his family, and Tājū-d-Dīn Tālaqānī, the son-in-law of Malik Tigīn who had escaped from prison, was captured<sup>8</sup> on the banks of the river Sarū, and Ubaid (the poet)<sup>9</sup> also was captured in the same way in a wretched

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) reads میان دارین.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ubaid. MS. (A) adds راکاتی Rākātī. See Beale, O. B. D., p. 275.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) reads مشهور مغارض.

<sup>4</sup> Shaikh Nizāmī Ganjawī whose full name is Abū Muḥammad Nizāmū-d-Dīn Aḥmad Iīās ibn Abī Yūsuf ibn Mursaiyyidal Muṭarrazī, a celebrated poet, author of the Sikandar-Nāma, also of other well-known works. His *Khamsa* (pentad) consists of *Khusrū* and *Shīrīn*, *Hast Paikar Lailī-o-Majnūn*, *Makhzanu-l-Asrār* and *Sikandar Nāma*.

His death is said by Beale to have occurred in 597 A. H. but according to the *Majma'ul Fusahā* (I. 637) he died in the reign of Ṭughrl ibn Arslān the Saljūq, 576 A. H.

<sup>5</sup> سکبیا is a dish made of wheat flour, meat and vinegar. The word 'flummery' suggests itself from its etymological signification of raw, crude, harsh, W. *llymruwd*, (so named from its sourness). (*vide* Skeat. s. v.)

<sup>6</sup> We should here read موردم لشکر MS. (A).

<sup>7</sup> MS. (A) Lat. 26° 55' N. Long. 70° 57' E. in Rājputāna, C. I.

<sup>8</sup> MS. (A) گرفتار گشت.

<sup>9</sup> MS. (A) omits شاعر. Barnī says that he was impaled alive. Firūzta says that he was buried alive. (See Elliott, III, 231-233).

plight All this party with their families and friends, they cast under the feet of elephants, and those who escaped this fate met their death wherever they went

And in the year 723 A H (1323 A D ) Ulugh Khan for the second time marched towards Tilang, and Rai Ladar Mahadeo again sent himself up in the fort.

Ulugh Khan gained possession of both the outer and inner citadels<sup>1</sup> by force of arms, and took the Rai prisoner together with his family and followers, and leaving commissioners there drew off his army to Jājnagan<sup>2</sup> and Bidar,<sup>3</sup> and having taken as spoil many elephants and other property with jewels and valuables without number [sent them] to Dihli [and despatched Rao Ladhar also to the capital and having given to Arankal the name of Sultanpur] returned to Dihli<sup>4</sup>

And in the year 724 A H (1324 A D ), Sultān Ghīyāsh d-  
Din Tughlaq Shah, upon the occasion of the tyranny of the  
governors of Bengal, left Ulugh Khan as his viceroy in the  
capital Tughlaqabad which had been built in the space of three  
years and a fraction, entrusting to his sound judgment the whole  
civil administration, and left for Lakhnāti with a firm intention  
of setting things straight, Sultān Nasirū d Dīn the ruler of  
Lakhnāti, with the notable princes of those districts hastened to  
meet the Sultan and placed their necks under his yoke, Sultan  
Tughlaq Shah conferred upon Sultan Nasirū d Dīn the canopy  
and staff of office and all other insignia of royalty, entrusted  
Lakhnāti once more to his control and sent a despatch announcing  
his success to Dihli, then he sent on in advance Tatar Khān  
his adopted son, the Governor of Zafarābad who brought Bahādur  
Shah otherwise known as Tuda (? Nuda) the Governor of Sunar  
Ganw who was boasting his independence, with a chain around

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) حصار دروی و ناروی

<sup>2</sup> Or Jajpur the former capital of Orissa (See Hunter's Gazetteer, Vol VII and Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol XVIII for a full account of this place)

<sup>3</sup> Bidar (or Bedar) Town in the Nizam's dominions Haiderabad Deccan, 75 miles N W of Haiderabad town Lat 17° 53' N Long 77° 34' E (See Hunter's Gazetteer, Vol II, 419)

<sup>4</sup> The words enclosed in square brackets are by a copyist's error omitted in MS (A) the word Dihli occurring twice has misled the copyist The printed text is correct

his neck, and accompanied by all his elephants into the royal presence at the Court.

Sultān Tughlaq Shāh taking Bahādur Shāh with him, victorious and triumphant returned to Dihlī, and proceeding by double stages made forced marches. Ulugh Khān upon hearing this news gave immediate orders for the erection of a lofty and noble palace near Asghānpur which is at a distance of three krohs from Tughlaqābād. It was completed in three days, so that Sultān Tughlaq Shāh might alight there,<sup>1</sup> and having passed the night in it and having rested might depart thence at an auspicious moment and alight at Tughlaqābād.

The Sultān arrived there and Ulugh Khān having gone out to meet him with all the nobles and grandees, spread a banquet of welcome. The Sultān gave orders for the elephants which he had brought with him from Bengal to be raced, and as the foundation of the New Palace was new and unsettled the palace began to shake and totter with the tramp of the elephants. When the people became aware that the Sultān was mounting with all haste, they hurriedly came out from the palace, without even washing their hands. The Sultān Tughlaq Shāh was engaged in washing his hands<sup>2</sup> and so did not come out. In consequence he washed his hands of life and the palace fell in upon him.<sup>3</sup>

We should not lose sight of the fact that from having built a palace such as this, which was quite unnecessary, there is a suspicion that Ulugh Khān may have built the palace<sup>4</sup> without

<sup>1</sup> These words are repeated twice in MS. (A).

<sup>2</sup> The text has بقیرب دست ناشستن but MS. (A) reads ناشستش the latter is correct. MS. (A) also omits the words ایک ایزان (line 2 of the printed text).

<sup>3</sup> Barnī gives a different version, attributing the fall of the palace to a thunderbolt which descended from the sky. (Elliott, III. 235). Firishta gives a somewhat similar account to Badāoni; without specifically stating the cause, he alludes to the suspicion which attached to Ulugh Khān of being designedly close by the author of the catastrophe, but discredits it. He further tells us that according to Ṣadr Jahān Gujarātī, Ulugh Khān had raised the palace by magic, and the magical art being withdrawn it fell; he proceeds "Hājī Muḥammad Qandahārī says that it was struck by lightning and this does not seem at all improbable" (Firishta Briggs, I. 408].

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) قصر را qasr rā. The text has قصد qasdān purposely.

foundations<sup>1</sup> as was currently rumoured, but the author of the *Tārikh-i-Firoz-Shāhī* makes no mention of this although this may possibly be due to a desire to flatter Firoz Shāh and out of regard for him.

This event took place in the year 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.) and the duration of the reign of Sultan Ghīzān d Dīn Tughlāq Shāh was four years and some months.

### Verse

If thou placest this world beneath thy feet  
Then wilt not sleep at last in thine own place

It is currently reported among the people of India that Sultan Ghīzān d Dīn Tughlāq, on account of the ill will he bore to Sultan I Māshāikh, sent a message to the Shaikh while on the way to Lakhnauti to this effect, "After my arrival at Dihli, either the Shaikh will be (ruler) there or I"<sup>2</sup>. The Shaikh replied, "Dihli is still some way off"<sup>3</sup>. This saying became proverbial from that day and gained currency.

The *Tughlāq Nāma* of Mir Khusrū which was the latest of his works, was written in verse in honour of the Sultan and in obedience to his order.

The death of the Sultan I Māshāikh and also of Mir Khusrū occurred in the same year as has already been stated.

### SULTAN MUHAMMAD 'ĀDIL IBN TUGHLAQ SHĀH

That is to say Ulugh Khan, by the agreement of the Amirs and

<sup>1</sup> سوہی literally means 'hollow' but in its grammatical sense implies weakness due to want of proper support of سوہی 'hollow' verb a verb of which the middle letter is weak.

<sup>2</sup> In accordance with the proverb در گلیمی سبیده *da darish dar gilim na khusra id*. Two dervishes cannot sleep in one blanket; or again the proverb دوشمشندر دریک سام نکشند *da shamghir dar yek yah nayam negunjand*. Two swords will not go into one scabbard, as we say. There cannot be two kings in Brontford.

<sup>3</sup> This is a well known proverb and has come from the Persian into common use in Urdu used to express the futility of an incompetent person attempting any task or on an occasion of unnecessary waste. 'It's a far cry to Loch Awe'. Roebuck in his collection of Oriental proverbs does not give this as a Persian but as an Urdu proverb. Its origin is clear from our author's statement.

officers of the Court ascended the royal throne in the year 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.),<sup>1</sup> and after performing the ceremonial mourning for the space of forty days,<sup>2</sup> went to the treasure house of the kings of former ages, and gave largesse such as exceeds all bounds of description, and having distributed appointments and offices among the Amirs, he made Malik Firoz his uncle's son (who is the same person as Sultān Firoz) *Nāibū-l-Mulk*, and advanced the dignity of his near relations in the same manner. Hamid Lawiki, too, was raised to an exalted position and Malik Sarbez obtained the title of *Imādu-l-Mulk*, Malik Khurram that of *Zahīru-l-Juyūsh* (Inspector of the Forces) Malik Pindār *Khiljī* was given the title of Qadr *Khān*, and Malik Izzu-d-Dīn Yahyā that of *Ā'zamu-l-Mulk*, the district of Satgānw being also confirmed to him.

And in the year 727 A.H. (1326-1327 A.D.) the Sultān having formed the design of proceeding to Deogir, posted a chain of *dhāwa*,<sup>3</sup> that is to say *pāiks*, or runners, as guards at distances of one *kroh* along the whole road<sup>4</sup> from Dihli to Deogir, built a palace and a monastery at each stage and appointed<sup>5</sup> a *Shaikh* to each. They used to keep in constant readiness food and drink, betel-leaf<sup>6</sup> and all provisions for hospitality; and in

<sup>1</sup> According to Firishta on the third day after the funeral obsequies of his father.

<sup>2</sup> The period here mentioned of forty days is the same as that enjoined in olden times to the Israelites: thus we find in Genesis 1. 3, speaking of the death of Jacob "the physicians embalmed Israel and forty days were fulfilled for him; for so are fulfilled the days of those which are embalmed; and the Egyptians mourned for him three score and ten days. But in Numbers xx. 29, we find that the congregation mourned for Aaron thirty days."

The period of three days only is enjoined on Muhammadians, except in the case of widows who must perform the special ceremony of mourning called *Ihdād* for four months and ten days. Among Hindūs the period of mourning is thirty days. (See Matthew, *Mishkātu-l-Masābih* I. 389).

<sup>3</sup> The word دھاد here spelt پیک is a Sanskrit word धावकः rt. धाव् to run. پایک pāyik its Persian equivalent has a more usual form پاک paik.

<sup>4</sup> MS. A omits در.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) نصب فرمود.

<sup>6</sup> The leaf of *Chavica betle* (Miq.) N.O. *Piperaceæ* is used in conjunction with lime for mastication as a stomachic. The leaves containing a portion of the nut of *Areca catechu*, known as *Supāri*, some lime (*chūna*) catechu (*kath*) and various aromatics, such as cinnamon, cloves, &c., and rolled together

both<sup>1</sup> (palaces and monasteries) guides were stationed who were ordered to see that travellers suffered no annoyance. The traces of these (rest-houses) remained for many years. He gave Deogir the name of Danlatābād<sup>2</sup> and considering it as the centre of his dominions<sup>3</sup> made it the metropolis, and conveyed Maḥdūm-i-Jahān his mother, with all his family and relations, the Amirs and Maliks, the notables of the city, his servants and dependents, and all his treasure to Daulatābād; all the *Sayyids* and *Shaikhs* and 'Ulamā<sup>4</sup> also proceeded thither in the following of Maḥdūm-i-Jahān, and the stipends and emoluments of all of them were doubled, but in accordance with the saying "Exile is the gravest of all calamities and banishment is the sorest of all afflictions" this desolation of Dihli and its descention was a source of great dis-

into the form of a cone and showered with a small piece of wood and offered for sale. In this condition they are known as *bīra*, بیرا كھیلای *bīra* or گلزاری *gulzari*. The distribution of this پان *pān* or betel, forms an important part on all ceremonial occasions, generally as a final act of hospitality before the guests depart. To European palates the *bīra* is anything but pleasant, it has a pungent somewhat acid taste. It is a powerful aseptogogue.

The medicinal virtues of the Chewing betle are supposed to be great. The leaves smeared with mustard oil and applied hot to the chest in several layers are used as poultices in pulmonary catarrhs, or in painful affections of the liver. They are said also to arrest the secretion of milk when applied to the breasts. A form of cancer known as "betle chewer's cancer" has been described by Dr Elliott of Colombo.

The plant is said to be a native of Java whence it has been introduced. It grows best in a hot moist climate such as that of Lower Bengal where it is largely cultivated (Drury, *Useful Plants of India*)

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) omits the word طرف

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) دام باد و See page 271, note 6, of this volume.

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) میان ولایات omits حود

<sup>4</sup> The word *Sayyid* ( سید ) is a term used to denote the descendants of Muhammad from his daughter Fatima by 'Ali. The Sultan of Zanzibār also adopts this as his regal title.

*Shaikh* ( شیخ ) is a term of honour denoting some considerable reputation in the religious world a doctor of religion and law, a head or chief of some religious order, a chief of a tribe or a reputed saint.

The two first Khalifahs Abu Bakr and 'Umar are known as الشیعیان . Ash Shaikhān. The two *Shaikhs*

The term 'Ulama ( علماء ) includes all religious teachers as Imams, Muftis, Qāris, Maulavis, (see Hughe's Dictionary of Islam, also D'Herbelot )

comfort to the inhabitants, large numbers of the feeble and widows, the helpless and indigent perished by the way, while even those who arrived in safety, could not settle there; and towards the end of the above-mentioned year Malik Bahādur Gurshasp 227. the Inspector-General of the Forces, raised a rebellion in Dihli,<sup>1</sup> and Malik Aiyāz, who held the title of Khwāja-i-Jahān, fought with Bahādur and defeated him. Bahādur was taken prisoner and brought before the Sultān and met his punishment. After that, Malik Bahrām Iba the adopted brother of Sultān Tughlaq raised a rebellion in Multān,<sup>2</sup> and put to death 'Ali Khaṭāṭī who had been sent from Dihli to summon him thither. The Sultān, in order to put down this rebellion, left Daulatābād for Dihli and thence by uninterrupted marches reached Multān. Bahrām having come out<sup>3</sup> against him fought with him, but was defeated and eventually put to death, his head was brought to the Sultān who intended to set the blood of the Multānis flowing like rivers on account of his crime, but when the Shaikh-l-Islām Qutbu-l-Ālam Shaikh Ruknū-l-Haqq wau-d-Dīn Quraishi,<sup>4</sup> may God sanctify his holy resting place, having bared his venerable head presented himself at the Court of the Sultān and made intercession, the Sultān pardoned the offences of the people.

### Verse.

From the earliest times of Adam till the days of the king.  
Great men have shewn mercy<sup>5</sup> mean men have committed faults.

And the Sultān having bestowed Multān upon Qiwāmu-l-Mulk Maqbūl retraced his steps, but after some little time<sup>6</sup> having turned

<sup>1</sup> Barnī makes no mention of this occurrence. Firishta gives an account of it, but calls the rebel Bahāu-d-dīn and states that he was governor of Sāgur. The year assigned by him to this revolt in which Bahāu-d-dīn Gurshasp was defeated is 739 A.H. twelve years later than Badāoni's date, according to Briggs (I. 418). A reference to the original text, however, shews that the date given by Firishta is the same as Badāoni's date. *Firishta* Bo. Text I. 241.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) شہ دباغی.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) نموده و مقابلہ ۸۵۰.

<sup>4</sup> Āīn-i-Akbārī (Jarrett), III. 365.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) و بود عفو.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) گاہی چند.

against him despatched Belzād to replace him, but Shāhī Lodi the Afghān<sup>1</sup> killed Belzād and broke out into open rebellion. The Sultan on his arrival at Dījālpur found that Shāhī had fled into the hill country,<sup>2</sup> so he turned back.

And in the year 729 A H (1329 A D.) Naīm Shāhī the Mughal<sup>3</sup> the brother of Qutbūl Khwāja the Mughal King of Khurasan who had formerly invaded Hindūstān, having entered the Dīlī territory<sup>4</sup> with an enormous army, reduced the majority of the forts and proceeded slaughtering and taking captives from Lalor and Sūmān and Iādirī to the borders of Bādāon, and when the victorious troops of Islām came up with him, he retreated as they advanced, the Sultān pursued him<sup>5</sup> as far as the frontier of Kālanor and defeated him, and having the destruction of that fort in the hands of Mujuī dīn Abīrī returned in the direction of Dīlī. At this time the Sultan formed the opinion that in consequence of the refractory conduct of his subjects in the Deab it was advisable to double the taxes levied on that country, he also instituted numbering their cattle and a house census, and other vexations and oppressive measures, which were the cause of the complete ruin and desolation of the country,<sup>6</sup> the weak were utterly destroyed and the strong laid the foundations of rebellion. The Sultan gave orders for the remainder of the inhabitants of Dīlī and the adjoining towns to start for Daulatabad, caravan by caravan, the houses were to be purchased from their owners, and the price of them to be paid in cash out of the public treasury, in addition to which large rewards were to be offered. By these means Daulatabad was populated, and Dīlī

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) ملک. The text reads علی

<sup>2</sup> The printed text has در گوچهر but MS (A) has در گوچهار. The text is correct.

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) مغل. The spelling مغل adopted throughout the printed text is incorrect but is preserved as it is the commonly accepted form. Mr Ney Elias in his introduction to the translation of the *Tarīk-i-Rashīdī* (p 73 note 1) says that it takes a sharp ear to distinguish the exact pronunciation of the word as spoken by a true Mongol. It sounds as often Mo ghōl or Mo ol as Mongol. It has he says always the vowel sound of e and never that of u which is a foreign introduction.

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) دیلی

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) اور بود و

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) omits ایں

became so deserted that there was not left even a dog or a cat in the city. The following verse describes its condition :—

*Verse.*

There where the heart-ravishing one used to toy with her friends in the garden,  
The wolf and the fox had their home, and the rhinoceros and vulture their abode.

This state of affairs also led to a diminution of the public funds. Among other sources of loss to the treasury was this that the Sultān enacted that the *muhar*<sup>1</sup> of copper should become current on an equal footing with the *muhar* of silver, and any one who shewed reluctance to receive it used to be instantly punished severely. This enactment led to many corrupt practices in the kingdom as a matter of course, and unscrupulous and 229. contumacious rascals used everywhere in their own houses to set up mints and stamp coins,<sup>2</sup> and taking them into the cities used to purchase with them silver and horses, weapons and fine things, and thus rose to great wealth and dignity. But inasmuch as copper had no value as a currency in places at a distance and one *tanka* of gold rose to the value of fifty or sixty copper coins, the Sultān perceived the worthlessness of the copper coinage, and issued an edict to the effect that every one who had in his house a copper *tanka* should, if he brought them to the public treasury, receive for them golden *tankas* in equal value.<sup>3</sup> The people

<sup>1</sup> Firishṭa does not use the word *muhar* مہر and it would appear here to have the meaning of "coin" in its general sense. The round muhnī in Akbār's time was of the weight of eleven māshas and was worth nine rupees. (*Ain-i-Akbār*; I. 30). Barnī uses it in the same way as Bādāoni. See Barnī. Calcutta text, p. 475, line 10 et seqq.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) omits the word مسن but it seems probable that this illicit coining was mainly confined to copper. Barnī states that the Hindus of every province coined krors and laks of copper coins, so also Firishṭa.

<sup>3</sup> The Persian text is: تندکھای زر برابر آن ببرد. This can hardly mean that for every copper *tanka* a golden *tanka* would be given, and yet the wording of the preceding line gives colour to this view. It runs as follows هر کوڑا تندکھا مس در خانه باشد "Every one who has in his house a copper *tanka*." Barnī's account is much the same, Firishṭa's is more explicit, but it is not clear whether the coins were exchanged at their relative metal value or their face value. It however is most probable that the copper *tanka* having

profited greatly by this arrangement, till at last copper became copper and silver silver, and those copper tankas were lying in heaps in Tughlaqābād as late as the time of Sūlṭān Mubārak Shāh according to the author of the *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, and had no more value than stones. God knows the truth.

And in the year<sup>1</sup> 738 A.H. (1337 A.D.) he despatched a force of eighty thousand<sup>2</sup> cavalry under eminent commanders to capture the mountain of Hīmāchal<sup>3</sup> which stands between the country of Chin and Hindustān, and which they also call Qirāchal<sup>4</sup> with orders to leave garrisons in each successive place so that the line of communications for transport and supplies might remain open and the road of return might be easy. After the entry of this army into this country, by reason of the peculiar features of that mountain, on which heavy clouds form and rain pours in torrents at the sound of men's voices and their shouts and the neighing of horses, in consequence also of the narrowness of the

been artificially pronounced equal in value to the silver tankas, was repurchased by the treasury at that same value so that the dislocation of the currency and its consequent disasters are easily intelligible. See Elliott III 240, Brigg's *Firūzta* I 416.

Although Brigg's translation leaves us in doubt as to this, the text of *Firūzta* is perfectly clear on the subject and we see that these copper tankas were issued as tokens with an artificial value, and it was when the Sūlṭān found that the copper currency was distrusted by his people who found it was not received in foreign countries that he hit upon the expedient of offering to exchange the copper tankas for silver or gold tankas hoping thereby, as *Firūzta* says, to rehabilitate the copper tanka, but the people were too wise for this and threw the whole stock genuine and counterfeit alike upon the Treasury which was thus drained of gold and silver *Firūzta* (Bo Ed p 239)

For a full account of this forced currency See Thomas Pathan King pp 239 et seqq.

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) *لے*

<sup>2</sup> Omit , *Firūzta* says 100 000

<sup>3</sup> Hīmāchal Snowy mountain. The Calcutta Text of Barni calls this mountain *جراہ* misprint probably for *جراہ* p 477 l no 16, &c

<sup>4</sup> Rāsh du d Dīn in the *Jāmi' ul Ta'arīf* (Elliott, I 46) states Besides these mountains there are others called Kalarchal (called also by the same author in another passage Lārjal). The editor notes 'The mountains of Sirinor' Reinhard reads the name 'Kelardjek'. Ibn Battuta calls them 'Kātāchil' (Vol III 32o). The latter part of the name is probably the Sanskrit *śāch* mountain. The first part may be the Turkic word *بَرْكَة* signifying black; from the intense cold of such a snowy range.

paths and the scarcity of fodder, the patrols were not able to stand to their posts, and the hill tribes getting the upper hand drove back the army, and falling upon the rear of the force killed many of them with poisoned arrows and stone showers, and sending the most of them to the eternal world enabled them to attain martyrdom, taking the rest prisoners.<sup>1</sup> For a long time they wandered helplessly among the mountains, and those who escaped after countless hardships the Sultān visited with condign punishment.<sup>2</sup> And after this calamity so great an army never gathered round

230. the Sultān and all that money expended in their pay was thrown away.

And in the year 739 A.H. (1338 A.D.) Bahrām Khān Governor of Sunārgānw died, and Malik Fakhru-d-Din Silāhdār became rebellious and assumed the title of Sultān, and having fought with Qadr Khān the ruler of Lakhnautī in conjunction with Malik Husamu-d-Din Abūrijā the Mustaufī, and 'Izzu-d-Din Yahyā A'zamu-l-Mulk, was defeated, and all his sources of grandeur, his treasure and his retainers fell into the hands of Qadr Khān; and when the rainy season had arrived the horses belonging to Qadr Khān died, and he had collected much money<sup>3</sup> and had stored it up in heaps in his own house with the object of presenting it to the Sultān. In spite of all that Husamu-d-Din Aburjā could do to dissuade him from amassing wealth and inducing men to covet it and thus leading to disorder, Qadr Khān would not listen, till eventually the very result predicted by Husamu-d-Din ensued; Malik Fakhru-d-Din returned, and the soldiery of Husamu-d-Din joined him and killed their own master, and all the money fell to the lot of Fakhru-d-Din. The absolute control of Sunārgānw was given him; he appointed one Mukhlis a servant of his, to Lakhnautī, and 'Ali Mubārak Inspector of Troops; Qadr Khān put Mukhlis to death and aspired at independence, writing diplomatic letters to the court of the Sultān. The Sultān appointed Malik Yūsuf, but he died by the way, and the Sultān, having other affairs to attend to, omitted to send any one else to that district.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Barnī states that the Hindūs of Qarājal seized the passes behind the advancing force, and that of all the force only ten sowars returned. (p. 478). See also Elliott, III. 242.

<sup>2</sup> According to Firīghta all those who escaped were put to death by order of the Sultān.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) omits و مال.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) کسی دیگر بان جانب.

At this juncture 'Ali Mubarak by reason of the eunuch he bore to Fakhrud Dīn, displayed the insignia of royalty, and assumed the title of Saltān 'Alī d-Dīn, and Mulik Ilyas Huji who was a man of family and revenue, after a few days put 'Alī d-Dīn to death with the assistance of some of the Amirs and Mahiks of Lakhnauti, and himself assumed the title of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn

231.

And in the year 741 A.H. (1341 A.D.) Sultān Muhammād having left with the object of reducing Sunugānū, seized Fakhrud-Dīn and brought him prisoner to Lakhnauti, where he put him to death and returned. Shamsu-d-Dīn became absolute monarch of that region, and the kingly power and authority over that country descended for a lengthened period in the hands of his sons,<sup>1</sup> and never again returned to the possession of Saltān Muhammād 'Ādil.

And in the year 742 A.H. (1342 A.D.) Sayyid Hasan Kaitbāhi the father of Mulik Ibrāhīm a favorite of the Sultān, who was generally known as Hasan Kūngū, and who eventually obtained the sovereignty of the Deccan with the title of 'Alān d-Dīn Bahman Shāh', fermenting a revolt in Murbār on the grounds of the severity of the Sultān's governors, and the innovations introduced in the laws, and the number of executions,<sup>2</sup> and gained over to his own party nearly all the great men of Dīlhī who had been appointed to that district. He put to death the leaders of the opposite party. The Sultān proceeded from Lakhnauti to Deogir for the purpose of quelling that disturbance and on his arrival at Tilang was taken ill, and was forced to return by uninterrupted marches to Dīlhī. He left Qutlugh Khāñ in Daulatshāhād, thus the rebellion in Murbār remained unchecked and Hasan's influence increased rapidly.

And in the year 743 (1342 A.D.) they put to death by treachery Mulik Halājūn and Kul Chander Khalīhar and Mulik Tātāl Khānd, the Governor of Lāhore,<sup>3</sup> and when Khwājā-i-Jahān came up against them,<sup>4</sup> they came out to do battle with him, but the scoundrels suffered a severe defeat and were sorely punished.

<sup>1</sup> مدتی صد و دو عہدہ در عہدہ فرودگاں اور دوہ

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) has not the word عام simply قتل اور

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) has کل چند ر کشناه The text has کشناه which seems preferable

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) omits نامزد شد and reads رفت

And in the year 744 A.H. (1343 A.D.) the Sultān passing through Sanām and Sāmāna gave orders to the Saiyyids and all 232. the Muslims in opposition to the advice of Hasan Kānkū, for a general massacre, but he kept the chief men of those districts in their posts, conveyed them to the suburbs of the city, and conferred upon them villages and districts, and bestowing many rich robes of honour, and purses of gold gave them a place of abode there; and when a general famine arose he issued an edict that any one who wished should proceed to the eastern part of Hindustān and spend the days of dearness and scarcity there, without let or hindrance, and in the same way if any person wishing to give up living in Daulatābād should return to Dihlī, no one would molest him. Moreover in that year so many people arrived in Hindustān from the countries of Khurasān and 'Irāq and Samarqand, in the hope of receiving the bounty of the Sultān, that hardly any other races were to be seen in that country.

And in this year Hāji Sa'id Ṣarsarī<sup>1</sup> arrived from Egypt bearing the diploma of the Khalifah<sup>2</sup> with a banner and a robe of honour, conferring upon the Sultān the title of Nāṣir-i-Amīru-l-Mū'miniū from the Khalifah of the Abbāsides who were still extant. The Sultān ordered decorations and illuminations in the city, and proceeded with all the Shaikhs and Saiyyids and his retainers to give him an honourable reception, then, dismounting, he kissed the feet of Hāji Sa'id and joined his retinue. He then re-established the Friday prayers and the 'Id, which all this time he had kept in abeyance waiting for the orders and sanction of the Khalifah, he read the *Khuṭbah* in the name of the Khalifah, and struck out the names of those kings who had not received authority from the Dār-ul-Khilāfah, with the exception of Sultān Maḥmūd. He then gave *largesse*<sup>3</sup> of money and valuables to such an extent that his treasury became exhausted, he also des-

<sup>1</sup> The printed text reads مصري, but MS. (A) has صوري. So has also Barnī, Cal. text p. 492, l. 10, and 13. (See also Elliott, III. 249).

Barnī gives a good account of the events preceding this mark of favour from the Khalifah, a course of fulsome adulation seems to have been then, as in more modern times, the royal road to favour.

<sup>2</sup> Al Hākim bi Amr Illāhi Abū 'Abbās Alīmad ibn al Mustakfi billāhi, who was proclaimed in 741 A. H. For an account of these Egyptian Khalifahs, see Thomas' Pathan Kings, pp. 257 and seqq. Also D'Herbelot.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) طار.

pitched to Egypt a precious jewel, the like of which he had not in his treasury, by the hands of Haji Brq'āi, with other rarities and presents, and having become, in his own opinion the rightful Khalifah, and keeping constantly placed before him the Qui'an<sup>1</sup> and the honorary presents and the patent of the Khalifah, would issue commands as though he were the Khalifah, and used to say 233 "The Khalifah says" this or that. He compelled the people to profess allegiance to the Khalifah, and went to Sarkdawari which is in the vicinity of Shansabād, and on two or three occasions<sup>2</sup> in Barūj and Kanbhāyat also<sup>3</sup> he received patents from the Khalifah, and a second time the Mālikdūmrada i-Baghdādi<sup>4</sup> came to visit him, and the Sultān went on foot to Pālam to receive him, and when he saw him from afar off he advanced to meet him, and seated him upon the throne beside himself and made over to him without reservation, the city of Kili<sup>5</sup> with the garden and the palace and all the buildings.

And in the year 745 A.H. (1344 A.D.) Malik Nizāmu-l-Mulk<sup>1</sup> governor of Karra, raised a rebellion, Shahr-u-llah the brother of 'Aīna<sup>2</sup> i-Malik brought up an army against him from Oudh and took him prisoner, but the rebellion was quelled. Then Shihābu d-din Sultān waxed riotous in Bidar, and Qutlugh Khān was despatched against him, and Shihābu d-din coming out with his son to do battle was besieged in the fortress, and Qutlugh Khān advancing him to come out by promises of quarter, sent him to the royal presence.

And in the year 746 A.H. (1345 A.D.) 'Alī Sher auster's son to Zafar Khān 'Alī<sup>3</sup> gained possession of Gulbarga<sup>4</sup> in strong force, having put to death the ruler of Bidar, and taking much spoil,

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) reads مشارق مشارق مشارق All MSS read which has no intelligible meaning. We must read here مشارف in the sense of 'honours,' i.e., the banner and robe of honour sent by the Khalifah to him.

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) omits دیگر بیز

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) بیز Brosoh and Cambay Hunter Imp Gaz, III 101

<sup>4</sup> Ghissu d-din Muhammad a son of a great grandson of the Khalif of Baghdad Al Mustanṣir billāhī (Thomas P K D 257 note 1)

<sup>5</sup> A full account of this is given by Ibn Batuta (Paris Edn in 258 and seqq.) who writes و اعطاه جميع مدينة سيرى اقطاماً و كوشك سيرى و نامىي مخصوص درون حصار سيرى

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) See Imp Gaz, VIII 332

fought with Qutlugh Khān, but was defeated and obliged to retreat to the fortress of Bidar where he shut himself up. Qutlugh Khān however took him also prisoner, and sent him to Sarkdawārī which was the camp of the Sultān's army. The Sultān in the first instance sent the captives to Ghaznī in exile, but afterwards recalled them thence and put them all to death.

234. And in the year 747 A.H. (1346 A.D.) at the time when the Sultān had made Sarkdawārī his camp, 'Ainu-l-Mulk arrived at the Court, bringing from Zafarābād and Oudh much property and rarities of great value as presents; then the Sultān came to the conclusion that it was advisable to recall Qutlugh Khān from the Dakkan, and send 'Ainu-l-Mulk to replace him. 'Ainu-l-Mulk got some idea into his head, and fled by night from Sarkdawārī and crossing the river Ganges made for Oudh, and his brother Shahru llāh laid hands upon certain of the elephants and horses<sup>1</sup> belonging to the king, which had been left behind to graze, and carried them off. The Sultān went in pursuit of them as far as Qauauj, and 'Ainu-l-Mulk, at the instigation of his brothers and a party of the followers of Malik Firoz Nāib Barbak, who had been placed in charge of the elephants and horses, crossed the river Ganges and coming over to this side<sup>2</sup> attacked the army of the Sultān, and like the thieves and *Gawārs* (of India)<sup>3</sup> took to the woods and fought on foot, but not being able to stand against the elephants and archers of the king took to flight,<sup>4</sup> and Shahru llāh and his other brother together with the majority of the sirdārs of 'Ainu-l-Mulk were drowned, and the remainder fell by the swords of the soldiers, and the fugitives were taken prisoners by the *Gawārs*, who having found 'Ainu-l-Mulk alive took him on their shoulders<sup>5</sup> and brought him bareheaded<sup>6</sup> to the court and gave him a few days respite,<sup>7</sup> and the Sultān in consideration of his excellent

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) omits ب.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) طرف.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) omits ده.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) نمودند.

<sup>5</sup> The text reads بُرداشْتَ بُرلاشْتَ and so does also MS. (A). It seems probable however that this is an erroneous reading due to the repetition of بُرداشْتَ in the original copy.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) reads بِلَامَ naked.

<sup>7</sup> Barnī entirely omits all reference to the events here recorded. The *Gawārs* are a race of gypsies in India according to Steingass. I can find no mention of them in Sherring's *Hindu Castes*, nor in Elliott's *Tribes of the N. W.*

services gave him his freedom, and in accordance with his former custom treated him well, and giving him a district sent him back to Dihli, then he recalled Qutlugh Khan from tho Dakkan, but inasmuch as Qutlugh Khan had redneed that country to excellent order and had gained the good will of the people, his recall was the cause of great discontent (and disaffection)<sup>1</sup> and 'Aziz Khumār<sup>2</sup> who was one of the *canaille*, proceeding to Mälwa put to death many *contumis* (or Amirs of a hundred) which is the meaning of the word *Yüzbaşılı*<sup>3</sup> in accordance with the Sultān's orders, and thence arose many insurrections

235

And in the year 748 A.H (1347 A.D) the captains of hundreds, stirred up rebellion and sedition in Gujrāt against Muqbil the servant of Khwaja Jahan who was *nâib vezir* of Gujrāt, and was bringing treasure to the Court, and attacked him by night, getting possession of the treasure and horses and property belonging to the king. The Sultān arrived at Gujrāt with the object of quelling this rebellion, and sent some of the trustworthy Amirs as for instance Malik 'Ali Surjāndar, and Ahmad Lachin to Daulatabād to bind the Amirs of hundreds who were there and bring them to Court. As soon as Malik Ahmad Lāchin arrived at the pass of Mauikganj, the Amirs of hundreds in their alarm<sup>4</sup> came to a common understanding, and put Malik Ahmad Lāchin to death, Aziz Khan who had gone from Gujrāt to oppose the Amirs of hundreds of Dabhoi<sup>5</sup> and Baioda, on coming face to face with the insurgents lost his head,<sup>6</sup> fell from his horse and was taken prisoner. This news had reached the Sultan and had augmented his wrath considerably. And after the defeat of Muqbil and the murder of 'Aziz, the Amirs of hundreds waxed bold, and sent for their families and relations from all directions, and with one consent turned against the Sultan<sup>7</sup> and having captured the fortress of Daulatabād from the governors of Malik 'Alam took possession of it, and raising

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) omits و قصور <sup>2</sup> MS (A) عزیز خمار ر Aziz Hmār

<sup>3</sup> مور ناشرلخ Commandant de cent hommes (Pavet de Courteille)

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) omits the words حاضر حوش

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) The text is wrong here Dabhoi. See Tieff I 372 also map, Vol III see also Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* IV 76, and Bayley, *History of Gujrāt*

<sup>6</sup> دست و پا گم کرده (Lit.) Had lost his hands and feet

<sup>7</sup> The printed text reads طلسه سلطان which is meaningless  
MS (A) reads از سلطان and this seems the correct reading



the rebel, after the arrival of the Sultān at Gujrāt vented a second time to fight with him and was again defeated, and giving himself up to brigandage roamed about from place to place, the Sultān however continued to pursue him and followed him wherever he went. And in this expedition the Sultān having sent for Mālik Firoz from Dihli attached him to his Court, and in this year Mālik Gīr the son of Mālik Qibāl Khālīfātī, to whom the Sultān had delegated the control of all his important affairs, and on whose behalf he had written a letter expressing submission to the Egyptian Khalīfah and had sent it by the hand of Hājj Barqī'i, died, and Abīnād Aiyaz, who is also called Khwāja-i-Jahān, and Mālik Qibāl Qiwāmā-l-Mulk were carrying on the government in Dihli. Towards the end of the reign of Muham-mad, dissection and rebellion, mischief and sedition became increasingly evident day by day,<sup>2</sup> so that if one turned his attention to enacting one evil, another was not wanting to supply its place,<sup>3</sup> and matters were past all remedy,<sup>4</sup> and the glory<sup>5</sup> of the kingdom, and prosperity<sup>6</sup> of the country was entirely subverted. Tyranny supplanted equity, and infidelity flourished in place of Islam. There were many reasons for this, which by their co-operation led to ruin and dissension, and the decline of the kingdom. These causes are given in detail in the original history<sup>7</sup> the *Firozshāhi*, and also in the *Mubārakshāhi*. The results are here given in brief arranged under seven heads. Firstly — the greater part of the people and inhabitants of the towns and districts who

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) پیروت و گ

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) omits چندان.

<sup>3</sup> This is the reading of MS (A) دلکری ہز دست نہیرفت

<sup>4</sup> The printed text has ح MS (A) reads correctly ح

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) ارش ایام و \* Omit MS (A)

<sup>7</sup> There are two histories known as *Tarīkh-i-Firoz Shāhi* one by Zain d Din Barni (Biblioth Indica 1862) and the other by Shams-i-Siraj 'Afīf (Biblioth Indica 1991) (Elliott III 269)

MS (A) reads (as does the printed text) دلکری تاریخ اصل but the better reading seems to be that given without reference to the authority, in the footnote to the printed text دو اصل تاریخ This would distinguish the *Tarīkh-i-Firoz Shāhi* of Barni as the original history of that name. The *Tarīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* is that of Yāhiya ibn Abīmad (See Elliott IV, pp 6 and seqq.)

ruined by the rapine of Tarma Shīrīn, and never again recovered their prosperity. *Secondly*.—The tribute to be paid by the inhabitants of the Doāb, which district comprises some of the chief towns of Hindustān, was increased from ten per cent. to twenty per cent., besides which there was the numbering of the cattle; and the house-census, and other taxes<sup>1</sup> over and above these, and<sup>2</sup> in this way the more needy portion of the people left their property and cattle and attached themselves<sup>3</sup> to the richer folk, while the wealthier subjects plotted rebellion and sedition and took to highway robbery, and pillaged the country in all directions<sup>4</sup> so that from all these causes the revenue of the country began to dwindle.<sup>5</sup> *Thirdly*.—An universal famine, and (consequent) dearness of grain, for it so happened that for seven whole years not a single drop of rain fell from heaven. It should be remembered that this statement has been copied as it stands from the *Mubārakshāhī*, but I cannot say whether the author of that work has been guilty of exaggeration or if in reality the facts were as stated.<sup>6</sup> *Fourthly*.—the desertion of Dihlī, and the population of Daulatābād, because after Dihlī was laid waste they brought people from the towns and other places into that city and populated it, and then again removed them thence to Daulatābād; so that all their hereditary estates and family holdings, and all the property and effects<sup>7</sup> they possessed were wasted and dissipated, so that they never saw anything more of them. *Fifthly*.—The massacre of the eighty thousand cavalry in a body in the hills of Himāchal, and the consequent desolation of their families. *Sixthly*.—The daily occurrence of rebellion and mutiny in every place where people were in dread of their lives, some of them fell in battle but the greater number were put to death with their families upon false charges, so that in every way that wretched country was being ruined. *Seventhly*.—The blood thirsti-

<sup>1</sup> The word اخراجات is apparently used here in this unusual sense.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) و بابن طریق (A). <sup>3</sup> MS. (A) می پیوستند (A).

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) تشریب ولایات می کردند و .

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) بهر حال مستحول ولایت کم شدن گرفت و خراب شد . MS. (A) inserts میان دولاب ولایت and omits .

<sup>6</sup> The question of exaggeration admits of no doubt. Barnī a contemporary author lends no countenance to such a statement.

<sup>7</sup> MS. (A) reads اشیا .

ness of the Sultān, and his system of Government of his people, which made Saiyyids, 'Ulamā, Shāhiks, vagabonds and scoundrels, artisans,<sup>1</sup> peasants,<sup>2</sup> and soldiers, all alike in his eyes. Moreover there was constantly in front of his royal pavilion and his Civil Court a mound of dead bodies and a heap of corpses, while the sweepers and executioners were wearied out with their work of dragging (the wretched victims) and putting them to death in crowds. So that<sup>3</sup> the people were never tired of rebelling nor the king of punishing (the rebels).<sup>4</sup> At last the Sultān was at his wit's end what to do, but for all this he did not keep his foot out of the stirrup, nor did his sword rest from punishment, but all to no purpose, till the flood of sedition waxed violent, and the nobles of the kingdom by degrees grew<sup>5</sup> feebler, at length disease overcame him, and the Sultān was freed from his people and the people from their Sultān.

*Verse.*

Of all the people of the world, although most of them  
Are gone astray, and few of them are in the right path,  
Do thou so live that when thou diest thou mayest escape  
(punishment),  
Not so that when thou diest the people may escape (thy  
tyranny).

239.

They relate an extraordinary story of one of the irregular acts of the Sultān which was that he kept such strict watch over all matters involving punishment, that he used to keep four Muftis<sup>6</sup> to whom he allotted quarters in the precincts of his own palace, and used to see that they kept to their appointed places,<sup>7</sup> so that when anyone who was arrested upon any charge, he might in the first place argue with the Muftis about his due punishment, so far as he was

<sup>1</sup> Whether we read مُتَحْرِفَةٌ or مُتَحْرِفَةٍ this word is used in a very unusual sense. Its proper meaning is a tax levied upon artisans, but here it must mean the (أَهْلَ حَرْفٍ) artisans themselves.

<sup>2</sup> This again is not correctly used. It must be read مُزَارِعٍ but should be plural.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) وَذَهَبَ خَلْقٌ إِذْ فَتَنَاهُ

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) مَسْكُونَةٌ

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) خَلَعُسٌ يَافَتْ (أَهْلَ حَرْفٍ).

<sup>6</sup> مُفْتِنٍ Mufti. The officer who assists the Qāfi or judge by supplying him with *fatwas* or decisions.

<sup>7</sup> We should read here جَاءَ دَادَةً دَرِّ مَبَازِلِ مَعِينٍ نَّجَّا دَائِشَةً بَوْدَ MS. (A).

able,<sup>1</sup> and had said, Be very careful that you do not fail in the slightest degree by defect in speaking that which you consider right, because if any one should be put to death wrongfully and the oversight should have been on your side, the blood of that man will be upon your head. Then is after long discussion they convicted (the prisoner), even though it were midnight,<sup>2</sup> he would pass orders for his execution,<sup>3</sup> and if he himself found for conviction<sup>4</sup> he would refer it to another meeting, and would endeavour to find a means of upsetting their arguments,<sup>5</sup> and would come and make a speech, and when the Muftis were at a loss for a further argument, he would put (the prisoner) to death on the instant or else release him on the spot.

They say<sup>6</sup> that one day Sultān<sup>7</sup> Muhammad wearing his shoes went on foot into the Court of Justice<sup>8</sup> of Qāzī Kamālu-d-Din Ṣadr-i-Jahān and said, The Shaikhzāda-i-Jāwī has called me a tyrant, send for him that he may substantiate his charge of tyranny against me, or, if he fails, that you may pronounce<sup>9</sup> against him the sentence of such punishment according to law as the case may require. When the Shaikhzāda was summoned he confessed (to having said it) and the Sultān enquired (what his grounds were). He replied, every one whom you punish (with death) lawfully or unlawfully, that is your prerogative, but that you should hand over his wife 240. and children to the executioners as you do, to do what they will with them, in what religion and under what sacred law do you find this? The Sultān was silent and rose up from the Court,<sup>10</sup> and ordered that the Shaikhzāda should be bound; this order was carried out and he was put into an iron cage; then he had him carried in that very way on the journey to Daulatābād on the back of an elephant. When he returned and arrived at Dihli, he brought him before the same Court,<sup>11</sup> and bringing him out of the cage gave orders in obedience to which the poor wretch was cut in two in his presence. From this it is clear that the Sultān was a mixture of opposites, and<sup>12</sup> for this reason his name has been handed

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) حسب مقدور.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) مبدوہ.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) omits آن متهم.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) يافت و اگر خود الزام می.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) اندیشید و می.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) حکایت.

<sup>8</sup> MS. (A) omits محمد.

<sup>7</sup> MS. (A) مسکم& قضا.

<sup>9</sup> MS. (A) نمائید.

<sup>10</sup> MS. (A) قاضی.

<sup>11</sup> MS. (A) omits قضا.

<sup>12</sup> MS. (A) و.

down in tradition, aye and even in some books also as "the Bloody" not as "the Just." There are many stories bearing upon this which I have heard, but to write or speak of them would lead me too far afield. So "Take example from it so that are endowed with sight"<sup>1</sup> In short<sup>2</sup> after great havoc had been wrought in the affairs of the state by the excessive tyranny and oppression of the Sultān, which he however regarded as the essence of justice, and great breaches had been which the wise and learned were powerless to repair,<sup>3</sup> by reason of his various tools and his evil designs, the disease of Phthisis<sup>4</sup> found its way to his constitution; notwithstanding this he set himself to follow up Taghi, and in the

<sup>1</sup> Qur'an, LIX 2      <sup>2</sup> MS (A) ماحزه مع الماء <sup>3</sup> MS (A)

<sup>4</sup> دی بیماری This name was given to any kind of hectic fever, most usually that arising from phthisical disease of the lung. The following definition is from the *Bahrul Ja'uzah*

حمى دق هي ان ينشبت الحرارة الحارقة عن الطبع بالامفأاد او صلبة خصوصا  
القلب تقيي رطوبات البدن واقيل هي حرارة عريضة تحدث للبدن بواسطه حدو  
تها في اعماقه .

The fever called "Diqq" is when the heat which arises from the constitution seizes upon the chief essential organs, especially the heart, and the moisture of the body disappears. Another opinion is that this is an extraneous fever which attacks the body by means of its generation in some of its members.

The Burhan-i-Qut states that it is called دق because it emaciates the body.

Sadidi's account is as follows حمى الدق is usually fatal, . . . It is either simple or complicated with putrid fever. The signs of this complication are persistence of the fever, with an exacerbation on the day of the paroxysm of the putrid fever, shivering is also present. The worst complication of all is (he says) when "diqq" is complicated with one of the fevers which require treatment by purges, because the treatment of "diqq" is the opposite to this.

The pulse in uncomplicated "diqq" is hard, frequent, and slender. The surface of the body is not very hot at the first feel, but after a few moments it feels scorching, hottest of all over the arteries, the heat increases especially in the face and upper parts of the body.

Food should be nourishing Some unskillful physicians withhold food and kill the patient speedily. Food should be moist and cooling. If the fever passes on to the degree called دخل gabl the pulse increases in hardness and tenuity, the eyes change and become covered with sordes, the cartilages of all the bones are prominent, the temples sink in, the skin of the forehead tightens, the skin loses its lustre, and has a dusty appearance; the eyelids become heavy, all this is the result of rapid dissolution, and the abundance of dryness and disappearance of the natural moisture. There

hope of exterminating him set out for the kingdom of Thatha where<sup>1</sup> Taghi had fled for safety; and<sup>2</sup> in that expedition Qarghan Nāib of the king of Khurāsān sent Altūn Bahādur with five thousand cavalry to assist the Sultān. The Sultān's illness was at that time slightly less urgent<sup>3</sup> and when he arrived at Thatha he fasted on the day of the 'Āshūra,<sup>4</sup> which was in the very middle of the hot season, and after breaking his fast he ate some fish, whereupon his illness returned, and on the twenty-first of Muḥarram in the year 752 H. (1351 A.D.) he took his way to the next world,<sup>5</sup> the duration of his reign having been twenty-seven years.

also appears in the urinary excretion, oiliness and a scaly deposit; the nose becomes sharp, the hair grows long, and lice are of frequent occurrence on the body because of the excessive amount of exhalation. The abdomen falls in till it touches the backbone, the skin of the chest is also retracted, and the nails become long (الظفار بذلة) then the diarrhoea recurs, the hair falls out and death occurs.

It will be observed that there is no mention here of any of the lung symptoms of Phthisis, all that we have described is a continued fever of remittent type running a moderately long course as is shewn by the symptoms described. No mention is made of any eruption, nor is diarrhoea apparently more than an intercurrent symptom appearing late in the disease.

This was probably one of the fevers so common in India for which for want of a better name "typho-malarial" has been suggested.

Probably the complication of "diqq" with "putrid fever" of which Sadīdī speaks was more comparable to the "enteric fever" of modern science. Sadīdī speaks elsewhere of three degrees of severity of this fever. The first is called "diqq" the second more severe is called zabūl and the most severe of all is called "hashf."

I have only been able to epitomise Sadīdī's account which will be found at pages 427-428 of his work. (*Al Mughnī fi Sharḥ il Mūjaz*).

اندک روی بست نباده بود (بے اپنے) ۱ MS. (A). ۲ MS. (A) ۳ MS. (A)

<sup>4</sup> "The 'Āshūra," is a voluntary fast day observed on the tenth of the month of Muḥarram. It is the only day of Muḥarram observed by the Sunni Muslims, being the day on which it is said God created Adam and Eve heaven and hell, the tablet of decree, the pen, life and death. It is kept by the Sunnis as a fast." (Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, 25).

<sup>5</sup> On the banks of the Indus at fourteen *kos* from Thatha according to Barnī (Elliott, III. 265), but Badāoni states he had arrived at Thatha. Barnī states that he was taken ill thirty *kos* from Thatha where he had arrived on the 'ashurā, thence he was carried ill as he was "for the second and third day until he came to within fourteen *kos* of Thatha." There he remained according to Barnī gradually growing worse and died on the 21st of Muḥarram.

When the Empire of justice arose with ease, like the sun.

The land of Hindustān came under his sway like that of 241

Kharāsūn;

A fortress like that of the Haft Khwān<sup>1</sup> he built of Haft Jāsh<sup>2</sup> which in loftiness

Would need the Naṣr-i-Ṭāfir<sup>3</sup> to fly to its pinnacle inaccessible as Harūmān.<sup>4</sup>

So strong that it registered a vow to last till the Resurrection-day, but by reason of the vicissitudes of time, it became destroyed in many places like the web of a spider.

You will find nothing upon the top of its walls but the voice of the owl.

In its topmost garden you will see nothing by the ill-omened raven.

It besets the duration and pride of Empire that its condition should become in accordance with the words "God most High is far above all that the tyrants of men say of Him."<sup>5</sup>

And among the celebrated poets of the time of Sultān Muhammād is Badar Shāhī<sup>6</sup> who wrote a Shāhnāma in his honour, of some thousand verses<sup>7</sup> and for the very reason that it is a history in poetry it is a valuable acquisition.

SULTĀN FIRŪZ SHĀH INN MALIK RAJĀN

Who was the brother's son of Sultān Ghīyāṣ-d-Dīn Tughlaq and uncle's son of Sultān Muhammād 'Ādil, in accordance with the

**۱ هفت خوارن** Haft Khwān. The capture of the Brazen fortress of Daz was the final stage of the seven great labours of Isfandīyār known by the name of the Haft-Khwān. See Shāh Nūmsh (Atkinson), pp. 407 to 426, also Burhān-i-Qātī' s. v.

**۲ هفت جوش** Haft Jāsh. These are seven metals which are melted together to form an alloy of special value; the seven are, iron, zinc (antimony, Steinzass) lead, gold, tin, copper, and silver. Burhān-i-Qātī'. According to the Ghidāq-i-Lughāt, it also contains quicksilver and brass.

**۳ نسر طاير** Naṣr-i-Ṭāfir. The constellation called also بَلْقَس 'Uqāb. The Eagle.

**۴ هرعمان** Harūmān, a fortress on the frontier of Egypt. Burhān-i-Qātī'.

**۵** Cf. Qur'ān XXVII, 64.

**۶** See page 295, note 6.

**۷** This looks as though we should read قریب ببست هزار بیت nearly twenty thousand verses. Both MSS. however read the same as the printed text which is here followed though it is an uncommon construction.

authority appointing him the heir-apparent of Sultān Muhammad ascended the throne of sovereignty and state, by the consent of the chiefs of the Shaikhs and the leading Amīrs and Vazirs in the aforesaid year, in the vicinity of Thatha. It is said that the Makhdūmzāda-i-Abbāsi of Baghdād, and Shaikh Naṣīru-d-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī *may God sanctify their sacred resting places* were<sup>1</sup> the cause of the allegiance thus sworn to Sultān Firoz, and it is currently reported that [Makhdūm Shaikh Naṣīru-d-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī *may God sanctify his resting place*]<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> had secretly made Malik Firoz King during the absence of Sultān Muhammad. Some of the Muftīs informed the Sultān of this, and his orders were that those two, master and disciple<sup>3</sup> were to be taken in confinement from Dihlī and brought to the camp. This was carried out,<sup>4</sup> and Malik Firoz in some way or other gained over the guards, and made his way, just as he was, to the neighbourhood of Hānsī to Shaikh Badru-d-Dīn who was one of the descendants of Shaikh Jamālu-d-Dīn of Hānsī<sup>5</sup> *may God sanctify their resting-places*. That holy man exclaimed “Great God! a man has been made prisoner and taken off to be Sultān, and he wots not of it”! When they arrived<sup>6</sup> at the camp of the Sultān in the vicinity of Thatha and the tidings of the arrival of these two holy men reached him<sup>7</sup> he gave orders that they were to be put to death the instant of their arrival, and with that he lapsed into a state of intoxication. A son of his had gone on a hunting expedition, accordingly when the guards saw<sup>8</sup> this state of affairs, they liberated the holy Shaikh and the Sultān;<sup>9</sup> then Sultān Firoz by the consent of the nobles raised the banner of sovereignty and got the Sultān’s son out of the way by some crafty scheme, and

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) reads بیعت بودند for بیعت نمودند (Text).

<sup>2</sup> The words between square brackets are omitted from MS. (A).

<sup>3</sup> The reading here is uncertain. The printed text has پیر و میرد را while MS. (A) has میرد و مراد را. The latter has the more genuine ring though it is an uncommon expression.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A). بیاورند (Text).

<sup>5</sup> که یکی از اولاد شیخ جمال الدین هانسوي قدس الله سرهما بود.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A). خبر این دو عزیز باو رسیده (A).

<sup>7</sup> MS. (A). دیده اند.

<sup>8</sup> MS. (A).

<sup>9</sup> MS. (A). گذاشته اند. By Sultān Firoz Shāh must be here meant.

after that<sup>1</sup> he had returned to Dihli he made tho pargana of Chaurasi in the district of Hānsi a present to tho monastery and rest house of Shaikh Badru-d Din, whom I have mentioned. This is what I have heard—God alone knows the real truth. They also say that Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughlaq Shah took the reverend Shaikh under his protection, till one day the Shaikh, may God sanctify his resting place, tied a knot upon one of the Sultan's robes and said " Nasira d-Din fastens and God opens" and that very day the Sultan died.

Verses

The only kingdom which sorrows not for the affliction of its decline.

Hear my words freely spoken, is the kingdom of the durvesh 243

However this may be, the Sultān Firoz at the outset of his reign issued this order that the Mughals who had obtained influence over the soldiery should be brought apart from the camp, and inasmuch as their mutinous conduct had passed all bounds, the Sultān himself saw to their safe custody, and punishing those Mughuls effectually put a stop to their interfering with the discipline of the army.

### *Verse*

Far better than giving a Mughul a hint to plunder  
Is it that you should rejoice him with a sight of Paradise

Then he brought his army in safety into security, and proceeding by way of Sivistan made for Dihli by continuous marches, and Ahmad Aiyaz, styled *Khuaja-i-Jahān*, who in the absence<sup>2</sup> of the Sultan had urged the claims of an obscure child<sup>3</sup> to the

مدد ازانگہ

دو عینت (A) MS 2

<sup>8</sup> Shams-i-Siraj 'Afif gives the "true account of this transaction just as he heard it from Kishwar Khin, son of Kishlu Khan Bahram, one of the servants at the Court".

He asserts the Khwaja i Jahan who was on terms of great intimacy with Firoz Shah received false tidings that Tatar Khan and the Amur Hajib Firoz Shah were missing and either dead or prisoners. After the days of mourning were completed, the Khwaja, believing this report to be correct, placed a son of Sultan Muhammed Shah upon the throne and thus through adverse fate committed a blunder" Elliott III 279-280

throne, and had given him the title of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, appointing himself Vakīl, after considerable argument,<sup>1</sup> and much correspondence, by reason of his helplessness and dejection, by the mediation of Ashraful-Mulk and the other nobles and grandees, came with bared head, casting his turban on his neck, to the neighbourhood of Hānsī, and had an interview with the Sultān, who washed out the writing of his fault with the water of forgiveness, and made him over to the Kotwāl of Hānsī, and as for the party who had been his companions in this faction and opposition, he dispersed them all in different directions. At Sarsutī tidings arrived of the birth of Shāhzāda Fath Khān,<sup>2</sup> whose son eventually became Tughlaq Shāh, and the news of the death<sup>3</sup> of Taghi Tāghī also reached him there from Gujrāt; and on the second of Rajab in the aforesaid year, he graced the throne of Dihlī by his accession and made a fresh distribution of appointments.

4. And in the year 753 H. (1352 A.D.) he went to the Sirmūr hills for the purpose of relaxation and sport, and returned thence, and in the month of Rajab of this year Shāhzāda Muḥammad Khān, who eventually obtained the title of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh, was born.

And in the year 754 H. (1353 A.D.) he returned from Kalānor whither he had gone on a hunting expedition, and built a lofty building on the banks of the river Sarsutī and [gave it to Shaikh Ṣadru-d-Dīn Multānī, may God sanctify his resting place, the Shaikhū-l-Islām] and Malik Qubūl<sup>4</sup> Nāib Vazīr he made Khān-i-Jahān,<sup>5</sup> and at the close of this year he went to Lakhnautī with the intention of putting down the rebellion of Hājī Ilyās who had assumed the title of Shamsu-d-Dīn. He accordingly took refuge in the fort of Ikdāla,<sup>6</sup> which is the strongest of the forts

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Elliott, III. 285.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) میسرش آخر تغلق شاہ بود. Sirāj 'Afīf tells us that he founded a town here and called it Fathābād in honour of this event. Elliott, III. 283.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) قتل طغی.

<sup>4</sup> See note 6, page 254.

<sup>5</sup> In MS. (A) this sentence precedes the one in square brackets.

<sup>6</sup> Ikdāla. Regarding this fortress, see J. A. S. B., 1874, p. 244. See Elliott, III. 294. It was afterwards called Azādpur by Firoz Shāh. (Elliott, III. 297).

of Bangala, and after a desultory<sup>1</sup> defence fought for a very short time, and threw his elephants and his material of war, with his servants and retainers to the winds, and all of them fell into the hands of the Sultān who, having made peace with him because of the rainy season,<sup>2</sup> retraced his steps.

And in the year 755 H (1354 A D ) having crossed by the ford of Manukpur he arrived at Dihli and built Firozabad<sup>3</sup> on the banks of the Jamna. And in the year 756 H (1355 A D ) he

<sup>1</sup> This appears to be the meaning MS (A) omits سلطنت and has دہشت also Thomas Pathan Kings, p 294 and note

<sup>2</sup> سکال bushkal is M Pavet de Courteilles Turk Dictionary this word is given علی پوشش کال pughkal or پوشکال pughkal Season des pluies He gives three instances of its use from the Bibernamah

<sup>3</sup> Firozbad. This must not be confounded with the Firozabad which arose from the change of name of Panduah, see Elliott, III 295, and Panduah, Imp Gaz Vol XI

This Firozabad (see J. A. S. B., 1870) was situated five leagues (ten miles) from Dihli, and included according to Shams-i-Siraj 'Afif eighteen places, the qasba (townships) of Indarpat and others a list of which will be found in Elliott, III 303. At page 298 will also be found an account of the founding of the city of Hisar (Hisar Firozah) and of the construction of two canals leading to it one from the Sutlej and the other from the Jamna. The modern representation of the latter canal which was called Rajiwa is found in the Western Jamna Canal passing through Karnal (see Hunter's Imp Gaz., Vol VII 258 for an account of this canal). The canal leading from the Sutlej was called Ulagh Khāni (Ulugh Khāni) in modern maps there is a trace of this canal but it is called the Jureh canal which is probably the word Rajiwa converted and applied in error to this canal. Rennell's map (Tieff Vol III) shews the supposed canal of Firoz Slab, and it is evident from our author's statement that this canal was commenced not from the Hisar end but from Dipalpur which lay at the junction of the Bias and Sutlej on the banks of the Bias and passed south east near Fatehabad if not actually through it to join the river Jahjar, which in Rennell's map is called the Jidjer its nearest point measured from Dipalpur being exactly 100 miles (forty eight Kroh) on this map, whereas the town of Jahjar Lat 28° 16' N Long 77° 42' 15" E is 200 miles (Hunter's Imp Gaz., Vol VII 195) (The river Jahjar flowed south-east through Fatehpur joining the Jamna near Etawah). For this reason it appears likely that the canal was led not to Jahjar but into the river Jahjar as above stated (See Bo Firishta Text I 263).

Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif makes no mention of Dipalpur in connection with any canal and there is one difficulty in his account as he says that both the canals, the Rajiwah and Ulugh Khāni, were conducted through the vicinity of

went to Dipālpūr and bringing a canal from the river Satlaj<sup>1</sup> led it as far as the Jahjar which is forty-eight kroh from there.

In the year 757 A.H. (1356 A.D.) he conducted a stream from the river Jamna from the vicinity of Mandūī (Mandili) and 245. Sarūr,<sup>2</sup> and having led seven other canals into it took it to Hānsī

Karnāl. If this was so the "supposed canal of Firoz Shāh" in Rennell's map cannot be the Ulugli Khāni. His words are as follows:—

دھانگ اين هردو جوي از اتصال کرنال بیرون آورده میدان هشتاد کروہ کروہ  
در شہر حصار فیروزہ بردہ -

*Dahāna-i ī har do jū az ittisāl i karnāl bīrūn āwarda mīyān i haṣhtād kroh kroh dar shahr i Hisār Firūza burda.*

It is not to be supposed that Firoz Shāh would take his canal from Dipālpūr to Karnāl when his objective was Hissār; we have also Badāoni's clear statement that a canal was brought from the Sutlej and led as far as the Jahjar, this canal would coincide with the line of that shown in Rennell's map, but not with that of Shams-i-Sirāj.

The canal mentioned in the next paragraph is evidently the one to which Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif refers (Elliott, III. 299-300), although it is not very evident what the exact course of this canal was: I can find no trace of any places named Maudūī (Mandili) or Surūr anywhere in the maps, while Rās mentioned here by Badāoni must be what 'Afif calls Great Larās, as he states that it was in the neighbourhood of Great Larās that Sultān Firoz built the city of Hisār Firoza. (Elliott, p. 299). Rennell (memoir p. 72, quoting from Dow I. 327 has Beraisen, which is a mistaken reading of bi Rāsai in the original, that is to say the two Rāses, Great Larās and Little Larās.

It would seem that there were in all three canals to Hisār Firoza, one from Dipālpūr to Hissār and on to the Jajhar, this was brought from the Sutlej. A second from the Jumna as far as Karnāl (Rajiwah). A third from the Sutlej as far as Karnāl (Ulugli Khāni). At Karnāl according to 'Afif's account these two last joined. The only way this can have been possible is by the courses of the Sutlej and Jumna being very different from their present courses or even from the beds of these rivers in 1782 when Rennell made his map.

By bringing the Sutlej further south-east near to the course of the Ghaggar say near to Thanesar, we should have a point from which we can understand that it would have been advantageous to bring water from both the Sutlej and Jumna viā Karnāl.

See Journal, Asiatic Society Bengal, 1833, p. 105 and 1840, p. 688.

See also Thomas' Pathān Kings, 294 and notes.

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) ستلہ.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot identify these places. Firishta (Bo. Text I. 262) says Maudawī and Sirmūr, MS. (A) reads Mandili and Sardar.

and thence to Rās<sup>1</sup> where he built a fortress which he called Hisar Firoza, and dug<sup>2</sup> a spacious reservoir beneath the palace which was in that fortress, and filled it with water from the canal, he also led another stream from the canal of the Ghaghara underneath the fortress of Sarsuti, and from thence to Birni Khera,<sup>3</sup> and in the space between them he built a fortress<sup>4</sup> and named it Firozābad<sup>5</sup>. At the end of this year on the occasion of the 'Idū z Zahār a robe of honour arrived for the Sultān from the Khalifah Al-Hakim b. amrillāhī Ahūl Fath Abū Bakr ibn Āhil Rahī<sup>6</sup> Suleimān<sup>7</sup> from the Darul Khilafat of Egypt, with a patent conferring upon him the whole of Hindustān and<sup>8</sup> in this same year messengers from Hāji Ilyas the ruler of Lakhnāti, having arrived bearing splendid presents and offerings, were distinguished with countless favours and kindnesses, after which they returned, and it was ordered that in return for these presents (handsome) elephants<sup>9</sup> should be sent. The whole of Hindustān was now in possession of Sultan Firoz with the exception of Lakhnāti which was held by Hāji Ilyas,<sup>10</sup> who had come to terms with the Sultan,<sup>11</sup> and with the exception also of the Deccan, which, after the death of Sultan Muhammad, had come into the possession of Hasau Kangu.

<sup>1</sup> See page 326 continuation of page 325, note 3 Briggs Firishta calls it Raisen I should be Rassim, the two Rases, i.e. Great Larās and Little Larās, Elliott, III 298

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) کاٹتے

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) the text reads هری کھرا Sarsuti is shown in Rennell's map (Tieff III) as lying southeast of Karnal Birni Khera I cannot trace Firishta Bo Text I p 263 reads نہر سر کھترہ ta nahr + Sarkhatra Compare Rennell's memoir, pp 72 73

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) بنا فرموده

<sup>5</sup> قدریز آباد نام کرد At the village of Gawin on the banks of the Jumna, Elliott, III 302

<sup>6</sup> According to the list of Egyptian Khalifahs given in Thomas' *Pathan Kings of Delhi* the Khalifah in 757 A H was Abul Fath Al Mu'tazibillāhī Abū Bakr ibn al Mustakfi billāhī He was the sixth of the Egyptian Khalifahs Al Mustakfi billāhī Abul Rabi' Suleimān ibn ul Hakim bi amrillāhī was the third of this line

<sup>7</sup> MS (A) adds و

<sup>8</sup> MS (A) omits خوب

<sup>9</sup> MS (A) reads حاتی ایاس داشت

<sup>10</sup> MS (A) مصالحہ کرد

- And in the year 759 H. (1358 A.D.) having gone to Samān, he appointed Malik Qahūl *Sarbandalār*<sup>1</sup> to proceed against<sup>2</sup> the Mughuls who had arrived on the frontier of Dīpālpur. The Mughuls upon hearing particulars of the Sultān's army turned back  
**246.** and went to their own country, and the Sultān returned to Dihli;<sup>3</sup> and in this year the Sultān despatched some Arabian horses and foreign fruits<sup>4</sup> with all kinds of choice presents by the hands of the messengers of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn of Lakhnati who had arrived at his Court bearing many presents,<sup>5</sup> and at Bihār they heard that the Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn had died, and Sultān Sikandar his son had ascended the throne in the room of his father, so they sent the horses in accordance with orders to the Court at Bihār and conducted the messengers back to Kāja.  
 .<sup>6</sup> And in the year 760 H., the Sultān having formed the design of attacking Lakhnati with a vast army, left Khūn-i-Jahān in Dehli, and after depnting Tātār Khān, that is to say Malik Tātār, to proceed from Ghaznī to Multān, set out and passed the rainy season in Zafarābād, and at this place, A'zam Malik Shukhzāda-i-Bustānī<sup>7</sup> who had become intimate during his absence with Malik Ahmad Aiyāz, and by the orders of the Sultān had been banished, brought from the Dārnī Khilāfat of Egypt a robe of honour for the Sultān and received the title of A'zam Khān. Saiyyid Rusūldār was sent with the messengers of Lakhnati<sup>8</sup> to the Sultān Sikandar at Lakhnati, and Sikandar despatched five fine elephants with other costly presents and offerings to the Court. The Sultān when the rains were over leaving Zafarābād shaped his course for Lakhnati, and while on the way set apart the requirements of kingship, and elephants and a store of rubies which at that time were held in great estimation, for the Shābzāda Fātī Khān, they  
**247.** also struck coins in his name. When they arrived at the confines

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) Siraj 'Afīf calls him Torābānd. Elliott, III. 311.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) برسو مل

<sup>8</sup> MS. (A) مراجعت نمود

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) صیوۃ

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) اعده

<sup>6</sup> The events preceding this are related by 'Afīf, showing how friendship was established between Sultān Fīroz and Sultān Sikandar. Būdāoni's account gives no idea of the circumstances. (See Elliott, III. 305-312.)

<sup>7</sup> MS. (A) omits &5.

<sup>8</sup> A footnote to the text states that in two MSS. the words يانقة بود follow the word لکھنوتی.

of Pandūh, Sultān Sikandar shut himself up in the castle of Ikdala<sup>1</sup> whither his father had been in the habit of going for refuge, and after the Sultan had laid siege to that fortress Sultan Sikandar asked for quarter, and sent thirty-seven elephants with other costly presents as his humble service.

And in the year 761 H (1359 60 A D) the Sultan proceeded by continuous marches by way of Pandūh<sup>2</sup> to Jannpur where he spent the rains, and at the close of this year he marched with a lightly equipped force<sup>3</sup> by way of Behār towards Jājnagar, and sent his elephants and baggage to Kārṇa, and by uninterrupted marches arrived at Satgāṛh<sup>4</sup> the Rāī of which place<sup>5</sup> withdrew, and thence he came to Baranasi<sup>6</sup> which was the abode of the Chief Rāī, and crossed the river Mahandūrī,<sup>7</sup> and the Rāī of Baranasi having taken to flight made with all haste for Tilang. The Sultan pursued him part of the way turned back to hunt,<sup>8</sup> and arrived at the country of Rāī Parihān Dov<sup>9</sup> who sent a present of thirty-two<sup>10</sup> elephants and other costly offerings. From thence the Sultan coming to Padmavati and Param Falū<sup>11</sup> which was the haunt of elephants of enormous size, engaged in hunting them and killed two [and they took the other three alive]<sup>12</sup> and Malik Ziaū l-Mulk<sup>13</sup> wrote a quatrain upon this

<sup>1</sup> See 'Afif's account of this (Elliott III 309) Siraj 'Afif calls this place 'the islands of Ikdala see note 6 page 321

<sup>2</sup> 'Afif says by way of ' Qinaq and Oadh"—Jannpur was so called by Sultan Firoz Shah after Sultan Muhammed Shah son of Tuglaq Shah, whose name was Jaanān, so he called the place Jannān pur. He stayed there six months during which period the city was built on the banks of the Kowali (Gumti).

<sup>3</sup> 'Afif says حضرت شاہ نے کچھ دو کچھ دو ملت the Shah left his heavy baggage in Kārṇa Text p 163 (Calc Edu Bibl Ind) see Elliott, III 312, note 2

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) سکھریں

<sup>5</sup> Named Adeesar ( Afif) or Rao Sidhan (Firishta)

<sup>6</sup> 'Afif says Banaras: the ancient residence of the independent Rais of Jājnagar

<sup>7</sup> MS (A) مہندوری

<sup>8</sup> 'Afif tells us (Text pp 166 67) that the Sultan turned aside from the pursuit to hunt some wild elephants (see Elliott III 312 313)

<sup>9</sup> The Raja of Beerbhoom (Briggs Firishta)

<sup>10</sup> MS (A) reads & three

<sup>11</sup> MS (A)

<sup>12</sup> Not in MS (A)

<sup>13</sup> MS (A) صیاد الدین

## Verse.

The Shāh who of right<sup>1</sup> assumed a lasting kingdom  
Seized the ends of the earth like the glorious Sun  
To hunt elephants he came to Jājnagar,  
Two he killed and thirty-three<sup>2</sup> he took alive.

And thence by way of Karra he returned with all possible haste.<sup>3</sup>

**248.** And in the year 762 H. (1360-61 A.D.) victorious and triumphant he came to Dehli, and after a short time he gave orders for an expedition to the river Salīma,<sup>4</sup> which is a river issuing from a large mound of sand and falling into the river Sutlej which they also call Satlaz.<sup>5</sup> The Salīma is also called the Sarsuti,<sup>6</sup> and this river consists of two large streams which are always flowing, and situated between these two streams there is a high mound or dyke, and if this were dug through the water of the Sarsuti would flow into this stream, and it flows through Sihrind and Mansūrpūr and Sāmāna.<sup>7</sup>

The Sultān gave orders for fifty thousand men with spades to be collected and to occupy themselves in digging through that barrier. Out of it they obtained many bones of elephants and human beings. Every bone belonging to the arm of a man was three *gaz*<sup>8</sup> (in length). They were partly converted into

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) بحق.

<sup>2</sup> There is a footnote in the text which says that "in one MS. this same number occurs and it is probably correct," but on the other hand there is 'Afif's statement that there were only eight elephants, seven males and one female to begin with (Text, p. 167.) However 'Afif, Text 172, says he took with him 73 elephants alive.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) بسوت تمام.

نهر سلیمان نام.

ستله.

<sup>4</sup> Compare with this Firishta's account, with which Badāoni's is almost identical. *Firishta*, Bomb. Edn. p. 265.

<sup>5</sup> Firishta says ملیع see Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* XII. 261, for the Sarsuti or Saraswati. See also J. R. A. S. Jan. 1893, pp. 49-76. The Salīma seems to answer in position to the Markanda which runs near Shāhabād S. of Ambālā.

<sup>6</sup> *Gaz.* See *Aīn Akbari* (Jarrett), II. 58 *et seq.* Throughout Hindustān there were three kinds of *gaz*—long, middling and short. Each was divided into 24 equal parts each of which was called *fassūj*.

Presumably it is the short *gaz* which is here meant but even this would be about 26 inches, and taking the author's meaning to be the bones of the forearm, an ulna measuring 26 inches is hardly likely to have been human.

stone and had partly remained bone just as they were. That stream however could not be diverted,<sup>1</sup> and<sup>2</sup> in the meantime he made Sihhind and for ten Akhs beyond into one district, which he put under the control of Ziun Mulk Shamsu d Din Abu Rija, and ordered them to build a fort there and called it Firuzpur which is in fact Sihhind,<sup>3</sup> and the Sultan from thence, went to Nagarkot whose Rūja after a siego and some fighting came in and submitted and met with royal treatment.<sup>4</sup> The Sultan gave to Nagarkot the name of Mahmardabad after the deceased Sultan Muhammad, and when they brought the Sultan ice on that mountain fort he said,<sup>5</sup> "when Sultan Muhammad who is now dead and whom I regarded as a god, arrived in this place they brought him a sharbat mixed with ice, but he had<sup>6</sup> no inclination for that bovrage because I was not with him." Accordingly they made an iced sharbat with several elephant and camel loads of cane sugar which was carried with Sultan Firuz, and he ordered them to read the whole of the Qur'ān for the soul of Sultan Muhammad and distribute the sharbat among the entire army. Under these circumstances they informed the Sultan<sup>7</sup> that from the time when Sultan Sikandar Zul Qarnain arrived at this place the people of that city have preserved an image of Noshoba<sup>8</sup> and keep it in a room, where they worship it. There are one thousand three hundred books of the Brahmins of olden time in that idol temple which is commonly known as Jalamukhi,<sup>9</sup> a flame of fire rises from it towards heaven and is not to be extinguished, No, not by thousands of mashks<sup>10</sup> of water. The Sultan having sum

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<sup>1</sup> I take this to be the meaning. The Persian is آب دری کندخ شد

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) inserts و

<sup>3</sup> See *Imp. Gaz.* (Sihhind) XII 532, and *Kēngra* VII 411

<sup>4</sup> See Elliott III 318 319

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) 85

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) اراب

<sup>7</sup> MS (A) adds the word پسک

<sup>8</sup> Firuzta's words are میرت بوشاد و مساجد

<sup>9</sup> Firuzta say Jalamukhi حلا مکوی

<sup>10</sup> MS مشک The goatskin bag for carrying water

Briggs in his translation adds the words 'the wife of Alexander the Great' but upon what authority does not appear. The wives of Alexander were Roxana the daughter of Oxyartes whom he married in 327 B C and

moved the Brahmins, ordered some of his translators to translate some of those books<sup>1</sup> into Persian. Among those translators Izzu-d-Din Khālid Khānī,<sup>2</sup> who was one of the poets and *mūshkis* of the time of Firūz wrote in verse a translation of a book on the risings and settings of the seven planets, and their good and evil import, and of auguries and omens. Its name is called up to the present day<sup>3</sup> *Dalā'il-i-Firūzī*, and the author of this *Muntakhab* read it in Lāhor in the year 1000 H. (1591-92 A.D.) from beginning to end. It is moderately good, neither free from beauties nor defects; and I saw some other books before that also which were translated in the name of Sultān Firūz, some of them on the Science of "Pingal"<sup>4</sup> that is to say on Music, and the kinds of *Akhāra*<sup>5</sup> which they call *Pātur bāzi*, and some on other subjects. I found most of them to be profitless, and their paucity of interest is for the most part due to the triviality of their subject matter, and the difficulty of explaining it, as is evident.

The Sultān leaving there proceeded to Thathā, and the Jām,<sup>6</sup> by which title the ruler of Thathā is called, entrenched himself so that the Sultān was induced by the vehemence of the rainy season, and the amount of water which was out, as well as by the dearness of

(2ndly) at Susa, 324 B.C., Barsine or Stateira the eldest daughter of Darius III, while according to some accounts (Arrian) he also took as his wife Parysatis the daughter of Ochus, at Susa, B.C. 325. Arrian is the only author who mentions this last wife. (Smith, D. G. R. Biography).

It نوشہد represents in reality either of the wives of Alexander it must be the first named whose name might have been written نوشہد *Rushāna* and by copyist errors perverted to نوشہنہ *Nūshāba*.

Firūhta's original however gives no countenance to the statement in Briggs' translation.

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) omits بعضی but writes بعض.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) reads خالی Bealo (O. B. D.) calls him Izzu-d-Din Khālid Khānī and mentions him as the author of the *Dalā'il-i-Firoz Shāhī*, probably on the authority of this passage.

<sup>3</sup> MS. A خالی.

<sup>4</sup> So called from Pingala or Pingalanāga, the inventor of the art of prosody. See Albirūnī, India I. 137, also Colebrooke Essays, II. 57.

<sup>5</sup> The Akhārā is an entertainment held at night and consists of singing and dancing by females. See Āīn-i-Akbari (Jarrett), III. 258. The word *Pātur* signifies in Hindī a prostitute or dancing-girl.

<sup>6</sup> 'Afīf tells us that Jām the brother of Rāī Unar, and Bānhbana (بانہبنا) his brother's son wore in possession of Thathā.

grun, to abandon the siege and make with all haste for Gujrāt,<sup>1</sup> which country he placed under the control of Zafar Khān, then having deposed Nizāmu-l Mulk<sup>2</sup> and appointed him Naib Wazir of Dihli, he returned to Thathā, and on this occasion the Jām asking for quarter<sup>3</sup> had an interview with the Saltā, and with all the Zamīndārs accompanied him to Dihli, and from there took his leave after being kindly treated and confirmed on his former footing as ruler of Thathā.<sup>4</sup> In the year 772 H (1370 A.D.) Khān i jabān the Wazir, died, and his son Jūna Shah obtained that title,<sup>5</sup> and the book Chaudabān<sup>6</sup> which is a *Masnavi* in the Hindi language relating the loves of Lutik and Chaudā, a lover and his mistress, a very graphic woi!, was put into verse in his honour by Maulānā Da'ud. There is no need for me to praise it because of its great fame in that country, and Maḥdūm Shuhūr<sup>7</sup> Taqī d Dīn Ya'īz Rabbānī used to read some occasional poems of his from the pulpit,<sup>8</sup> and the people used to be strongly inflaeneed by hearing them, and<sup>9</sup> when certain learned men of that time asked the Shuhūr<sup>10</sup> saying, what is the reason for this Hindi *Masnavi* being selected? he aaswored, the whole of it is divine trath and pleasing in subject, worthy of the ecstatic coatemplation of devout lovers, and conformable to the interpretation of some of the Ayats of the Qur'ān, and the sweet singers of Hindustan. Moreover by its public recitation human hearts are taken captive.

In the year 773 H (1371-72 A.D.) Zafar Khān died and the control of that province was confirmed to his son<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Encountering great difficulties on the march, so much so that for some months the impression in Dihli was that the army had been lost ('Afif Text, p 211)

<sup>2</sup> Amir Husain son of the late Amir Miran (Elliott III 328)

<sup>3</sup> Famine appeared and his troops were starved out (Elliott III 334)

<sup>4</sup> 'Afif says the son of the Jām and Tamachi brother of Bīnbana were appointed to rule over Thathā.

<sup>5</sup> See Elliott III 371

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) reads حدایت *Hadāyat* without dots, and also reads حدايت *Handā*. I have failed to obtain any information regarding this work.

<sup>7</sup> MS (A) omits شیخ

<sup>8</sup> MS (A) در سر مهدوی

<sup>9</sup> MS (A) reads و مردم را از استماع آن حلاط عربجه دری میدادند و

<sup>10</sup> MS (A) پرسیدند این دو

<sup>11</sup> According to Firishta, Zafar Khan died in 775 H and was succeeded by his elder son Darya Khan



Rais and Governors and Commissioners, arrived at the capital summoning Mu'luk al-Shaq Marwan i Danlat, who held the son of Nasrat Khan,<sup>1</sup> from the district of Knissa and Mahobn, pointed him to the Multan district,<sup>2</sup> with a view to close them to Mughul intrigues he then confirmed Karin and<sup>3</sup> Mahob together with all their dependencies upon the son of Mu'luk al-Shaq<sup>4</sup> Saleimān the son of Mu'luk Marwan, whose adopted son was Sayyid Khizr Khān, the grandfather of Sultan 'Alau d Din Badaoni who eventually succeeded to the kingdom of Dihli.

And in the year 782 H (1380 A.D.) he raised the standard for an expedition with the intention of taking vengeance on the Khukhar<sup>5</sup> Chief of Knithni<sup>6</sup>, who had invited and put to death by treachery both Sayyid Muhammad and Sayyid 'Alau d Din his other<sup>7</sup> who were Governors of Badaon. The rebellious Khukhar<sup>8</sup> turned towards the hills of Kninaon, accordingly after laying waste and plundering the whole of his country, he left Malik Khitab the Afghan in the country of Sainbhal<sup>9</sup> to deal with the rebellion of Khukhar, and turned back after having made over Bad ion to Malik Sabul, Qibulpura which at present is a quarter of Badaon lying outside the fort is called after his name, also he used to come every year for the purpose of sport and lay utterly waste the Kaitbar<sup>10</sup> country.

And in the year 787 H he built a fortified town in a place called Babuli<sup>11</sup> which is seven krohs from Badaon and is better

<sup>1</sup> MS (A)

طرف ۲

<sup>2</sup> MS (A)

<sup>4</sup> Firishta calls him ملک شمس الدین سلیمان Malik Shamsu d Din Saleiman

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) reads رای کھوکھر مددم کنڈھر Firishta reads موسوم نکھر کو روایت مددم کنڈھر The chief of Kaitbar called Kharku

<sup>8</sup> Firishta says Sayyid Muhammad governor of Badaon with his brothers Sayyid 'Alau d Din and Sayyid Mahmud

کھارکو ۷

<sup>8</sup> Firishta MS (A) calls him ملک داود افغان Firishta calls him Malik Da ud Afghān

<sup>9</sup> MS (A) کنڈھر Kaitbar Firishta states he had given Malik Daud orders to ravage the country year by year

<sup>10</sup> Possibly from the abundance therof of the *Acacia Arabica* known as Babul or Kilar However Firishta calls it سوسنی Basuli



side<sup>1</sup> the Firūzī Amirs and the mass of the people, in the month of Rajab 789 H (1387 A D ) he started with a strong force to attack Khān-i-Jahān, and having wounded him plundered his house and finally Khān-i-Jahān fled<sup>2</sup> with a few followers towards Miwāt, and took refuge thereto with one Kukūn Zamīndār,<sup>3</sup> and the Shāhzāda destroyed certain of the Amirs who had been well disposed to Khān-i-Jahān. Subsequently to this the Shāhzāda became Vazir with full uncontrolled powers, and the Sultān having given him all the apparatus of royalty, elephants and horses, servants and insignia, and conferring upon him the title of Nāṣirud-Din wa-ud-Dunyā Muhammād Shāh, in the month of Sha'bān of the above mentioned year raised him to the throne, and badeek himself to devotion and worship of the Most High, so that in the Friday Khutbah the names of both Kings used to be mentioned,<sup>4</sup> Sultan Muhammād ordered upon a new scale the appointments and salaries of the Amirs, and confirmed the distribution of districts, and having given Malik Yaqub the title<sup>5</sup> of Sikandar Khān appointed him to attack Khān-i-Jahān in Miwāt; Kukūn Chāhān a Zamīndār of Miwāt<sup>6</sup> bound Khān-i-Jahān and sent him to Sikandar Khān, who put him to death,<sup>7</sup> and having sent his head as a present to the Court of Muhammād Shāh set out<sup>8</sup> for Gujarat.

And in the year 790 H (1388 A D ) Muhammād Shāh arrived on a hunting expedition at the Sirmur hills, and Malik Musarrīh who was in Gujarat, in unison with the Amirs of hundreds put Sikandar Khān to death, and the whole of his army being utterly despoiled

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) مخفی گردیده

<sup>2</sup> Having first put to death Zafar Khān (Firūzī)

<sup>3</sup> Firūzī calls him Kukūn Chāhān

<sup>4</sup> See Thomas' Pathan Kings, pp 297 and 305

<sup>5</sup> The word شاہ must be inserted here though no copy has it

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) omits the words زمیندار میورات

<sup>7</sup> MS (A) دل و سایدہ The first Khan-i-Jahān was according to 'Afīf originally a Hindu He was a native of Telengana and a man of high position in favour with the Rājā of that country His name was Katlu, but on becoming a Muslim he was named Maqbal 'Afīf states that he died in 707 A H and when he died all Dihlī went into mourning This Khan-i-Jahān was his son Junan Khan

<sup>8</sup> MS (A) آئے اور

came with the *Sipahsūlār* to Dihli; Muhammad Shāh, returning from the hill country, with the great carelessness which characterises youth took no thought for avenging Sikandar Khān, but spent his time in enjoyment and luxury, so that the affairs of the kingdom fell into great disorder; and the Sultān's soldiery by reason of their enmity and jealousy against Samān-d-Din and Kamālu-d-Din, who were the *protégés* of Muhammad Shāh, set themselves up in opposition to them, and assembled in a spacious plain, and stoned and wounded Malik Zahiru-d-Din Lāhorī whom the Shāhzūdā had sent to admonish them. He came in that state before Muhammad Shāh and informed him of what had happened, wherenpon the Shāhzāda having collected forces set out to do battle with that party. The army of the Shāhzāda was victorious at first, and bore back the army of the Sultān, so that they took refuge with the Sultān Firūz. The battle raged fiercely for two days and when the Sultān's body servants found themselves in straits, they bore the Sultān, who was little more than a puppet, to the field of battle and displayed him there, and when the troops of Muhammad Shāh and his elephant drivers set eyes upon Sultān Firūz they left fighting and came over to the Sultān. Muhammad Shāh with the small following which remained to him, went towards the Sirmur hills, and the army of the Sultān, which was near a hundred thousand cavalry and infantry, fell upon the camp of Muhammad Shāh, and entering his private apartments sacked them and swept them away. The Sultān at the instigation of some interested persons, unwillingly deposed Muhammad Shāh

255. from his position as heir apparent, and conferring upon Tughlaq Khān<sup>1</sup> the son of Fath Khān, his grandson, the title of Tughlaq Shāh raised him to the position of heir-apparent. Tughlaq Shāh beheaded Mir Hasan the son-in-law of the Sultān, who was a special favourite of Muhammad Shāh, and having exiled Ghālib Khān the governor of Sāmāna, sent him to the country of Bihār. On the sixteenth of Ramazān in the year 790 H. Sultān Firūz attained deliverance from the tortures of existence, and hastened to the world of permanence, and was buried on the borders of the

1 So Firishta. Briggs says here, p. 461, "placed his grandson Gheias-ood-Deen ..... upon the throne." The text is تغلق شاه ولد شاهزاده فتح خان.

Tughlaq Shāh the son of the Shāhzāda Fath Khān. This was Ghālsu-d-Din Tughlaq Shāh II.

*Hanz-i-Khāṣṣ*, over his tomb a lofty dome was erected which is well known. They devised two chronograms for the date of his death: *Wafat-i-Firuz* and *Naql-i-Fuz Shāh*, the second of these is deficient by one unit<sup>1</sup>. The duration of his reign was thirty-eight years and some months<sup>2</sup>.

All good fortune is till death and no longer,  
 In the dust one man is no better than another  
 When a drop is thrown into the water  
 It cannot again be recognized  
 The name of the Heavens is to overthrow,  
 It is of no use to oppose the decree of fate  
 Who knows with the blood of what beasts  
 This stirred up dust has been mixed?  
 Every road, if the wise man is not blinded,  
 Is the hide of the elk, and stagreen from the wild ass<sup>3</sup>

Among the poets of the reign of Fuz Shāh and his boon companions, is Malik Ahmad, the son of Amir Khusrū, may God have mercy upon him, and although there is no famous anthology of his, still there are some imitations of the writings of the earlier poets which are entered in the writings of some of the learned men, and are well-known. Among them is an imitation of this poem of Zahir<sup>4</sup>:

زهی روده زرفعت کلاه گوشة تو  
 کلاه گوشة گردن زروی عباری<sup>5</sup>

Hail! thou whose cap of empire switched in its exaltation the cap of empire of the heaven, by craftiness.

And it is said that in the first hemistich we should read

زهی طباقچه قهر تو از طوق سعاد

Hail to thee! the blow of whose wrath, in thy supreme power

<sup>1</sup> وفات فدروز *Wafat-i-Firuz* These words give the value 790 while *Naql-i-Firuz Shāh* يقل فيدروز شاه give 789

<sup>2</sup> Firuzta says nearly forty years p 271, Bo text

<sup>3</sup> That is to say, it is not really dust but the remains of living animals

<sup>4</sup> Zahir ibn Dīn Tahir ibn Muhammād, a contemporary of Jamāl dīn Isfahānī and Hākim Khaqānī Shīrwanī was a native of Fāryāb

He died in the year 599 H and is buried at Sūrkhab of Tabriz which has been called 'the Sepulchre of the Poets'. His poetry was held in great estimation (*Maj nā'īl Fuzakā I* 330) see also Beale O B D., p 286

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) reads حماری for عباری see also footnote to text.

and in place of گوود (snatched) in the last hemistich we should read فَنْدَه (thrown) ] ;<sup>1</sup> and another is this verse

این سهل سهل بود که گوگرد میرخ خواست  
گو نان خواجه خواستی آن را چه کرد می

This was extremely easy, that he asked for red sulphur :<sup>2</sup>  
If he had asked bread from the *Khwāja*, what could I have done ?

which was thus written,

این سهل سهل بود که آب حیات خواست

This would have been very easy had he asked for the water of life.

Another is in this verse,

گومشک خواند خاک درت را فلک منزج  
نرخ گمر بطن خریدار نشکنند

If the sky calls the dust of your door musk, do not grieve,  
For the jewel's worth is not affected by the abuse of the purchaser.

The poet had written,

گر لعل خواند سنک درت مشتری منزج

If Jupiter calls the gravel at your door rubies, do not grieve.

And some of his poems also I have seen, but I remember none of them, and since Malik Ahmad was the real son of Amir *Khusrū*, and reminded them of his father, the King and his companions and the learned men of the age were greatly pleased with these imitations and thought them very valuable.

1 The portion between brackets is not found in MS. (A).

The verse would then read as follows :

زهی طپانچه قهرتو از طريق نفاذ کلاه گوشة گودون فَنْدَه ز عیاری

گوگرد احمد <sup>۲</sup> *Gügird-i-Ahmār* (Sulphur). The red Gügird is said to be a mineral of exceeding rarity which is only found in a mine in the Valley of the Ants; the ants of that region are the size of goats. It is said that at night a light is emitted from the mine which may be seen for many leagues, but when the mineral is taken out of the mine it does not possess this luminous property. It is an important ingredient in *Al-Iksīr* (Elixir of life) and just as Quicksilver is called *Abūl-arwāḥ* (Father of spirits), they call this *Abūl-ajsād* (Father of bodies).

It has various beneficial qualities (*Burhān-i-qāfi'*.)

Another poet was *Mazhar Karrā*,<sup>1</sup> whose descendants are still living in the city of Lakhnūtī and have been highly thought of and respected from generations back. There is an anthology of his consisting of fifteen or sixteen thousand verses, but inasmuch as he was more of a Mulla than a poet, his poetry is not so highly esteemed by the learned, although were they to search, they would bring to light many a good thing in the way of rarity (of expression).

Another (poet) is *Qāzī 'Ābid*<sup>2</sup> who wrote this poem—

My friends say, 'Ābid with this fine nature of yours  
How is it that you have not written more poems and odes ?  
To whom shall I address poems and odes, since in our time  
No suitable lover and no generous patron has arisen.

This is a translation of the following poem in Arabic—

They say, thou hast given up writing poems, I reply, yes !  
perforce ;  
The door of claims and excuses is closed.  
The land is empty—there is no benefactor from whom to  
hope for favours, nor is there any beauty to love.  
And the strange thing is that though no one will buy poetry  
Still in spite of this they appropriate and steal it.

### SULTĀN TUGHLAQ SHĀH IBN FATH KHĀN IBN SULTĀN FIRŪZ

Ascended the throne of sovereignty and power by the consent of the Amirs in the year 790 A.H. (1388 A.D.) in accordance with the will of his grandfather, assuming the title of *Ghīyāṣ-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh*, and despatched several famous Amirs to oppose Muhammad Shāh towards the foot of the hills (of Sirmur). Muhammad Shāh after fighting for a little betook himself to Nigar Kat, and the army of Tughlaq Shāh on account of the difficulty<sup>3</sup> of the way turned back (to Dihli) and Abū Bakr Khān son of Zafar Khān and grandson of Fath Khān, who was his brother's son, being panic-stricken and terrified, went to his father,<sup>4</sup> and Malik Ruknu-

<sup>1</sup> In the *Majma'ul Fusahā* he is called *Maghār-i-Hindī Qāzī* of Agra (? Karrā) the panegyrist of Firuz Shāh, but no particulars are given. The *Atash Kada-i-Azur* merely mentions his name as *Mazhari*.

<sup>2</sup> Neither the *Majma'ul Fusahā* nor *Atash Kada-i-Azur* mention this poet.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) معبد.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) بجانبی پدر رفت و.

d-Dīn Chanda Wazīr, in concert with other Amīrs, made friends with Abu Bakr Khān, and killed Malik (Muḥārak) Kabīr<sup>1</sup> in Firūzābād at the door of the rest house of Tughlaq Shāh, and having pursued Tughlaq Shāh and Khān-i-Jahān the Wazīr<sup>2</sup> when they fled, put them to death and hung up their heads<sup>3</sup> over the gate of the city; this event occurred in the month of Ṣafar<sup>4</sup> in the year 791 H. (1389 A.D.); the duration of the reign of Tughlaq Shāh, was five months and eighteen days.<sup>5</sup>

*Verse.*

[He laid low in the dust that rose of kingdom which the garden  
of the king  
Had cherished in its breast with endless care.]<sup>6</sup>

ABU BAKR SHĀH IBN ZAFAR KHĀN [IBN FĀTH KHĀN<sup>7</sup>]  
IBN FIRŪZ SHĀH.

Aster the martyrdom of Tughlaq Shāh, by the ill-judged agreement of the Amīrs assumed the Government under the above title, and at the commencement of his reign distributed appointments among the Amīrs, and raised Ruknū-d-Dīn Chanda to the dignity of Vazīr, and eventually, when he heard that Ruknū-d-Dīn in concert with certain of the Amīrs, was plotting sedition, 259. and entertained ambitious designs upon the kingdom, got rid of him together with his following, taking possession of his elephants and treasure, obtained complete hold over Dihlī and increased in power daily. In the meantime the Amīrs of hundreds of Sāmāna ent to pieces Malik Sultān Shāh Khushdil, the Amīr of Sāmāna, who had been sent against the Sultān Muḥammad Shāh to the country at the foot of the hills, at the head of the reservoir of Sāmāna and sacked his house, and sending his head to the Shāhzāda Muhammad Shāh at Nagarkot invited him to come; Muhammad Shāh accordingly left Nagarkot, and came to Sāmāna by way of Jalandhar by continuous marches, and having gathered together the

1 MS. (A) omits مبارک. Firishta calls him Amīru-l-Umaīā.

2 Firishta tells us that this was Malik Firūz 'Ali son of Malik Tāju-d-Dīn.

3 MS. (A) inserts ب.

4 MS. (A) در صفر دی. Firishta says 21st of Ṣafar.

5 MS. (A) writes پنجماہ بود و هزاره روز.

6 Not in MS. (A).

7 The words in square brackets are not in MS. (A).

paraphernalia of royal magnificence for the second time raised the standard of royalty in the month of Rabiul Awwal in the year 791 H (1389 A D ) and in the following month of Rabiul Ul-hu of the same year, set out to capture Dihli with a force of 70000 and alighted at the palace of Jahan Nama where he bestowed upon the Amirs suitable appointments among others<sup>1</sup> he conferred upon the Governor of Multan the title of Khizi Khan and Abu Bakr Shah having raised an army for the assistance of Bahadur Khan Khan Zida of Miwat, on the (2nd) of Jamadiin I Awwal<sup>2</sup> of the aforesaid year engaged in battle on the plains of Luhzibid with Muhammad Shah and gained the day. Muhammad Shah, with two thousand cavalry, crossed the river Jumna and entered the Doab, and sent Humayun Khan his younger son to Samana and having obtained thence a great following and the recipients of six creignty, and taking with him certain Amirs of Hindustan with fifty thousand cavalry, a secoud time marched his staudards towards Dihli. As it chanced he became engaged in battle with Abu Bakr 260 Shah and was again defeated, and Abu Bakr Shah pursued him part of the way, but considered it an excellent opportunity to return. Muhammad Shah arrived at Chiptar,<sup>3</sup> which is a town on the banks of the Ganges and giving over his following to destruction once more attempted to fight. And in the month of Muhamarram of the year 792 H (1389 90 A D ) Shihzada Hamayun Khan having called together many Amirs from the frontier of Samana to reinforce him laid waste the country round Dihli engaged in battle in the neighbourhood<sup>4</sup> of Paoipat with 'Imadul Mulk who had been sent by Abu Bakr (Shah)<sup>5</sup> with four thousand cavalry to oppose him and being defeated retreated towards Samana. And in the month of Jamadiin I Awwal of the aforesaid year Abu Bakr Shah marched for Chiptar (Chitar) with a strong force with the object of opposing Muhammad Shah, and had encamped at a distance of twenty roh from Dihli, when Mahammad Shah with

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) ار جے

<sup>2</sup> The text and MS (A) both read سارچ حمدہ الارل

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) چندر The text reads چندر Chitir. Furqat says المدرس 4 Jalesar Bo text p 275

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) در بواحی

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) omits the word شاہ

four thousand men,<sup>1</sup> passing unobserved round his right flank,<sup>2</sup> reached Dihli by another route and entered the palace of Humāyūn, where the populace both great and small declared in favour of him; Abū Bakr Shāh pursued him and arrived at Dihli, and having put to death Malik Bahāu-d-Din Jangi whom Muḥammad Shāh had left to guard the gates, without hesitation made for the palace of Humāyūn, and Muḥammad Shāh, being taken off his guard, was not able to oppose him and leaving by way of the door of the *Hauz-i-Khāṣṣ* fled again with all haste to Chaptar (Chītar) his original abode and asylum.<sup>3</sup> Many of his noted Amīrs and of his body servants were put to death, and although Sultān Muḥammad Shāh was no longer able to stand against Abū Bakr Shāh, still<sup>4</sup> the soldiery and people were very ill-disposed towards Abū Bakr Shāh, and in the month of Ramaḍān in the aforesaid year, Mubashir Chap and some of the slaves of Firūz Shāh's party who had been promoted to the rank of Amīr, and for one reason or another bore a grudge against Abū Bakr Shāh, opened a secret correspondence<sup>5</sup> with Muḥammad Shāh, and invited him;<sup>6</sup> Abū Bakr Shāh when he came to know of this was utterly dumbfounded, and under pretext of asking assistance from Bahādur Nāhir set his face to go to *Kotila*<sup>7</sup> of Miwāt, and set out leaving Malik Shāhin and 'Imādu-l-Mulk and Malik Bahri and Ṣafdar Khān in Dihli; then Muḥammad Shāh in obedience to the invitation of the Amīrs entered Dihli for the third time and ascended the throne of royalty in the palace of Firuzābād with great ceremony; and Mubashir Chap,

<sup>1</sup> Firishta says with 4,000 chosen Cavalry.

<sup>2</sup> چپ غلط کردن. Firishta says,

و بعد از آنکه نزدیک گشت راه چپ کرد

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) adds here جانب دھلي ايلغار فرسوند که مقرر و مفتر اصلی او بود (A).

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) adds here چون.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A). خطبای.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A). استدعان نہوند.

<sup>7</sup> Kotila. Hindī कोटला *kotlā*, a small fortress. Bahādur Nāhir was ruler of Miwāt, see Firishta Briggs, 471. This word Kotla seems to have been made use of by Firūz Shāh to designate certain of his hunting palaces. See Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, p. 292, note 3, and references there given.

By this Kotila however, Kotila of Miwāt, we may understand probably Hardwār or a town in its vicinity, which appears in Rennell's map G. n. as "Coupale" see Elliott, III 455. n. and 458.

having received the title of Islām Khan, was promoted to the rank of Vazīr, and after some time he left Fīruzābād and went to the palace of Humāyūn, Jahān (Nūmā),<sup>1</sup> and gave orders for the slaves of the Fīruzī party who had been a source of disturbance in the days of tumult and not to be put to death without distinction, and many of the free men also, who came from the eastern quarters of Hindustan were taken for slaves by reason of the imperfection of their pronunciation,<sup>2</sup> and were put to the sword. Abū Bakr Shāh after this misfortune could not recover himself, and remained at the Kotila (of Mīrāt) just as he was till Muhammad Shāh<sup>3</sup> by continuous marches came against him, and Bahādur Nāhir Mīrātī and Abū Bakr Shāh who had taken refuge with him, after fighting for a long time begged for quarter and had an interview with Sultān Muhammad Shāh. Bahādur Nāhir received a robe of honour and other marks of favour, but they imprisoned Abū Bakr Shāh in the fort of Mīrāt. In that self-same prison he escaped from the prison house of the world. This event took place in the year 793 H (1390-91 A.D.)<sup>4</sup> the duration of the reign of Abū Bakr Shāh was a year and a half.

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) omits م.

<sup>2</sup> This passage is not intelligible in itself but Firūzta's account explains it fully. He tells us that many of these slaves claimed to be natives of the country and not foreigners, whereupon Muhammad Shāh imposed upon them the pronunciation of certain words, and those who failed in their pronunciation of this 'Shibboleth' were treated as foreigners and put to death. He writes, ناصرالدین محمد شاه درمود که هر که از شما که هرا که ری گوید اصیل است و چون بطوریکه پاد شاه میخواست تا هر کسی تو ایستاده بود و در باش صورم پورم و بندگان ای میکردند کشته ممکنند.

Firūzta Bo text p 267 - و بندگان ای میکردند کشته ممکنند.

Muhammad Shāh said "whoever among you instead of Kharī says Kharī, is a native of the country," and since (as the King in fact desired) they were not able to pronounce these words but followed the pronunciation of people of the East and of Bengal they were put to death.

The word Kharī signified brackish as applied to water natives of Eastern Bengal however use the word Kharī in place of Kharī, using the word as if it were an adjective agreeing with the masculine word pāni, water.

<sup>3</sup> میراٹ شاه MS (A) not in the text.

<sup>4</sup> There is an error in MS (A) here which writes, در سده ثالث و خمسین 753 H see Thomas, Pathan Kings, p 303 و سعیانیہ

*Verse.*

He reckoned certain days and then he came to nothing  
The time smiled to think that he too had passed away.

*Verse.*

262. This world is like a corpse upon which there are  
    thousands of vultures  
[One continually tears another with its talons,  
The other rends it constantly with its beak]<sup>1</sup>  
At last, they all take to flight and  
All that remains of them all is the corpse.

SULTĀN MUHAMMAD SHĀH IBN FIROZ SHĀH.

After the death of his brother's son Abū Bakr, this monarch ascended the throne of Dihlī in the abovementioned year by the consent of the grandees and nobles of the State,<sup>2</sup> and assumed absolute power there being now no one left to oppose him in the kingdom. And in this same year Mufarriḥ Sultānī governor of Gujrāt revolted, and Zafar Khān ibn Wajihu-l-Mulk was ordered to proceed thither.

In the year 794 H. (1391-92 A.D.) the *zamīndārs* (land-holders) of the Doāb<sup>3</sup> breaking out into rebellion attacked the town of Balārām, and Islām Khān being appointed to proceed against Harsingrāi<sup>4</sup> defeated him, while the Sultān went as far as Qanaūj and Itāwa, and after punishing the infidels of that district and laying waste Itāwa, returned to Chitrā<sup>5</sup> which was a favourite resort of his, and there built the city of Muḥammadābād.

In the year 795 H. (1392-93 A.D.) he appointed Malik Muqarrabu-l-Mulk to proceed against the mutineers in the district of

<sup>1</sup> Not in MS. (A.)

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) reads:—

سلطان محمد شاہ بن فیروز شاہ بعد از فوت برادرزادہ خود ابویکبر  
در سنّ مذکور باتفاق اعیان دولت و ارکان سلطنت بر سربر دھلی دم  
از استقلال زد.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) omits مواس.

<sup>4</sup> Rūjā of Itāwa.

<sup>5</sup> See Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, 307 n. 1.

This place appears to be the same as Jalesar judging from Firishta's account.

For Jalesar see Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, VII, 103.

Itāwa, who by promises and engagements<sup>1</sup> induced the rebels to come in, and took them to Qūnānī, where he put them to death and returned to Muhammādābād. And in the month of Shawwal in this year, the Sultān was attacked by illness, taking advantage of this Bahādūr Nūh made an inroad upon some of the towns around Dihlī. The Sultān notwithstanding his weakness proceeded to Kotla; Bahādūr gave battle once and then fled, and the Sultan victorious and triumphant returned to Muhammādābād, and was engaged in superintending the building of the city where his illness terminated.

In the year 796 H (1393-94 A.D.) he appointed Shāhzāda Humayūn Khān to oppose Shaikhū Khukhār who had rebelled and gained possession of Lāhore, but the Shāhzādā was still in the city when the Sultān<sup>2</sup> took his departure from the populous city of existence to the deserted regions of annihilation, and was buried in the mausoleum of his father on the banks of the Hauz-i-Khāzī.<sup>3</sup> The duration of his reign was six years and seven months.

#### Masnavi

What is the world, bat a wayside abode of trouble and evil?  
A house of labour and toil, a mansion of pain and affliction?  
Here is no truth and no faithfulness, here are no friends and  
no friendship,

Hundreds of times have I seen this, and proved it by frequent  
experience.<sup>4</sup>

#### SULTAN 'ALĀU'D DÍN SIKANDAR SHĀH IBN I-MUHAMMAD SHĀH IBN-I-

##### TIRŪZ SHĀH,

Who bore the name of Humayūn Khān, ascended the imperial throne in virtue of his being heir apparent, on the nineteenth of

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) قول و فرار داده

<sup>2</sup> He died according to Firishta's account on the 17th of Rabi'n I Awwal, and was buried beside his father on the banks of the Hauz-i-Khāzī. Text, p 278

<sup>3</sup> The Hauz-i-Khāzī was a reservoir constructed by Firuz Shāh, one of his many public works. It is said in the Zafarāma of Yazdi to be 'so large that an arrow cannot be shot from one side to the other'. It is filled by rain in the rainy season and the people of Dihlī obtain water from it all the year round. The tomb of Firuz Shāh is by its side. Elliott, III, 411-501

See also Thomas Pathā : Kings 310 note 1

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) and footnote to Text read میڈ و از مودہ مدد

Rabi‘u-l-Awwal in the year 795 H. (1393 A.D.) and after one month and sixteen days he bid farewell to this hired rest-house, and removed his effects to the permanent mansion.<sup>1</sup>

So long as the world has been, thus has it been, and thus will it ever be.

264. The issue of affairs will be at last the same for all.

[And during the time that he was Shāhzāda, a learned man wrote and composed in his honour an imitation of the Maqāmāti Ḥarīrī I have seen a Maqāmah from this work].<sup>2</sup>

### SULTĀN MAHMŪD SHĀH IBN-I-MUHAMMAD SHĀH,

Who was his youngest son,<sup>3</sup> ascended the throne<sup>4</sup> on the twentieth of Juṇādiu-l-Awwal<sup>5</sup> in the aforesaid year relying upon the allegiance of the Amīrs,<sup>6</sup> with the title of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Mahmūd, and having bestowed upon Muqarrabu-l-Mulk the title of Muqarrab Khān, he made him his heir apparent,<sup>7</sup> and confirmed to the Amīrs their appointments<sup>8</sup> districts and titles; and with a view to restoring order in the important affairs of State, which had suffered in consequence of the dominance of the perverse infidels, he bestowed the title of Sultānu-sh-Shūrq<sup>9</sup> upon Khwāja-i-Jahān, and transferred him from Qanauj to Bihār with full powers and uncontrolled authority, and despatched him thither. He proceeded as far as Jājnagar<sup>10</sup> and took possession of it,

<sup>1</sup> And was buried beside his father and grandfather on the edge of the Hauz-i-Khāṣṣ. He reigned one month and fifteen days (Firishta).

<sup>2</sup> The portion in square brackets is not found in MS. (A).

<sup>3</sup> Firishta also says كوچکترین پسران the youngest of his sons. Briggs translates this "a youth, the son of."

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) omits سلطنت.

<sup>5</sup> Text reads جمادی الاولی.

<sup>6</sup> The text reads here بِر حکم تبیعت, but this is I venture to think wrong.

MS. (A) reads سمعت and taking this together with Firishta's reading, we shonld, I think read بِر حکم بیعت "relying upon the allegiance."

<sup>7</sup> جمله اکابر و امرا باوی بیعت کردہ سر در ریقة فرمان آورند Firishta reads:

<sup>8</sup> 7 Firishta says became Vakīl-i-Salṭanat and Amīr-i-Umarā.

<sup>9</sup> ولایات و خطابات (A).

<sup>10</sup> MS. (A) So also Firishta. Briggs however converts this into "Mullik-oos-Shark," p. 478.

<sup>11</sup> Firishta says Jaunpūr جونپور.

acquiring a large number of elephants and much valuable property, and from that time the King of Lakhnauti began to send elephants annually as presents to Dilli.

He also rebuilt<sup>1</sup> the greater number of the forts which the infidels had destroyed, in the districts of Karrn, Oonli, Sandila, Malsira,<sup>2</sup> Bahraich and Tirkut, and despatched Sârang Khân to the district of Dihâlpur to quell the rising of Shukhâ Khukhâr. And in the month of Zâ Qâdah of the same year Shukhâ Khukhâr<sup>3</sup> fought a sharp engagement with Sârang Khân, at a place called Samethâl<sup>4</sup> which is twelve miles from Lahore, but was defeated and retired to the hill country of Jammu. Sârang Khân thereupon left Lahore in charge of his brother 'Adil Khan,<sup>5</sup> and returned towards Dihâlpur.

And in the month of Shâbân of that year Sultan<sup>6</sup> Mahmûd leaving Muqârib Khân as his Viceregy in Dilli, and taking with him Sa'âdat Khân, who was commonly known<sup>7</sup> as 'Abî-h-r-Bâghid Sâlikhân, marched in the direction of Bîrûn and Gwâliar. In obedience to the order of the Sultan a spacious chief mosque<sup>8</sup> built of stone was erected in the town of Bawîr, and is standing at the present time, and when<sup>9</sup> the Sultan arrived near Gwâliar, Malik 'Alâu-d-Din Dhâriwâl, and Malloo Khân<sup>10</sup> the brother of Sârang Khân, and Mubârak Khân son of Malik Râjî<sup>11</sup> conspired against Sa'âdat Khân, but he, becoming aware of their design, arrested Malik 'Alâu-d-Din and Mubârak Khân and had them put to death.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) تعمیر فرمود و

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) دلمور

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) supplies کھوکھو. Firuzbâr says "advancing from Ajodhan"

<sup>4</sup> Firuzbâr does not give the name of the place

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) reads لاہور را مراد خوشن عادل خان وا

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) repeats the words

محمد مغرب خان را بیان در شهر گذشت و سعادت خان را که

بعد الرشید سلطانی —

<sup>7</sup> MS. (A.) شنیار داشت.

<sup>8</sup> MS. (A) omits و

<sup>9</sup> MS. (A) omits چون.

<sup>10</sup> MS. (A) omits خان. Firuzbâr calls this man Malloo Khân

<sup>11</sup> So also Firuzbâr

<sup>12</sup> Firuzbâr writes بکشت. Bulom apparently always uses سیاست in the sense of capital punishment

Malloo Khān fled to Muqarrab Khān in Dihlī. The Sultān having returned to the Capital, encamped at some distance from the city, and Muqarrab Khān fearing his displeasure because he had given asylum to Malloo Khān,<sup>1</sup> entrenched himself and prepared to fight<sup>2</sup> and remained in his fortified position three months, and war arose between Muqarrab Khān and Sa'ādat Khān.<sup>3</sup>

And in the month of Muḥarram in the year 797 H. (Nov. 1394 A.D.) Sultān Maḥmūd was induced by the deceitfulness of certain friends of Muqarrab Khān to leave Sa'ādat Khān, to enter the fort and come to terms with Muqarrab Khān, who thus obtained the assistance he needed. The following day Muqarrab Khān and Sa'ādat Khān met on the field of battle, and Muqarrab Khān being defeated again entered the fort. Sa'ādat Khān went to Firuzābād,<sup>4</sup> and acting in concert with some of the Amīrs summoned Nuṣrat Khān son of Fath Khān and grandson of Sultān Firuz Shāh<sup>5</sup> from Miwāt, and set him upon the throne in the month of Rabi'u-l-Awwal of the aforesaid year, with the title of Nāṣiru-d-

6. C.6. Dīn Nuṣrat Shāh. Nuṣrat Shāh was nothing more than a puppet, for Sa'ādat Khān assumed the whole of the authority in state matters, and some slaves of the Firuzī party and some elephant drivers joined with Sultān Nuṣrat Shāh, and by some clever artifice placed him upon an elephant, and without warning fell upon Sa'ādat Khān unawares in full force; Sa'ādat Khān was paralysed and helpless, and<sup>6</sup> of necessity took to flight and came

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) omits كھاں.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) خدا.

<sup>3</sup> This account is unsatisfactory as it throws no light upon the real course of events. Firishta writes as follows:—Muqarrab Khān came out to receive the Sultān and to pay his respects, but becoming alarmed at the splendour and array of the royal court, because of his having given asylum to Malloo Khān, fled to the city where he fortified a position and began to fight. The quarrel lasted for some three months, with frequent engagements between the besiegers and the besieged, when recognizing that this was all due to Sa'ādat Khān Bārbak, Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh at the instigation of his intimates entered the city upon a favourable opportunity in the month of Muḥarram 797 H. and came to terms with Muqarrab Khān, who on the following day started from Dilūlī to fight against Sa'ādat Khān, but was defeated and forced to return to the city." (Firishta, Bo. text p. 279). Cf. Briggs, p. 480.

<sup>4</sup> Being compelled by the onset of the rains to decamp (Firishta).

<sup>5</sup> The text reads نصرت خان بن فتح خان بن سلطان فیروز شاہ. The above translation is to avoid the ambiguity which a literal rendering involves.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) و.

to Dihli, where he sought the protection of Muqarrab Khān, and was treacherously<sup>1</sup> put to death by him then the Amirs of Nuṣrat Shah's faction such as Muhammad Muzaffar Vazir and Shihāb Nāhir and Mīlk Fazlu llah Ballūh,<sup>2</sup> and the slaves of Firūz Shah's party one end all<sup>3</sup> renewed their declaration of allegiance to Sultan Nuṣrat Shāh and divided the appointments afresh.

Sultan Mahmud was known as King in Dihli, while in Firuzabad Nuṣrat Shāh enjoyed that title,<sup>4</sup> and Muqarrab Khan placed the citadel of old Dihli under the command of Bahādur Nāhir Miwāti, and bestowed upon Malloo Khan<sup>5</sup> the title of Iqbāl Khan,<sup>6</sup> and day by day battles were fought between these two kings,<sup>7</sup> who were like the two kings in the game of chess.<sup>8</sup> Sultan Nuṣrat Shāh retained possession of the country of the Doab, and Sambhal, Panipath, Rohitak, and Jelijar,<sup>9</sup> while a few old ruined forts such as Dihli and Siri and the rest, remained in the hands of Sultan Mahmud, and from that time forward this proverb became a common expression. The rule of the Lord of the world (Khudāwand i 'Ālem) is from Dihli to Palam.<sup>10</sup> And all over Hindustan there were various parties each with its own Malik.<sup>11</sup>

### Verse

Say, either you rule in the city, or let me rule  
For the affairs of the state go to ruin between two rulers

The affairs of the kingdom continued in this state for a space of three years, at one time the Dihli party got the better of the Firuzabad<sup>12</sup> party and at another time the positions were reversed.

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) omits سردار

<sup>2</sup> ملکات بعلعتان (Firishta)

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) omits تمام

<sup>4</sup> See Thomas Pathan Kings, 312 note 1, and 318 note 1

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) omits حان

<sup>6</sup> Firishta states that these two joined neither king waiting to see how affairs would turn out

<sup>7</sup> For a space of three years (Firishta)

<sup>8</sup> That is to say could neither win nor be removed from the encounter

<sup>9</sup> Cf Thomas Pathan Kings 313, notes 1 2

<sup>10</sup> حاکم i خدیwand i آلام az Dihli tı Palam

<sup>11</sup> See Thomas Pathan Kings p 315 n 1

<sup>12</sup> MS (A) ضروریان

## Verse.

267. Like the kite which is six months female and six months male.<sup>1</sup>

And in the year 798 H. (1395 A.D.) many battles took place between the *Masnud-i-'Alī*,<sup>2</sup> Khizr Khān, the Amir of Multān, and Sārang Khān the ruler of Dipālpūr, and, eventually, owing to the treachery of certain of the slaves of Malik Marwān; who was the tutor of Malik Suleimān the father of Khizr Khān, and in consequence of their throwing in their lot with Sārang Khān the governor of Dipālpūr,<sup>3</sup> Multān passed from the possession of Khizr Khān to that of Sārang Khān, and his party began to grow weaker and weaker every day.

And in the year 799 H. (1396 A.D.) Sārang Khān having overcome<sup>4</sup> Ghālib Khān the governor of Sāmāna, and Tātār Khān the Wāli of Pānipath, gained possession of the country as far as the outskirts of Dihlī.<sup>5</sup> Sultān Nuṣrat Shāh sent Malik Ilyās<sup>6</sup> a slave of the Firūz Shāhī party with elephants and an army to reinforce Tātār Khān. He accordingly drove Sārang Khān out of Sāmāna and delivered it to Ghālib Khān.<sup>7</sup>

And in the month of Muḥarram 800 H. (1397 A.D.) a severe engagement took place between the two parties in the neighbourhood of the village of Kotla; Sārang Khān was defeated<sup>8</sup> and fled towards Multān, and Tātār Khān proceeded to the frontier of Tilaundi, and sending Kamālu-d-Dīn Mubīn in pursuit of Sārang Khān, returned. And in the month of Rabī'u-l-Awwal in the year already mentioned,<sup>9</sup> Mirzā Pīr Muḥammad, grandson<sup>10</sup> of the

<sup>1</sup> Tho *Burhān-i-Qāfi*.

او شش ماہ نرو شش ماہ عادہ میباشد و بعضی گویند یکسال نرو یکسال مادہ است

It is a male for six months and a female for six months, some say one year male and one year female

The *Haiyātu-l-Haiwān* says nothing about this (art. حیا and عقاب,) but mentions a statement that the عقاب، *nqāb* eagle or kite has no male, but the females are impregnated by the fox. See also I. K. (Slane) iii, 305.

<sup>2</sup> See Thomas' *Pathān Kings*, p. 329, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) omits the words حاکم دیپالپور.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) omits و.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) omits و.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) also *Firishṭa*.

<sup>7</sup> In the beginning of Muḥarram 800 H. (*Firishṭa*).

<sup>8</sup> MS. (A) reads سمت ملکان افتاد و سمت.

<sup>9</sup> MS. (A) reads مذکور مذکور.

<sup>10</sup> MS. (A) نبیهہ *Firishṭa* writes نبیرہ.

great Amir Timūr Gūrgān<sup>1</sup> King of Khuiāsān and Māwirā an-Nahr, had crossed the river Indus,<sup>2</sup> and was besieging the fortress of Uchh<sup>3</sup> 'Alī Mālik, Sārang Khān's lieutenant fought and held the fort for a month, and when Mālik Tāju d-Dīn Bakhtyār arrived at the fort of Uchh with a thousand cavalry given him by Sārang Khan, Mīrzā Pir Muhammād left Uchh, and taking Mālik Tāju d-Dīn Bakhtyār and his thousand sowārs<sup>4</sup> unawares in their position on the banks of the river Biāb, attacked them. The greater number of Mālik Tāju d-Dīn's force fell by the sword, while those who escaped the sword were drowned in the floods of destruction,<sup>5</sup> and Mīrzā Pir Muhammād<sup>6</sup> after gaining this victory pursued them with all speed,<sup>7</sup> and invested the fortress of Multān.<sup>8</sup> Sārang Khan held out against him for six months engaging him frequently, but at last begged for quarter, and had an interview with the Mirza,<sup>9</sup> who took up his station in Multān pending the arrival of the great Timur.

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) **گورگانی**. *Gurgān*: The exact meaning of this title has been much discussed, the most recent opinion is that of Dr Erdmann, according to whom "Kurkan or Gurgan stands for 'son in law' or for a prince who is allied by marriage with some 'mighty monarch'". In this way, its Mongol sonso, it is used he tells us by Rashīdā d-Dīn. He also tells us that Kurkan or Gurgan represents the Chinese expression *Fu ma* and that the Amir Timur was called *Timur Fu ma* by the Chinese, because he married the daughter of Chūn-ti, the ninth and last Emperor of the Mongol dynasty. *Fu ma* in fact means "son in law" in Chinese, when applied to princes, and thus is a translation of the Mongol word."

For fuller particulars see note, page 278 of the *Tarikh-i-Rashīdī* by Elias and Ross, from which the above is extracted. In M. Pavet de Courteille's *Turki Dictionary* we find "گورگان" *prince de la race de Timour qui épouse une fille de la race de Djenguis Khan* *prince de race royale qui épouse une fille de roi* *prince né de parents issus de Khans qui épouse la fille d'un Khan* *surnom de Timour, savant, beau poli* see also Ām-i-Akbari (B) I 464 n

<sup>2</sup> By a bridge of boats (*Firishta*)

<sup>3</sup> ارچہ (Firishta)

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) omits the words ستوار ھراو سوار

<sup>5</sup> Firishta says

چنانچہ اکثر آن مردم در وقت گورن مقتول و سیداد و بعضی در آب عرق گشتهند  
Most of them were put to death as they fled, and some were drowned in the river

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) omits سیداد

<sup>7</sup> MS (A) omits تہام

<sup>8</sup> Firishta tells us that Mālik Tāju d-Dīn escaped with a few men and fled to Multān

<sup>9</sup> Being compelled by famine (Firishta)

And in the month of Shawwāl in the aforesaid year Iqbāl Khān, who is better known as Maloo, swore many oaths of allegiance to Sultān Nuṣrat Shāh, whom he deported to the fortress of Jahānumā,<sup>1</sup> taking him away with elephants and an armed force; and Sultān Maḥmūd and Muqarrab Khān and Bahādur Nāhir shut themselves up in old Dihlī. On the third day from this Iqbāl Khān made a sudden attack in strong force upon Nuṣrat Shāh hoping to take him by surprise; Nuṣrat Shāh fled from Jahānumā and came to Firuzabād,<sup>2</sup> and leaving there crossed the Jamna and went to join Tātār Khān his Vazīr at Pānīpath. The whole<sup>3</sup> of the army and elephants of Nuṣrat Shāh fell into the hands of the astute Iqbāl Khān, and for two whole months daily battles were fought between Muqarrab Khān and Iqbāl Khān, until by the intervention of certain Amīrs peace was established between these two leaders; but after a few days<sup>4</sup> Iqbāl Khān proceeded against Muqarrab Khān,<sup>5</sup> and without warning suddenly surrounded him and besieged him; and after giving him assurances of safety raised him to the dignity of martyrdom, and getting Sultān Maḥmūd into his power made a puppet of him and took the management of the state into his own hands.

269. Then in the month of Zū Qa'dah of the aforesaid<sup>6</sup> year Iqbāl Khān wrested Pānīpath by force from the followers of Tātār Khān, and seized all his baggage and his elephants and army. Tātār Khān previously to this expedition of Iqbāl Khān, had left Pānīpath with the intention of attempting to reduce Dihli but found himself quite unequal to the task, and throwing his country<sup>7</sup> to the winds left Dihli and went to Gujrāt with a large following to join his father.<sup>8</sup> Iqbāl Khān coming to Dihli bestowed upon Malik Naṣīrūl-Mulk, a relation of Tātār Khān who had joined him, the title of 'Ādil Khān, and placed under his control the district of the Doāb.

And in the month of Šafar of the year 801 H. (1398 A.D.) Amir

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) reads نما جهان بغا but Firishta reads جهان نما as in the text.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) و دهی.      <sup>3</sup> MS. (A) تهامي.      <sup>4</sup> MS. (A) روز.

<sup>5</sup> Firishta says "from motives of worldly wisdom broke his faith."

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) مددکور.

<sup>7</sup> اولکا Aulaka or اولکا aulakā. A Turkī word signifying "province, ville, pays, fief" according to M. Pavet de Courteille.

<sup>8</sup> His father Zafar Khān (Firishta).

Timur the Great attacked the town of Tolumba,<sup>1</sup> and taking Multan, put to the sword<sup>2</sup> the whole of the prisoners of the army of Sāring Khān whom Muzā Pir Muhammad had kept in confinement, proceeding thence by continuous marches he also took the fort of Bhāt,<sup>3</sup> and having taken prisoner Rāi Jaljīn + Bhātī put him to death together with the garrison and inhabitants of the fort.

Leaving there<sup>4</sup> and taking Sāmānā, he put to death crowds of fugitives from Dipalpur and Ajudhan and Sarsuti,<sup>5</sup> who were helplessly fleeing in all directions in terror of their lives, and taking large numbers of them prisoners he took them along with him, and covering great distances he crossed the river Jāmu, and entered the Doāb,<sup>6</sup> and sweeping the greater part of the country

<sup>1</sup> Text میں MS (A) بکھرہ فریشٹا بکھرہ تولمبا (see Hunter Imp Gaz, XIII 163) is shown in Rennell's map at the junction of the Jhelam and the Chenab, Langana being at the junction of the Chenab and Ravi (lief III)

Frishta says "Arrived at a place where the river of Jāmu and the Chenab meet where there was a strong fortress called Tolumba" Briggs says "to the conflux of the Chenab with the Ravi"

From Tolumba Frishta tells us Timur marched to Shihawaz where they took all the grain they required and burned the roundabout. From thence he went to Ajdhān and Bhātnir. Shihawaz is shown in Rennell's map on the Eastern bank of the Ravi, Long 72° I Lat 30° 5' N. Ajdhān is Pak Pātin, and is about 80 miles S.W. of Shihawaz. Here is the tomb of Shukh Farud Dīn Ganji Shakkar which was visited by Timur. From Ajdhān to Bhātnir is about 90 miles. Frishta says from Khālikol to Bhātnir is fifty Krah. See Elliott III 415 et seqq for the description of this campaign translated from the Malfuzat + Timur. Timur calls Khālikol, Khālik Kotah, and says it is ten kos from Ajdhān and fifty from Bhātnir.

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) بکھرید

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) بھت پور Blaspar This should be بھت بور Bhātnir see note 1 above. Frishta says that Timur's forces accomplished the distance between Ajdhān (Khālikol) and Bhātnir in one day. This is a long march but as they were cavalry it is perhaps possible.

<sup>4</sup> The Bombay text of Frishta has رار خلیجی Rao Khulji see also Briggs Frishta p 488 footnote. Both MSS agree with the text in giving Rai Jaljīn as the name of the governor of the fort. Ibo Malfuzat + Timur calls him Rao Dal Chain, see Elliott III 422 423

<sup>5</sup> On the 3rd of Rabī u 1 Awwal

<sup>6</sup> 5th of Rabī u 1 Awwal, see Elliott III 426-428

<sup>7</sup> MS (A) بھر کوڑہ عوں دو آپ در ۲۵۰

with the bitter whirlwind of rapine and pillage, camped on the banks of the river Jamna opposite the town of Lūnī<sup>1</sup> not far from Dihlī;<sup>2</sup> and at this camp he put to the sword about fifty thousand prisoners who had fallen<sup>3</sup> into the hands of his soldiery before reaching the river Ganges; and some of the ecclesiastical dignitaries of his army also, who had not the slightest acquaintance with the sword, taking all these Hindustānī Muslims for Hindus, in their desire for the reward of holy war<sup>4</sup> sent many of them with their own hands into the next world.

270. Then in the month of Jamaidu-l-Awwal 801 H. the great Timūr crossed the Jamna and encamped at Firuzābād<sup>5</sup> and the next day encamped above the Hauz-i-Khāss. Iqbāl Khān having got ready a force of men and elephants, came out against him and engaged his troops, but was defeated in the first engagement, and in spite of all their efforts they were not able to withdraw even a portion of the elephants into the city,<sup>6</sup> so complete was the rout. And in this defeat<sup>7</sup> many were killed, and when the glittering soldiers of the army of the night had routed the troops of the day, Iqbāl Khān and Sultān Maḥmūd leaving their families and friends

1 Lūnī, seven miles N. N.-W. of Dihlī. Tieff. I. 136. Lounī ville autre fois peuplée et munie d'un fort. Timūr arrived there on the 27th Rabī'u-l-Awwal. Lūnī was situated on a Doāb between the Jamna and the Halīn.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) ندیکی.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) بود اوقناده.

<sup>4</sup> The reward of the غازی “Ghāzī” or one who fights in the cause of Islām is thus defined “God is sponsor for him who goes forth to fight in the road of God, for his satisfaction and for that of his Prophet.” He shall if he be not killed, return to his home with plunder and rewards. And if he die, his reward is Paradise (*Mishkāt*, XVII, 1).

The *jihād* or holy war is a duty enjoined in several passages in the Qur'ān and the Traditions, and its rewards are those of Paradiso. (See Hughes Dict. of Islām, Art. *Jihād*).

<sup>5</sup> Firishta states that he dug a deep trench and fastened a number of cows and buffaloes together with raw hide, stationing sharpshooters behind them, and when Iqbāl Khān came out against him with his troops and 120 elephants defeated him with great slaughter and advanced to the Hauz-i-Khāss; and see Elliott, III, 438, *et seqq.*

The date given by Badāoni is apparently wrong, as the *Malīkūt-i-Timūri* says that Timūr crossed the Jamna on the 5th Rabī'u-l-Āakhir. See Elliott, III. 443 and note 1.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) omits دوون and writes شهر.

<sup>7</sup> Not in MS. (A) which reads عظیم خلقی.

in the bonds of shame and disgrace, took flight<sup>1</sup> Sultan Maḥmūd fled straight to Gujārāt, and Iqbāl Khān crossing the Jamna escaped to the town of Baran. On the following day the Great Timūr gave quarter to the inhabitants of Dihli, receiving from them much valuable property and many presents as the price of quarter. In the meantime however, the people of the city killed some of the soldiers, accordingly on the fourth day he ordered all the inhabitants to be made prisoners,<sup>2</sup> and took them all off towards Transoxiānu, eventually Shāfiḥ Ahmad Kathū<sup>3</sup> whose tomb is well known at Sur Khez<sup>4</sup> in Gujārāt near to Ahmadābad, went along with the army and had an interview with the Great Timūr, and made apparent to him his condition as a Darvēsh, and his surpassing knowledge, moreover he argued with and confuted over and over again<sup>5</sup> the learned doctors who were with the

<sup>1</sup> On the 7th Rabi'u I Akhir

<sup>2</sup> فرمانیہ دہلی فرمود حکم سارے دہلی اہل واسی کے سارے دہلی فرمود See Elliott, III 447

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) کتو

Shāfiḥ Ahmad Khatū was born at Dihli A H 737 (A D 1336) of a noble family of that city. His name was Naṣru d Dīn. He was a disciple of Baba Ishaq Maghribi and came to Gujārāt in the reign of Sultan Ahmad Gujārāti (A D 1411-13). He was buried in Sarkhej near Ahmadābad, (Ām-i-Akbari [Jarrett] III 371)

Shāfiḥ Ahmad Khatū surnamed Ganjbakhsh was surnamed from Khaṭū a village near Nagor, the residence of his spiritual guide Baba Ishaq Maghribi. After his return from a pilgrimage to the holy places he came back to Gujārāt and settled first at Sarkhej and afterwards at Ahmadābad, in the building of which he was associated with Sultan Ahmad A H 813-20

He died at Sarkhej in 849 I H, aged 111 years and his mausoleum with the buildings attached are said to have been begun by Muhammad Shah I, the son of Ahmad Shah, and to have been completed by his son and successor Qatbu d Dīn Shah. See Bayley, History of Gujārāt, pp 90-91, notes

\* The text reads مسکوچ احمد بن سرخیز <sup>مسکوچ</sup> احمد بن سرخیز āide Ām-i-Akbari (Blochmann), Text, II 220

The text of Badāoni reads مسکوچ سرخیز MS (A) reads مسکوچ سرخیز.

Tieffenthaler, I 377 speaks of it as follows — "A trois milles de Guzarat se trouve Sarkés, village où est le mausolée construit à grands frais par Gaus Ahmad Roi du Guzarat" again at page 375 we find ' Gaus Ahmad, dont le magnifique tombeau porte par des arcades voûtées, a rendu fameux le village de Sarkes distant de 3 milles de la ville"

Sarkhej was three miles South East from Asawal in the vicinity of which Ahmadābad was built by Sultan Ahmad, 820 A H (1417 A D )

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) کردہ الراجی کٹھائی

Transoxiāna force, and begged for the prisoners' lives. The Great Timūr conceived such a strong liking for him that he acceded<sup>1</sup> to his request and liberated all the prisoners.

This signal servicee of the Shaikh remained ever as a debt upon the people of Hindustān ; and a full detail of this eircumstance is given at length in tho *Maqāmāt* of the Shaikh. A few days after 271. this victory Khizr Khān and Bahādur Nāhir Mīwātī,<sup>2</sup> who had taken alarm and fled to the hill country of Mīwāt, came in and, paid their respects to the Great Timūr;<sup>3</sup> orders were issued to make all of their party prisoners, with the exception of Khizr Khān, who had apparently done some former good servicee which saved him. After this he raised the banner of return and seized the country at the foot of the Siwālik hills,<sup>4</sup> and greatly shook that hill country as it were with an earthquake, ere he reached Lāhor.

For the date of this victory they assigned the two words رخ (Rakhā, affluence, prosperity) and خار (Khār,<sup>5</sup> a thorn); and Shaikhā Khukhar<sup>6</sup> also, who had formerly served the Amīr and had taken Lāhor by fraud from Sārang Khān, fell into his hands. He accordingly imprisoned him together with his wife and family, and gave orders to sack Lāhor and take the inhabitants prisoners. Then having made over Dipālpur and Multān to Khizr Khān he

1 MS. (A) فرموده

2 On Friday the 24th of Rabī'u-l-Ākhir according to tho *Malfūzāt-i-Timūri*, which gives a different account of the treatment accorded to them.

3 Badāoni omits to mention the capture of Mīrat (29th Rabī'u-l-Ākhir) and the victories on the Ganges (Jumādīu-l-Awwal 1st to 15th).

4 According to the account in the *Malfūzāt-i-Timūri* this was in responso to an embassy sent to Bahādur Nāhir by Timūr at Kūtila.

5 Both of thoos words give tho dato. رخ = 200 + 600 + 1 = 801  
خار = 600 + 1 + 200 = 801.

6 Timūr captured seven forts in tho Siwālik hills, fighting twenty battles in thirty-two days with invariable success. The eighth fort belonged to Shaikhā Khukhar and was taken about the 15th of Jumādīu-l-Awwal (Elliott III. 467). Malik Shaikhā Khukhar was brother of Nuṣrat Khukhar who was formerly governor of Lāhor on behalf of Sultān Maḥmūd of Dihlī. He was taken prisoner by Prince Pīr Muḥammad and Rustam and Amīr Jahān Shāh, who had been sent by Timūr with an army to Lāhor for that purposo and to lovy a ransom from the city of Lāhor. The *Malfūzāt-i-Timūri* states that Timūr proceeded straight to Jammū whence his route was by Jabbān, Sambast, Barūja to Attock whero he crossed tho Indus. This was during the days between the 24th of Jumādīu-l-Ākher and the 3rd of Rajab. See Elliott III. 474-477; see also *Zafar Nāma* of Yazdī, Elliott III. 520-52.

said to him "I have taken Dihli and have made a present of it to you" Leaving Lahore he proceeded by uninterrupted marches by way of Kabul to his capital Samarqand while Khizr Khan went to his own territory (*Jagir*)

At this time such a famine and pestilence fell upon Dihli that the city was utterly ruined, and those of the inhabitants who were left died, while for two whole months not a bird moved a wing in Dihli. In this interval Sultân Nusrat Shah, who after his defeat by Iqbal Khan had gone into the Doab, seeing that he had an open field, went first to Mirath and thence to Firuzabad, and fortified the city of Dihli. 'Adil Khan and the other folk who had escaped from the hands of the Mughuls coming out of the various holes and corners where they had been hiding, gathered round him, when he had got together this company he nominated Shihab Khan to proceed to Baran against Iqbal Khan. Whilst he was on the way, a body of Hindus attacked Shihab Khan suddenly by night, and raised him to the dignity of martyrdom. Iqbal Khan with great energy and promptitude obtained possession of his elephants and army, so that from day to day his power increased, while the affairs of Nusrat Shah, became more and more entangled. Iqbal Khan leaving Baran started in the direction of Dihli, and Nusrat Shah leaving Firuzabad made for Miwat where he died, and the four quarters of Hindustan came under the dominion of Maliks of the various tribes.<sup>2</sup>

Then in the year 802 H (1399 A.D.) Iqbal Khan marched against Shams Khan Anhdî<sup>3</sup> the ruler of Buana, and the hostile forces met in the vicinity of Nuh and Patal, fortune favoured Iqbal Khan and Shams Khan proceeded to Buana. Iqbal Khan led his army towards Kaithar and exacted contributions of money and services from Rai Harsingh.<sup>4</sup> And in this same year Khwaja-i Jahan was received into the mercy of God in Jaunpur.

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) reads here حوالہ سوادہ نور ربان صدیق

<sup>2</sup> Firishta tells us the names of these various independent rulers See Briggs I 498

<sup>3</sup> According to Firishta this was in 803 H

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) رائے هر سندھ Rai Harsingh was Rai of Itawa By Kaithar or Kitehar is meant Rohilkhand See Thomas Pathan Kings p 325 note 2

*Quatrains.*

How long wilt thou say "Who has drunk the cup of pleasure?"  
 How long wilt thou say "Who has gained the palm of fortune?"  
 What avail all these idle tales, for we must depart,  
 What profit in all these empty stories, since death must come.

And Malik Mubārak Qaranqal,<sup>1</sup> having assumed the title of Mubārak Shāh, took his place.

And in Jamaidin-l-Awwal<sup>2</sup> in the year 803 H. (1400 A.D.) Shams Khān of Baiāna and Mubārak Khān son of Bahādur Nāhir had an interview with Iqbāl Khān, who taking them with him fought a battle near Baitālī on the banks of the Blackwater, which is known as the Kālāpānī, with Rāī Sir<sup>3</sup> the ruler of that district, and overcame him, and pursued the infidels as far as the confines of Itāwa; and on his arrival at Qanauj, Sultānu-sh-Shārq Mubārak Shāh came up from Jaunpūr and sat down over against him on the other bank of the river Ganges, but inasmuch as neither of them could effect a crossing, they each returned<sup>4</sup> to their own

273. country without doing anything. As he returned, Iqbāl Khān treacherously put to death Shams Khān and Mubārak Khān.<sup>5</sup> In this same year Turkbacha Sultānī, the son-in-law of Ghālib Khān of Sāmāna, collected a large army, and on the ninth of Rajab of this year fought a battle with Khizr Khān near Ajūdhan, and being defeated went to the town of Bhūhar, where Ghālib Khān in concert with the other Amirs put him to death.

<sup>1</sup> His adopted son Malik Wāṣil.

<sup>2</sup> All MSS. write this constantly جمادی الاول instead of جمید الاول.

<sup>3</sup> Firishta (Bo. text) says.

و چون بقصبہ پیتالی که کنار نہر گنگ است رسید رای سینیر ..... بمقابلہ ۴۰۰ مہ

Whence he arrived at the township of Baitālī on the banks of the Ganges Rāī Sanīr ... came out to oppose him.

Briggs says:—"When he reached the village of Puttyaly on the Ganges the Ray of Serinagar ... opposed him."

The Kālāpānī is the Kālī Naddī or Kālinī (*see Hunter Imp. Gazett. VII. 327*) lying between the Jumna and Ganges. Timūr calls it the Karāsū (Black water), Elliott, III. 452.

<sup>4</sup> The text here is wrong; for باز کشیده باز گشتهند MS. (A).

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) only says Shams Khān, but Firishta's account includes Mubārak Khān so that the text is probably correct.

And in the year 804 H (1401 A.D.) Sultan Muhammad ibn Muhammed Shah arrived at Delhi from Dhar, and although Iqbāl Khān went out to receive him, and caused him to alight at the Jahan Numa<sup>1</sup> palace with all expressions of service and manifestations of respect, still, since Iqbāl Khān was in possession of all the paraphernalia of royalty, Sultan Mahmud became very jealous of him and took him with him towards Qanauj. And in this year Malikā shi Shāraq Mubarak Shah died, and his younger brother Sultan Ibrahim succeeded him, and came out to fight with Sultan Mahmud and Iqbāl Khān. Sultan Mahmud before engaging in conflict left the army of Iqbāl Khān under pretence of a hunting expedition, and had an interview with Sultan Ibrahim who treated him with scant ceremony. Sultan Mahmud accordingly removed Shāhzadah Fath Khan of Heiāt, who was holding Qanauj on behalf of Mubarak Shah, and took that fortress under his own control. The populace of Qanauj both people and soldiery, joined Sultan Mahmud, and Sultan Ibrahim returned to Jaunpur, while Iqbāl Khan retraced his steps towards Delhi, so that Sultan Mahmud was left in undisputed and contented possession of Qanauj.

And in the year 805 H (1402 A.D.) Iqbāl Khan made an attack upon the country round the fortress of Gwalior, which Rai Harsingh<sup>2</sup> had taken by treachery from the Muslims during the invasion of Timur, and wresting it from the possession of Bairam Dev the son of Harsingh,<sup>3</sup> took it into his own control.

And in the year 806 H (1403 A.D.) Tatar Khan the son of Zifir Khān, forgetting his filial duty took his father prisoner by treachery and sent him to Asawal, assuming to himself the title of Sultan Nāṣirū d Din Muhammed Shah, and set out at the head of a large army with the intention of attempting to reduce Delhi. While he was on the way his uncle Shams Khan administered poison to him and removed him, then he released Zafar Khan and the whole army joined him.

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) reads جہاں نما Jahanpanah. This was the name given to the central portion of the triple citadel of Delhi connecting old Delhi with Siri. It was situated in the midst of the inhabited city and had thirteen gates of the other two Siri had seven gates and old Delhi ten gates. See Elliott III 418. The palace was called Jahan Numa as in the text.

<sup>2</sup> Firishta calls him شہری Harsingh

<sup>3</sup> Both MSS and text read شہری Harsingh

## Verse.

A parricide is not fitted to be a king,

And even if he is fitted he will not last for more than six months.

And in the year 807 H. (1404 A.D.) Iqbāl Khān marched towards Gwāliār and Itāwa, the Rāis of which districts all took refuge within the fortress of Itāwa, and stood siege for four months; at last they made overtures for peace, sending four elephants and other presents of suitable nature. Iqbāl Khān leaving there came to Qānanj, and fought with Sultān Mahmūd, but was unable to effect his purpose owing to the strength of the fortifications, so returned to Dīllī without accomplishing his object.

And in the Muḥarram of the year 808 H. (1405 A.D.) he marched for Sāmāna, and from thence came to Rūpar,<sup>1</sup> and by stratagem laid hands upon Bahram Khān Turkbacha, who had been an antagonist of Sārang Khān, and slayed his head. Leaving Rūpar he proceeded towards Multān, intending to fight with Khizr Khān, and at Talaundi taking with him Rāi Kamālu-d-Din Mabīn and the other Zamīndārs, on the nineteenth of the month of Jumādī-l-Awwal in the abovementioned year, he engaged in battle with Khizr Khān in the neighbourhood of Ajūdhan,<sup>2</sup> on the banks of a tributary (of the Satlaj);<sup>3</sup> and since

<sup>1</sup> In the Umballa district, 43 miles North of Ambāla city, Lat. 20° 57' N. Long. 76° 33' E. on the south bank of the Sutlej, (Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, XII. 82).

<sup>2</sup> Ajūdhan the ancient name of Pākpattan. Lat. 30° 20' 40" N. Long. 73° 25' 50" E. It is known as Pākpattan, or Ferry of the Pure, from Shāikh Farīdu-d-Dīn Ganj Shakkar who is buried there. The saint was called Ganj Shakkar as he was reputed to have the miraculous power of turning into sugar whatever he put into his mouth, even earth and stones. Pilgrims from all parts of India, Afghanistan, and Central Asia flock to this shrine, and during the Muḥarram festival as many as 60,000 persons have been present. During the afternoon and night of the last day the crowds vie with one another in attempting to gain access to a narrow opening in a wall near the shrine known as the "Gate of Paradise." Whoever can force his way through this opening during the prescribed hours is assured of an entrance into Paradise. For this reason the crush is excessive and many are injured.

See Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* X. 532-533, also Cunningham (A. G. I.) 214-219.

<sup>3</sup> In the text and MSS. we read گنار در کنار دار. اجوڈھان. *Ajūdhan dar kinār i-dihinda*, which at first sight seems difficult to understand, until the old maps are consulted. We see in Rennell's map (A.D. 1782) that Ajūdhan was situated (G. g.) upon an island surrounded by the Satlaj to the north, and a

ill fortuno attended Iqbal Khan,<sup>1</sup> he was defeated in the very first engagement, and his horse being wounded could not bear him off the field, so that the soldiers of Khusr Khan pursued him, and cutting off his head sent it to Fathpur, one of the dependencies of Maltān. And in the month of Jumādī-l-Ākher of this year Sultan Mahmūd came from Qānnūj at the invitation of the Amirs of Dihlī, and once more sat upon the throne of Dihlī, and conferred appointments upon the Amirs, and sent the family of Mubārak Khan to Kol. And in the month of Jumādī l-Awwal of the year 809 H (1406 A.D.) Sultan Mahmud marched with a force towards Qānnūj, and Sultan Ibrahim came out thence and crossed the Ganges, but they both turned back without fighting.<sup>2</sup>

Sultān Ibrāhīm went towards Jaunpur, and Sultan Mahmud towards Dihlī, but seeing that the Amirs of Sultān Mahmūd's army one after the other left for their own districts as they came to them in the march, Sultān Ibrāhīm turned back and besieged Qānnūj, Malik Mahmud Tārnati, who was holding Qānnūj for Sultan Mahmud, kept Sultān Ibrāhīm engaged in fighting for four months, but when he saw that no reinforcements were arriving from any quarter he was forced to sue for peace, and surrendered Qānnūj to Sultan Ibrāhīm.<sup>3</sup> Sultan Ibrāhīm passed the rainy season at Qānnūj, and then having made over that district to Khātīyar Khan the grandson of Malik Daulat Yar of Kanpūr, started to reduce Dihlī.

tributary stream which left the main river to the eastward of Ajudhan, and flowing south west joined it again some 35 miles lower down. This explains Bidaoni's statement. The town of Ajudhan is generally said to have stood upon the bank of the Satlaj itself. Cunningham (1 G. of India 214) says "The ancient town of Ajudhan is situated on the high bank of the old Sutlej 28 miles to the south west of Depalpur and 10 miles from the present course of the river" (1871 A.D.) But from Bidaoni's statement it is clear that Ajudhan stood, not on the banks of the Satlaj itself, but on a southerly loop or tributary stream. It is the modern Pakpatan see note 2.

<sup>1</sup> There is a play on the words جیب Iqbal good fortune and لجبت Idber, bad fortune.

<sup>2</sup> According to Firdausi Ibrāhīm Shah was induced to return to Jaunpur by the intelligence that Murāffar Shah of Gujrāt had taken prisoner Alī Khan commonly called Sultan Moshārīg and was now marching on Jaunpur.

<sup>3</sup> MS (A)

The text has the words سے کے which seem to be superfluous. They are not in MS (A)

And in the year 810 H. (1407 A.D.) Nuṣrat Khān Karkandāz,<sup>1</sup> and Tātār Khān the son of Sārang Khān, and Malik Marḥabā the slave of Iqbāl Khān, turned against Sultān Maḥmūd and joined Sultān Ibrāhīm, and Asad Khān Lodi fortified himself in Sambhal. The following day Sultān Ibrāhīm reduced the fortress of Sambhal and gave it to Tātār Khān: then crossing the Gauges he encamped on the banks of the Jamnā near the fort of Kieha in the vicinity of Dihlī, where he learned that Zafar Khān had taken the district of Dhār<sup>2</sup> and was making his way to Jaunpūr;<sup>3</sup> accordingly leaving Malik Marḥabā in Baran, he reached Jaunpūr by continuous marches; Sultān Maḥmūd pursued him and having killed Malik Marḥabā in battle, and taking Sambhal<sup>4</sup> without a fight, left thero Bāṣad Khān after his usual custom. Tātār Khān marched to Qānanj and the Sultān came to Dihlī. And in this year Khizr Khān came with a large force and drove Danlat Khān out of Sāmāna.<sup>5</sup> The Amirs of that district all sought an interview with him, and the whole country as far as to the outskirts of Dihli fell into his hands; only Rohtak and the Doāb remained in the possession of Sultān Maḥmūd.

And in the year 811 H. (1408 A.D.) Sultān Maḥmūd proceeding to Ḥissār Firūz took it<sup>6</sup> from Qiwāin Khān to whom Khizr Khān had given it, and having taken possession of it, on arriving at the village of Rata<sup>7</sup> turned back towards Dihlī: Khizr Khān then

<sup>1</sup> Or probably Gurgandāz "the wolf-slayer" MS. (A) reads كنجہ. (?) *kinja*, which means a huge elephaut.

<sup>2</sup> In Central India. Lat. 23° 36' N. Long. 75° 4' E. see Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* IV. 248.

<sup>3</sup> In Central India, between Lat. 25° 23' 45" and 26° 12' N. Long. 82° 10' and 83° 7' 45" E.

Sultān Ibrāhīm built at Jaunpūr the Atala Masjid, using for this purpose the stones of a Hindū temple the votive offering of Jai Chand which he destroyed. See Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* VII 152.

<sup>4</sup> In Rohilkund Lat. 28° 35' 5" N. Long. 78° 36' 45" E., 23 miles S. W. of Moradābād and four miles W. of the Sot River. See Rennell's map. Tieff. III. where he places it 45 miles N. E. of Bareilly. The Sambalaka of Ptolemy. See McCrindle's *Ancient India*, p. 133. See also Hunter XII. 187.

<sup>5</sup> Tieff. I. 133, about 25 miles S. W. of Hānsī and 100 miles to the eastward of Dihlī.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) reads ای حصار را Firishṭa call the fortress فیروزہ Firūza.

<sup>7</sup> Or بے, Rana MS. (A).

came by way of Rohtak with a large army from Fathabād to oppose Sultan Mahmūd,<sup>1</sup> and laid siego to Dīlī, but was not able to maintain the siego by reason of the severo fauno which prevailed in Dīlī, then having taken possession of the Doāb he returned to Fathpūr.<sup>2</sup>

And in the year 812 H. (1409 A.D.)<sup>3</sup> Bahrām Khān Turkbačha,<sup>4</sup> who after the death of Bahrām Khān Turkbačha had become master of Sāmān, and had been defeated in a battle with Daulat Khān, and again revolting against Khizr Khān had had a second interview with Daulat Khān, now offered his services to Khizr Khān, and received a confirmation of the grant of the districts formerly held by him in sief. And in the year 813 H. (1410 A.D.) Khizr Khān besieged the fortress of Rokhīk<sup>5</sup> for six months, and after reducing it proceeded to Fathpūr.<sup>6</sup> But this year Sultan Mahmūd made an expedition to Kaitha.<sup>7</sup> At the capital Dīlī.

In the year 814 H. (1411 A.D.) Khizr Khān came to Narnūl<sup>8</sup> and Miwāt<sup>9</sup> and ravaged that country, and blockailing Sultan

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) reads here ملک سلطان مہمود رہنگہ بیرونی باد بروز عده و منکہ

دہلی را محاصرہ کرد

<sup>2</sup> For some inscrutable reason Briggs passes over the events of two years here. cf. Firishta, No. text, p 292, and Briggs, pp. 503-504.

<sup>3</sup> The text says 712 H. MS. (A) gives 812 H.

The editor of the text gives a footnote to say that all three MSS. give 712 H.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) inserts بیرونی before بیرم خان and omits بیرونی after بیرم خان.

Firishta says that Iktiyār Khān joined Khizr Khān seeing he was the stronger.

<sup>5</sup> Held according to Firishta by Malik Idris on behalf of Mahmud Shāh.

<sup>6</sup> By way of Sāmān (Firishta).

<sup>7</sup> Which was held by Iqlim Khān and Bahādur Khān (Firishta).

<sup>8</sup> Mīrāt. For an account of this Province see Hunter Imp. Gaz. Vol. IX, pp 418 and seqq. from which the substance of this note is taken :

The Meos, a tribe which gave their name to this province were of obscure origin claiming to be Rājputs, but probably a combination from various stocks and sources and nearly allied to the Mīras. The original Meos probably became converts to Islam at the time of Mahmud of Ghazni; their customs are a mixture of Hindū and Musulmān observances.

The province of Miwāt lay south of Dīlī and in Mughal times formed part of the Subah of Agra. Its most famous towns were Narnaul, Ulwur,

Mahmūd in the fortress of Sirī, which is part of Dihlī,<sup>1</sup> and Ikhtiyār Khān in Firozābād, and fighting several fierce battles, was prevented from maintaining the siege<sup>2</sup> by reason of the dearness of grain, and returned to Fathpūr by way of Pānipat.<sup>3</sup>

And in the year 815 H. (1412 A.D.)<sup>4</sup> Sultān Maḥmūd departed from this world, and the kingdom passed from the family of Firuz Shāh. The duration of his reign, full as it was of turmoil and vicissitudes, was twenty years<sup>5</sup> and two months, during which Sultān Maḥmūd had had only the name of sovereignty.

## Verse.

Who is there in this long-enduring world  
Who can say "Mine is the kingdom" save the Almighty?

man ma- Verse.

A head w/<sup>th</sup> this year es exalt to a lofty position  
They late<sup>lat</sup> entangle its neck in a noose.

Tijāra and Rewārī. Bahādur Nāhir (who is frequently mentioned in the text) was the founder of the Khanzāda race, long the rulers of Mīwāt.

The province of Mīwāt included part of the British districts of Muttra, Gurgāon, a considerable portion of Ulwar, and some of Bhartpūr.

See Tieffenthaler. Vol. III. Map. where the province is marked.

<sup>1</sup> In the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* we read that Timur plundered "all the three cities of Dihli, by name Siri, Jahānpanāh and old Dihli."

Seo Elliott, III. p. 447, also Thomas *Pathān Kings*, p. 313, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) omits قرار.

**S Pānipath.** A town of great antiquity. Lat.  $29^{\circ} 23' N.$  Long.  $77^{\circ} 1' 10'' E.$  53 miles N. of Dilhī. It was the scene of decisive battles on three occasions in historical times. The famous surgeons, father and son, Shaikh Hasan and Shaikh Binā were natives of Pānipat, see *Aīn-i-Ākbari* (B) I. 543, note to No. 94.

See Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* XI. 44.

\* In the month of Zū Qu'da (Firishtā). Firishtā does not state the year though taken in connection with what has gone before he appears to mean 814 H. but see n 2: Bādāoni however agrees, with the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*. On this point see Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, p. 317, note i.

5 MS. (A) reads here,

و مدت ملک بان همه تزلزل و انقلاب نوزده سال و دو صد بود

Firishta has almost the same words but says میسیت سال twenty years as in the text. So also the *Tarikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*.

Firishta's statement is not very clear as to the year in which Mahmud died, but as he goes on to say that after his death the Amirs gave in their

Savo the blood of kings there is nought in this bowl,  
Savo<sup>1</sup> the dust of lovers there is nought in this desert

Of the poets of the reign of Sultān Maḥmūd is Qāzī Zalur Dihlīvī<sup>2</sup> who has left a Diwān (anthology) full of *qasīdahs* in eulogy (of Mahmud) of which this is one.

Heir to the mighty monarchy, Sultān Maḥmūd,  
Who succeeded his father and grandfather in the sovereignty 278  
of the world,  
He removed Dhāranī<sup>3</sup> from the sky to serve as his signet,  
While Taurus complained saying I have but this one eye  
left<sup>4</sup>  
By the first strain of his bow string he has wakened the Lion,  
And after that he has stretched him out in sleep with the  
deep piercing arrow.  
The whole world boasts of full salvation at the hoard of thy  
favour,  
Save only the lute which complains that its belly is empty<sup>5</sup>  
Oh thou whose world conquering sword flashes in the dark-  
ness of infidelity like to the lightning flashing through the  
darkness of night,  
Although the heaven has made thine enemies intoxicated  
like the eyes of the beloved idols for some time, still at last  
it has overthrown them

allegiance to Dunlat Khan Lodi, who struck the coinage, &c., in Muharram of 816 H it is tolerably clear that he means 7 al Qādī 815 H as the date of Mahmud's death, and not 814 H as Briggs would have it.

1 Misprint in the text MS (A) reads سے

2 Qāzī Zalur Dihlīvī I can find no mention of this poet

3 عَذَارِي The Hyades one of the two clusters of stars included within the constellation Taurus the other being the Pleiades

Ancient astronomers were not agreed as to the number of stars included in the Hyades Thales reckoned two only ( $\alpha$  and  $\epsilon$ ) the two eyes of the Bull (Smith Dict Greek and Rom Antiq 150 a)

4 The constellation Taurus is here spoken of as having lost one of his two eyes by which must be meant the two clusters of stars above mentioned, and not  $\alpha$  and  $\epsilon$  of Taurus as reckoned by Thales.

5 The لُبْرَب rubab or lute is a stringed instrument like a guitar but having the body shaped like a hollowed gourd somewhat resembling the body of the mandolin

It is envy of thy generous hand which throws the ocean into tumult, for if it be not so, the ocean is never so disturbed by the winds of heaven.

The following is also by the same author :

Thou art a monarch before whom the heavens bow in adoration,  
Thou art a King in whose reign time itself exults.

*Qiblah*<sup>1</sup> of the nation, and mainstay of kingdoms and religion, Mūhāmmad

Whom the assemblies of Sultān have chosen as their Imām.<sup>2</sup>

The Qāzī of the heavens<sup>3</sup> comes out on foot to receive him

279. When the Governor of his unerring judgment sends the summons.

He keeps constant watch<sup>4</sup> lest sedition should make a night assault,

Thy vigilance stands with a drawn sword in its hand while the people sleep (in safety).

In order that thy enemy may not enjoy the sweet breezes of the garden of thy favour

The heavens have afflicted him with fever and headache in addition to catarrh.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This line should read as in MS. (A).

قبله خلق و قیام دول و دین مسحود.

A foot-note to the Calcutta text states that the reading there given is the same in all three MSS. of Bādāoni and that probably the word **مَسْكُون** has dropped out after the word دین. This is a quite unnecessary suspicion. The reading above given fulfills all requirements. MS. (B) corresponds save that for درل it reads ودل an evident copyist's error.

**قبله** *Qiblah*. This is the direction in which Muslims are bound to turn during prayer : This is laid down in the Qur'ān, Sura II. " Wo see thee often turn thy face about in the heavens, but wo will surely turn thee to a qiblah thou shalt like. Turn then thy face towards the sacred Mosque, wherever ye be turn your faces towards it " (v. 139). From the Hijra, Mūhammad at first directed his followers to turn towards the temple at Jērusalem, but in the second year of the Hijra the Ka'bah at Mekka was fixed as the qiblah. See Hughes' *Dict. of Islam*, s. v. *Qiblah*.

<sup>2</sup> امام *Imām*. In this passage the word is used in the sense of Khalifah.

<sup>3</sup> قاضی چرخ *Qāzī-i-Charkh*. The planet Jupiter.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) reads incorrectly هبیده از پاس.

<sup>5</sup> This couplet is inevitably ridiculous to English ears : the meaning is that in order to deprive him of the pleasures of the perfumed breezes, he has been afflicted with the anosmia which results from a cold in the head.

The heavens have apportioned every arrow of thine to one  
of the various families,  
It were not possible to allot the arrows<sup>1</sup> in any better way  
than this

The following is also his

My love has gone outside, do then my life also go outside,  
For if thou art not outside with my love, then wilt be outside  
the pale of love

Specially that now, in order to uproot the infidels and rebels,<sup>2</sup>  
The royal standards have gone out clothed in good fortune.  
Shâh Mahmûd, he who when he saluted forth against the  
infidels,

Thou would'st say 'Isa has come forth to slay Dujjâl<sup>3</sup>  
Thy reign has cast sedition into the bondage of annihilation.  
I send to the heavens, Beware! this is a prisoner<sup>4</sup> of the  
Sultân, free him not!

<sup>1</sup> مُعْكَس Siham, called also حَدَّاج qidâh. These are the arrows used by the ancient Arabs for gambling in the manner called الميسر Al maysar (forbidden in the Qurâن, II 216 v 92, 93) In this game a camel was bought and slaughtered, and divided into twenty eight portions which were drawn for with ten arrows called حَلْل azlam. The numbers after the names of the arrows indicate the value of the share drawn, حَلْل fâz (1), حَلْل tawâ'um (2), حَلْل aqib (3), حَلْل nisâ' (4), حَلْل hâs (5), حَلْل musbal (6), حَلْل mualliq (7)

The remaining three arrows were blanks and gained no share. Their names were حَلْل safîh, حَلْل manâk, حَلْل naghâl. The name of each arrow was written upon it and they were all put into a bag called حَلْل babah, and given into the charge of a trustworthy man known as حَلْل al muqîl or حَلْل al muqîz whose duty was to shake the arrows up and draw out one for each in turn. Whoever drew a blank had to pay the cost of the camel, while those who drew a winning arrow received a proportionate share according to the value of the arrow. See Majma'u l Bahrain, Maqâmah, XIII p 99

<sup>2</sup> The couplets are here given in the order in which they occur in both MSS (A) (B)

<sup>3</sup> حَلَّاج Dujjâl See page 278 n 4 "A name given in the Hadîth to certain religious impostors who shall appear in the world, a term equivalent to our use of the word Antichrist. Muhammad is related to have said there would be about thirty" Hughes' Dict of Islam 61 See also Albiruni Chronology of Ancient Nations pp 195 196

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) حَلَّاج MS (B) سَاع

This is also his :

The month of Dai<sup>1</sup> has arrived, and the air has in consequence become so cold<sup>2</sup>

That nothing save the icy breeze can move from its place.

The earth is cold and frost bound,<sup>3</sup> the air is even colder than the earth,

In very truth the air is chill with the weariness of age.

In the garden the fire of the tulip and Gulnār have died down,

From the cold the (graceful) trees of the garden have become mere sticks.

The water is hard frozen from the cold, and says with petulance,

I will break if anyone places his foot upon my head.

No single bud comes out from its resting place in the heart of the tree, although it wears upon its cypress-like body a cap and mantle.

The bird has ceased its song when it saw the havoc wrought by autumn,

When a general pillage is going on, lamentation is futile.

Seek not for leaves and seed-bearing fruit in the garden, for to-day

The leaves have been scattered by the wind, the seeds remain hidden beneath the earth.

The morning breeze draws every breath like a deep drawn sigh, Seeing that it has cast to the winds so beauteous a being as the rose.

So far has the rose gone that should you search the East and the West,

You will not find it save in the assembly of the King of the World.

Shāh Mājmūd from the splendour of whose assemblies, there is eternal spring in the month of Dai, and the world is like Paradise.

<sup>1</sup> دی The tenth month of the Persian Shamsī year when the Sun is in Capricorn, corresponding to the commencement of winter.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) omits دم.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) reads گشت از برف in place of آئین گشت. Text and MS. (B).

Ho who when he draws up his array, and orders it for battle,  
The lines of the onomies at the very sight of him pale with  
terror.<sup>1</sup>

His heart is the rising place of sacred knowledge,<sup>2</sup> and he has  
knowledge,

Because <sup>3</sup> he fathoms the secrets of Fate with a glance.

Oh thou who in the rules of Government art an example to  
vazirs,

The vazirs have issued no order save on the authority of thy  
judgment.

If it be not the intention of the wind to write a memorial  
of thy virtues<sup>4</sup>

Why does it scatter the leaves of the rose in the garden,      281.  
The sun in comparison with thy (brilliant) judgment looks  
like Suhā<sup>5</sup>

Although Suhā cannot be seen in the bright light of the Sun.  
Thou slayest thine enemies, and Timo confesses thy excellency;  
Thou art the refuge of the people, and the evil doers take  
shelter under thy wing

The cupbearer of thy feast bears a cup of joy in his hand,  
The herald of thy fame has the whole world beneath his feet.  
The banquet of Truth cannot be spread save in praise of thee  
Although the whole feast terminates with the distribution of  
sweetmeats.

Hail Khusrū! even should I remain excluded from attendance  
upon thee

I shall not take one moment's rest from praising and eulogising thee

My duty is thy service, since were I to refrain from that  
I have no other occupation save singing thy praises

<sup>1</sup> An adequate translation of these lines seems impossible. There is a  
تختی تختی *tajnis-i-lafz* or play upon words here which cannot be pre-  
served in English. The words صُفْرَاءُ وَ صُفْرَاءُ *asfār wa asfār*, have two meanings, 1st,  
draws up its lines, and 2nd, grows pale, according as صُفْرَاءُ is taken as two  
words or as one

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) and (B) write دار و قوی عیب است *Dar o qawi' ubi ast*

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) write گو *go* Text and MS. (B) گی *gi*.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) reads incorrectly خواهم نوشت *khawham noshat*

<sup>5</sup> Suhā is the name of a dim star in Urs Major. See Lane s. v. سُهَّا

Thou hast led thine army against thy enemies, and I follow  
thee  
Sending early and late the army of benediction to thy  
assistance.  
As long as the nights of the month of Dai are longer than  
its days,  
And until the season of Namuz comes round unpreceded by  
winter,  
May the garden of thy enjoyment blossom like the season of  
spring.  
May the life of thy enemies be shorter than the days of winter.

This is another of his compositions.

The scent of the rose has arisen, hasten my companion to the  
rose-garden,

Seek for the old wine, and re-call that old love of thine.

282. The branch of the rose, like the date-palm of 'Isä, refreshes  
the soul in the garden

Because the breeze gently shakes it continually like Mariam.<sup>1</sup>

Although the tender branch inclines with the wind, from one  
side to the other

Yet a stream flows, *Praise be to God*, up to the Sirāt-i-mus-  
tagīm.<sup>2</sup>

The branch is full of leaves, why does the nightingale com-  
plain in its song?

How is it possible that Moses should have patience when he  
has Khizr for companion?<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "So she conceived him and she retired with him into a remote place. And the labour pains came upon her at the trunk of a palm-tree and she said, 'O that I had died before this, and been forgotten out of mind!' and he called to her from beneath her, 'Grieve not, for thy Lord has placed a stream beneath thy feet; and shake towards thee the trunk of the palm-tree, it will drop upon thee fresh dates fit to gather; so eat and drink and cheer thine eye.'" Qur'ān. Palmer's translation. See Qur'ān. Sura XIX. vv. 20-28.

<sup>2</sup> Sirāt-i-mustaqīm. The hair-like bridge over the midst of Hell over which the righteous will pass like lightning.

Qur'ān, I. 5, Hughes art Sirāt. It is also interpreted to mean the religion of Islām. Qur'ān, III. 41. See also Lane, s. v.

<sup>3</sup> This refers to the legend told by Muhammadan commentators on certain verses of the Qur'ān, that when Khizr had disappeared in search of the water of immortality, Moses was inspired to search for him and was told that he

The wind draws lines across the stream like the scribbles  
 he drives his pen,  
 The eye of the narcissus points to the sky like the eye of the  
 astronomer as he prepares his tables.  
 The parrots flaunt in green attire, the ringdove wears white  
 garments,  
 The crow is devoid of any such honourable vestments, wear-  
 ing as it does a black blanket.<sup>1</sup>  
 You would say<sup>2</sup> that the narcissus has produced a transcript  
 of these people (*umam*) who sleep below the dust. Look !  
 it has for each *alif* two *mims*.<sup>3</sup>  
 The sumbul and narcissus are copies of the locks and eyes  
 of the fair ones,  
 Of those two, one falls prostrate stricken with blackness,  
 the other comes intoxicated (with love).<sup>4</sup>

would meet him by a rock where two seas met, and where he should lose a fish which he was directed to take with him. The companion spoken of is said to have been Joshua, and the servant who guided them (v. 61) was no less than Khizr himself, and when Moses asked if he should follow him said, "Verily thou canst never have patience with me. How canst thou be patient in what thou comprehendest no knowledge of." Khizr upon being assured by Moses that he would be patient bade him to follow but not to ask about anything he might see. They embarked in a ship which Khizr scuttled, whereupon Moses naturally asked the reason and was rebuked. Further on they met a boy whom Khizr killed and again roused Moses' impatience, again they found a wall which Khizr prevented from falling without exacting any reward for his services, and again Moses became impatient whereupon Khizr said, "This is the parting between me and thee" and explained to Moses the reason for his action in each case. See Qur'an XVIII 61 and following verses.

<sup>1</sup> The couplets are arranged in the order in which they come in the MSS.

<sup>2</sup> The text reads كُوئي with a foot note variant بِلَى MSS (A) (B) agree with text

<sup>3</sup> نرجس or نرگس *Nargis* The poet's narcissus. *Narcissus* portions N. O. Amaryllidaceæ. This natural order has a single style with three stigmas, and six stamens of which the anthers barst inwards. The poet here likens the three divisions of the style to three *alifs* (ا) and the stamens to six *mims* (م) the anthers forming the head of the letter, and the curved filament its downward stroke. Thus the single *alif* (ا) and two *mims* (م) form he says the word *umam* the plural of *āf* *ummatain* meaning the followers of a prophet, or a people of one religion, hence generically a generation of men as in the saying *mučūdāt qādī* generations of men have passed away.

<sup>4</sup> سُبْل Sumbul *Nardostachys Jatamansi* N. O. Valerianaceæ. See note 6.

The rose-bud has blossomed by the blast of the breeze of  
the garden,

In truth, he who has a resigned heart rejoices even when  
misfortune befalls him.

You would say that the black spot which has come in the  
heart of the tulip from the cruelty of autumn

Is a Hindū who has fallen<sup>1</sup> into the flames of hell.

She stands there on one foot lifting upwards two eyes<sup>2</sup>

Beseeching the merciful Lord<sup>3</sup> to grant the King eternal life.

He in comparison with whose youthful fortune the heaven is  
as an old man bowed with age,<sup>4</sup>

And for instructing his judgment, abstract Wisdom<sup>5</sup> is as an  
intelligent child.

When once the power of growth<sup>6</sup> has obtained sufficient  
intensity from his sharp sword, it splits the fruit-stone, as  
his sword does the enemy, into two halves beneath the  
earth.

The star of sovereignty,<sup>7</sup> which has left its orbit to seek thy  
auspicious presence,

Will find its proper orbit if it becomes stationary at thy  
court.

page 146: see also *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II, pp. 405 et seqq for a paper on this,  
the Indian Spike-ward, front which the following is taken " the true nard or  
Jatāmānsi which, by the way, has other names in the Amarevish, the smoothest  
of which are *gatilā* and *lōmasā* both derived from words meaning hair." The  
comparison of the narcissus to the eye is so familiar as to need no reference.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. (A) (B) فُرورْفَتَة.

<sup>2</sup> The scape of the tulip is here spoken of as bearing two flowers.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) ربِّ مظِيمٍ.

<sup>4</sup> I read hero پیر نگونست pīr-i-nigānast for پیر نکوست (MSS. and text) pīr-i-nekūst which has no intelligible meaning. Probably the author wrote نگونست nigānast.

<sup>5</sup> عَقْلٌ كَلٌّ aql-i-kull. The first or supreme intelligence, a name given to the Angel Gabriel. In the language of the Sūfis the 'aql-i-kull (called also 'aql-i-awwal) appears to answer to the "Logos" of the Alexandrian School. See *Kashshāf-i-Istilābu-l-funūn*, II, p. 102S.

<sup>6</sup> قُوتٌ نَّامِيَّةٌ qut-nāmiyyah for دَارِيَّةٌ dāriyyah.

<sup>7</sup> رجُوعٌ كَوْكَبٌ Rujū'-i-karkhab, called also رجَّاجٌ Rijāt, is the motion of a  
star in opposition to the movement in the normal direction which is known by  
the term دَسْقَانٌ Istiqāmat. See *Kashshāf*, s. v. رجُوعٌ.

And in truth after Qazi Zahir no poet arose in Hindustān whose poetry repaid the trouble of reading. After the death of Sultān Mahmud the great Amirs of Hindustān as for instance Muhāriz Khan and Malik Idris who was the ruler of Rohtak, quarrelled with Khizr Khan and were disposed to make common cause with Daulat Khan, Khizr Khan accordingly stood fast in Fathpur and made no expeditions to any country.

In Muhamarram of the year 816 H (1414 A.D.) Daulat Khan having gone towards Kaithar on a hunting expedition and having brought the Rāis of that district into his toils, went to Brāti, and Mahabat Khan the Wali of Badūn came thither and joined him. And in this year Sultan Ibrāhīm besieged Qādir Khan the son of Mahmud Khan in Kalpi, and Daulat Khan being very short handed, ignored him, and omitted to send reinforcements to either of these places, and Khizr Khan in Zu lqa'da of this year came to the fortress of Firuzabād,<sup>1</sup> the Amirs of which district came into him, and Malik Idris was besieged in Rohtak. Khizr Khan marched by that route to Miwati and taking with him Jalal Khan Miwati the brother's son of Bahadur Nāhir, convoyed him to Sanbal which place he pillaged, and in Zu Hijjah of that same year he encamped before the gates of Dīlī with the intention of taking it, Daulat Khan held out for four months, but at last was compelled by the want of agreement with Malik Lonā and the other supporters of Khizr Khan to sue for peace, humbly and earnestly. He had an interview with Khizr Khan who threw him into prison, and delivered him to Qiwam Khan who conveyed him to the fortress of Firuzān and slew him. This happened in the year 816 H (1414 A.D.) on the seventeenth of Rabi'u l Awwal.<sup>2</sup>

### Verse

Everyone whom the world favours, who at last<sup>3</sup> spills his blood,  
What can be the condition of that child, whose mother is  
his enemy

MASNAH 1 'ALI KHIZR KHĀN IBN MALIKU SH̄ SHARQ<sup>4</sup> IBN MALIK  
SULLIMĀN,

In the year before mentioned after the conquest of Dīlī having

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) reads حصار فیروز آن

<sup>2</sup> Firdausi adds The duration of his reign was one year and three months

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) reads ماته for آخرین

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) The text reads ملک اشرفی

raised the standards of monarchy, became firmly established upon the throne of sovereignty.

This Malik Suleimān had been exalted in his childhood by Malik Naṣīru-l-Mulk Marwān Firūz Shāhī to the rank of a son, and had been educated accordingly. In real truth he was a Saiyyidzāda of high family, so that on one occasion Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān Saiyyidu-s-Sādāt, the fountain of dignities, Shaikh Jalālu-l-Haqq wau-s-Shara'wau-d-dīn al-Bukhārī *may God sanctify his soul*, came for some important purpose into the house of Malik Marwān Daulat; food was served, and Malik Suleimān brought the ewer and basin to Makhdūm intending to pour water over his august hands. Makhdūm addressing him by the title of Malik Marwān Daulat, said, This lad is a Saiyyid Zāda, and it is derogatory to him to allot him such a menial service. From that

285. day forth, it was known that Malik Suleimān was an undoubted Saiyyid; but besides this, the signs of Saiyyidship, and good qualities and praiseworthy traits became manifestly visible in the character of Masnad-i-'Ālī Saiyyid Khizr Khān.

#### *Verse.*

The Saiyyid was a man in whom were manifested  
The virtues of Muḥammad, and the grace of 'Ālī the accepted.

The following is an epitome of the career of Malik Marwān Daulat. He was governor of Multān in the time of Firūz Shāh, and after the death of Malik Marwān Danlat, the Government of that district devolved upon his son Malik Shaikh, shortly after whose death it was confirmed to Malik Suleimān. He also bade farewell to this world in that reign, and the country of Multān with its dependencies was conferred upon Saiyyid Khizr Khān on behalf of Sultān Firūz Shāh, up to the date when the aforesaid Saiyyid was advanced to the Sultānate by the Amīrs. He however would not assume the title of King; but received the title of Rāyāt-i-A'ala.<sup>1</sup>

On the date mentioned he alighted at the palace of Sultān Maḥmūd, and gained over the hearts of great and small by public *largesse* and unbounded favours, distributing titles, offices, and territories among his personal attendants; in the very first year of his accession he conferred upon Malik Nahv<sup>2</sup> (Tuḥfa) the title

<sup>1</sup> See Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, p. 329, and footnote.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) ~~تھفہ~~ Tuḥfa.



having seized the right bank of the Black water,<sup>1</sup> inflicted condign punishment upon the infidels of Etāwah, and then returned towards the city.

And in the year 818 H. (1415 A.D.) he gave to Saiyyid Khizr Khan the younger son<sup>2</sup> of Malik Mabarak, whose countenance betokened royal dignity, the territory of Firuzpur and Sihri, together with the whole of the districts which were in the possession of Bairam Khan Turkbaeha, and subjected the supreme control and administration of that tract of country to his will and pleasure, while Malik Sadhu Nadir,<sup>3</sup> having assumed the control of the western portion of Hindustan, was appointed to this office with the rank of Naib-i-Shahzada (*i.e.*, vicegerent of the Prince).

And in the aforesaid year the Prince here alluded to having, in concert with Malik<sup>4</sup> Sadhu Nadira and Zirak Khan the Amir of Samana and other Amirs and Maliks,<sup>5</sup> set in order the important affairs of that province, and put everything upon a satisfactory footing, returned to Dihli his capital city.

And in the year 819 H. (1416 A.D.) he appointed Malik Tajul-Mulk<sup>6</sup> with a large army to carry the standards of Khizr Khan<sup>7</sup> towards Baiana and Gwalior; Malik Karimul-Mulk, the brother of Shams Khan Auhashi came and had an interview with him.

287. Having cleared those regions of the thorns of infidelity he returned; and in this selfsame year some of the Turkbachas of Bairam Khan's party seized by treachery Malik Sadhu Nadira, who was holding the district of Sihri as the Shahzada's deputy, raised him to the dignity of martyrdom, and took possession of Sihri. Khizr Khan thereupon sent Zirak Khan to put down this rebellion, and he accordingly went thence to the foot of the hills in pursuit of those rebels, but after encountering many difficulties he returned.

<sup>1</sup> The Kali Nadi or Kalindī, or Kalini, rises in the Muzaffarnagar district, and drains the whole eastern portion of the Doab. The name in the text آب سیاه ab-i-siyāh means Black water, and is a translation of the Hindustani kālī naddī.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) reads wrongly پسر خود for پسر خورہ.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A). The text reads نادیر.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A).

<sup>5</sup> Omit و after ملوك.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) reads تاج الدین Taj̄u-d-Dīn.

<sup>7</sup> MS. (A) ریات اعلیٰ خضر حانی.

In this year also Sultan Ahmed, who was the ruler of Gujerat, had sene to Nagor,<sup>1</sup> but upon hearing of the march of Khir Khan abandoned the siego and withdrew. Khur Khan came to Chhān,<sup>2</sup> and Alyās Khan the governor of Chhān gave in his allegiance to him. Thence he proceeded to Gwāhār, and although he did not reduce that fortress, still he received tribute and offerings from it, and thence came to Bām where Shams Khan Aukodi gave in his submission. And in the year 820 H. (1417 A D) Tughan the Ra's with his band who had been the murderers of Mohl Sadhu revolted. Zirak Khan was again appointed (to chastise them), and scattered that gathering in all directions.

And in the year 821 H. (1418 A D) Khuzi Khan went up against Kaithar, and Har Singh Dov, who has already been mentioned, laid waste the whole of Kaithar, and took to the forest of Anwla, the circumference of which is twenty-four krohs. After several engagements he was defeated, and eventually withdrew to the hill country of Kumaon. Taj-i-Mulk crossed the river Rohrib and pursued him as far as the hills, and from thence came to Badaon, and taking with him Mahabat Khan, the governor of Badoou, crossed the Ganges by the crossing of Baglana then having dismissed Mahabat Khan, he himself went on to Itawa, whence he returned to Delhi laden with spoil. In this same year, also, Khuzi Khan's again led an army against Kaithar, and proceeding by way of Kol arrived at Baitali, where he crossed the Ganges and came to Badaon. On this occasion Mahabat

<sup>1</sup> *Nagor* In Brigg's translation of *Firishta* this appears as Bagoro (I 509). It is Nagaur in Jodhpur State, Rajputana 48 miles North West of Nasikabad and 75 North East of Jodhpur city

\* The text reads حبّان Jhaban but MS (A) reads حکدان Chhdan  
 In Brigg's (I 509) we find this place called Jalwnr, with a footnote "I have  
 some doubt as to the true name it is differently written in my various MSS"  
 In the lithographed edition of *Kiratika* the name is written plainly enough  
 حاجر Janur (Bombay Edn I 294), and it is said that without waiting for  
Khizr Khan to advance, Ahmad withdrew in the direction of Mälwa, and that  
 when Khizr Khan arrived at Janur, Alyas Khan who was governor of the now  
 city called 'Arus : Jahan, which was one of the cities built by Alādīn  
Khilp, came to pay his homage. Evidently then, the city mentioned in our  
 text and this "'Arus : Jahan are the same.

<sup>8</sup> MS | (A) reads here دو سُلَّمَه مَدْكُورَةٍ فَازْ which appears to be a copyist's error

Khān Badāoni being afraid of him, shut himself up in the fortress, and opposed Khizr Khān for a space of six months; he was on the point of being defeated, when Qiwām Khān and Iktiyār Khān, and certain of the other Māhmūd Shāhi Amīrs who had seceded from Daulat Khān and had espoused the cause of Khizr Khān, meditated treason against Khizr Khān: but Khizr Khān becoming aware of this state of things<sup>1</sup> abandoned (the siege of) Badāon, and returned to Dihli. And in the year 822 H. (1419 A.D.) he put those traitor Amīrs to death on the banks of the Ganges, in vengeance for the treachery of which they had been guilty. In the same year also an obscure person on the confines of Bajwāra,<sup>2</sup> falsely gave himself out to be Sārang Khān who had been killed some time before, and upon his assuming this name several adventurers flocked to him. Khizr Khān deputed Sultān Shāh Lodī<sup>3</sup> to proceed against him. They fought a fierce battle in the neighbourhood of Silhrind, and Sārang Khān the impostor fled and took to the mountains. Sultān Shāh made Rūpar his head quarters.<sup>4</sup> In this same year Khizr Khān sent Tāju-l-Mulk to Itāwa. Rāi Sipar was holding out in that fort, but sought for quarter, and consented to pay revenue to Tāju-l-Mulk.<sup>5</sup> Thence he came to Chandwār, and having laid it waste and pillaged it, proceeded by way of Kaithar to Dihli. In this same year Malik Tāju-d-Din died, and the duties of his Vazīrship were entrusted to his elder son Malik Sikandar. Tāghān Ra'is again raised an insurrection in Silhrind, and Malik Khairu-d-Din was appointed to oppose him, and returned after having satisfactorily quelled his rebellion.

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) reads قصیدہ which is preferable to قصہ as found in the text.

<sup>2</sup> Firishta, (I. 295) says نزدیک ماجیوارہ near Māchīwāra, and in the Āīn-i-Akbarī we find it stated that Māchīwārah is situated on the banks of the Sutlej (Jarrett, II. 310). In Rennell's Map (Tieff. III.) we find Māchīwārah figured between Rūpar and Lūdhīāna. It lies 23 miles south of Lūdhīāna, and is a very ancient city mentioned in the Mahābhārata. Bajwāra is farther north near Hoshiarpur. (See Hunter, Imp. Gaz., II. 439).

<sup>3</sup> Firishta adds, "called Islām Khān who was the governor of Sarhind."

<sup>4</sup> This appears to be the meaning of the text. Firishta tells us that Islām Khān pursued "Sārang Khān" with his own forces and those of certain other Maliks, but returned upon finding that he had hidden himself.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) مال راجبی. Firishta calls him Rāi Samīr.

And in the year 824 H. (1421 A.D.) Khizr Khan proceeded to 289.  
 Mīwāt and took Kotlī; thence he hastened to Gwāhār, from the  
 Rāi of which place he levied considerable sums and returned to  
 Itāwn. Rāi Sipār had gone to hell, and <sup>1</sup> his son had tendered his  
 submission. In this interval <sup>2</sup> a severe illness attacked Khizr  
 Khan which led to his return towards Dihlī. Having arrived at  
 that city on the seventeenth of Jumādī I-Awwal in the above  
 year, he was received into the mercy of God and passed away from  
 the world.

### Verse

Every evening is followed by the morning.

At last there comes no end to every labour.

The duration of his reign was seven years and some months.<sup>3</sup>

### SULTĀN MUBĀRĀK SHĀH İAVI KHAZĀN KHĀN İAVI MĀLIK SŪLJĀY.

In accordance with his rights as heir-presumptive ascended the throne with the consent of the Amirs in the year 824 H. (1421 A.D.)<sup>4</sup> and became firmly settled in the administration of his kingdom. In this year Jasrat Khākār<sup>5</sup> the son of Shaikhū Khākār raised a rebellion, the reason of which was that he had taken unawares Sultan 'Ali the king of Knshmir, who had started with the intention of conquering Tattā<sup>6</sup> and had defeated him in one of the mountain passes,<sup>7</sup> a vast amount of plunder falling into his hands. Emboldened by this victory, he used the royal treasures which he had obtained to further an attempt to seize the kingdom of Dihlī, and having crossed the rivers Biāh and Sutloj with a

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) ,

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) دوں ایں

<sup>3</sup> Firishta adds, "He was a just and wise king, kind and true to his word, his subjects loved him with a grateful affection so that great and small, master and servant, sat and mourned for him in black raiment till the third day, when they laid aside their mourning garments, and raised his son Mubarak Shah to the throne."

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) reads correctly بے ایں for بے ایں MS. (B) has the same reading as the text.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. (A) and (B) omit کوکھر. Firishta writes کھکھر Khakkar and calls him the brother of Shaikhā Khakkar.

<sup>6</sup> Thus the text and MS. (B). MS. (A) reads simply تاتا باغسہا Tatta Baghsah, Tatta, i.e., for the town of Tatta.

<sup>7</sup> MS. (A) داروں کیاں کرہ شکست دا کانی The text reads کانی داروں کیاں کرہ شکست دا

large army, and assaulted Talaundī which was in the possession of Rāī Kamālu-d-Dīn Mubīn,<sup>1</sup> and Rāī Firūz fled from before him.

290. Jasrat came to Ludhiāna<sup>2</sup> and plundered and pillaged along the banks of the river Sutlej as far as the boundaries of Rūpar;<sup>3</sup> there he crossed the river and came to Jālandhar.<sup>4</sup> Zirak Khān had taken refuge in the fort of Jālandhar. Jasrat descended the bank of the river Sarsuti whereupon the question of peace arose; Jasrat by some treachery made Zirak Khān prisoner. Sultān Mubārak Shāh moved towards Sihrind, upon hearing which Jasrat Shaikhā<sup>5</sup> released Zirak Khān who went to Sāmāna and offered his services to Mubārak Shāh who proceeded to Ludhiāna. Jasrat having crossed the Ludhiāna river drew up to oppose him, being in possession of the whole of the boats. The army of Mubārak Shāh was unable to cross the river, until after the rising of Canopus<sup>6</sup> when the river became fordable. The Sultān then crossed the river; Jasrat fled and having

<sup>1</sup> We must read تلوندی کمال الدین. This is shown to be the right reading by the collateral passage in Firishta which reads (I. p. 297), و تلوندی کہ برای کمال تعلق داشت غارت کرد “and laid waste Talaundī which belonged to Rāī Kamāl.”

<sup>2</sup> The text and both MSS. read کنڈالنا Knḍalna, but it is evident that we should read لدھیانہ Ludhiāna. We find in Firishta (*loc. cit.*). حبرت بلود بانہ گمدہ. “Jasrat having come to Lüdiāna.” Talaundī I cannot identify, but there is a place on the North bank of the Sutlej in Rennell’s map, called Tulloom, this with the affixed genitive feminine termination (Punjābī) dī, would give Tulūndī or Tulūndī, i. e., the village of Tulūm. Tulloom lies about 20 miles S. S.-W. of Ludhiāna (see Rennell’s map, Tieff, III), on the opposite bank of the river.

<sup>3</sup> Rūpar in Rennell’s map is placed North-East of Ludhiāna about 50 miles distant: but on modern maps it is shewn almost due East of Ludhiāna and about 35 miles from it.

<sup>4</sup> A place of considerable antiquity, the original capital of the Rājpūt kingdom of Katoch. It is described by Hwen Thsang as having been a town of two miles in circuit in the 7th century A.D.

It is mentioned by Ptolemy by the name of Kulindrine or Sulindrine, see Cunningham, A. G. I., pp. 135, etc., and Hunter, *Gaz. Ind.*, VII. 91.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) omits عن probably correctly as we have seen from Firishta’s account.

<sup>6</sup> Firishta tells us they crossed on the 11th Shawwāl (October, 8th A.D. 1421).

crossed the river Chhinâb<sup>1</sup> came to Talhar<sup>2</sup> in the hill tracts. The troops of Mubârak Khân followed him and the greater part of his infantry and cavalry were killed, and all his wealth and treasure was plundered and lost. Râi Bhim<sup>3</sup> the chief of Jammu offered his services to Mubârak Shâhî and guided his army.<sup>4</sup> Mubârak Shâhî returned thence to Lâhor.

And in the year 825 H. (A.D. 1421) he remained encamped on the bank of the river Râvi for nearly a month, rebuilt the city of Lâhor which had been laid in ruins during the late invasion, and completely repaired the citadel where it had been breached and levelled;<sup>5</sup> then having left there Malik Mahmûd Hasan who bore the title of Maliku-sî-Shârq, returned to Dihill. Five months later Jasrat Khûkar again came against Lâhor with a large army and encamped at the nook of Shaikhu-l-Mashâikh Shâikh Hasan Zinjâni,<sup>6</sup> may God sanctify him, and every day for a month made repeated efforts to take the city by assault, but eventually failing to attain his object<sup>7</sup> withdrew to Kalânor<sup>8</sup> and fought a battle with Râi Bhim, and when both sides were in the midst of the fight they agreed to make peace.

Malik Sikander Tahfa who had been despatched from Dihill to reinforce Malik<sup>9</sup> Mahmûd Hasan crossed the Râvi by the ford of Pûl<sup>10</sup> and encamped at Lâhor, and Jasrat feeling that he was not able to cope with the conjoint forces<sup>11</sup> crossed the Chhinâb

291.

<sup>1</sup> The Chenâb.

<sup>2</sup> In the Kashmir hill tracts.

<sup>3</sup> Firîshtha tells us that Râi Bhim offered his services and guided the army to Bisal, the strongest of Jasrat's strongholds. Jasrat fled from there, his men were killed and he lost all his possessions.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) reads رای سلیم both here and some lines lower down.

شکستگی و پستگی حصار.

<sup>5</sup> Firîshtha says شیخ حسین زنجانی فرود آمد.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) reads بمقصود خود نرسیده.

<sup>7</sup> Seventeen miles west of Gardâspur town. Lat. 32° 1' N. Long. 75° 11' 30" E. It was here that Akbar in later times received the news of his father's death and ascended the throne (Hunter, Imp. Gaz., VII. 323).

<sup>8</sup> MS. (A) omits ملک and reads از گذر پوهی in the next line.

<sup>9</sup> MS. (A) reads لوئی Lû'l. See however note 1 next page.

<sup>10</sup> Firîshtha says that Mahmûd Hasan was also joined by the forces of Malik Rajab, Governor of Depâlpur and of Islam Khân Lodî, Governor of Sîhrind

river and proceeded to the hills of Talwārā,<sup>1</sup> and the army of Mubārak Shāh having put down that rebellion returned to Dihli.

In the year 826 H. (1422 A.D.) Mubārak Shāh proceeded to Kaithar, and Mahābat Khān of Badiūn who had revolted against Khizr Khān came in and submitted himself, and was distinguished by special marks of favour. Leaving there<sup>2</sup> he crossed the Ganges and attacked the country of the Panwārs<sup>3</sup> in the neighbourhood of Khor otherwise known as Shamsābād,<sup>4</sup> and having put the majority of them to the sword ravaged the country; then having left Malik Mubāriz and Zirak Khān and Kamāl Khān with a large force in the fortress of Kaupila to quell the insurrection of the rebels he returned to Dihli.

And in this year Alp Khān Governor of Dhār<sup>5</sup> came with the object of chastising the Rāī of Gwāliār and with the intention of

and that Jasrat withdrew, crossed the Chhināb and Rāvī, and took refuge in the hills.

<sup>1</sup> This is the reading of the text. Talwārā is possibly the same as Talhat mentioned above. Dr. Stein, whom I have consulted, considers that Talwārā in the text refers to the village Talwārā on the right bank of the Chināb just opposite to the town of Rāsī (74° 52' Long. 33° 6' Lat.). This is, he says, a common place for crossing the Chināb as the route connecting Ponī with Rāsī and Jammu is shown on the survey map (Atlas of India, Sheet 29), as passing Talwārā. Dr. Stein cannot ascertain whether the hill range rising to the north of Talwārā is designated by that name. Pūhī in the text is probably identical with Ponī. The reading of MS. (A) is در کوئلہ رفت went to Kotla.

<sup>2</sup> Firishta tells us that Mahābat Khān in obedience to the orders of the Sultān crossed the Ganges and invaded the territories of the Rāthor tribe.

<sup>3</sup> The Rāthors are a clan of the Rājpūts, and the Panwārs form another of their clans regarding whom Abul-Fażl says "In ancient times the royal dynasty of Hindūstān came from this tribe" Mārwār is mentioned by the same author as the head-quarters of the Rāthor tribe. (See Āīn-i-Akbarī (Jarrett), II. 270 and III. 118).

For a full account of the Panwārs see Sherring (*Hindū Tribes and Castes*), II. p. 93, see also Elliot, (*Races of N.-W. P. of India*).

<sup>4</sup> On the south bank of the Burī Gangā river, 18 miles North-West of Fatehgarh.

<sup>5</sup> The text reads ملکی دھار Dihli with a foot-note variant ملکہ دھار Dhār. MS. (A) reads ملکہ Dhār. Firishta says, Sulṭān Hoshang Wāli of Mālwā. The town of Ujjain and Dhār have at one period or another supplied a capital to the legendary Hindū dynasties of Mālwā. (See Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, IV. 245, Dhār).

subduing that region, Mubarak Shah upon receiving intelligence of this proceeded towards Gwâlîr, when he arrived in the neighbourhood of Baiana, Shams Khan Auhadi<sup>1</sup> the son of Auhadi Khan Auhadi, Governor of Baiana, who had put to death by treacherous means his uncle Mubarak Khan, became alarmed and revolted, and after laying waste Baiana entrenched himself<sup>2</sup> in the fortress, but eventually submitted.

Mubarak Shah left that place and marched towards Gwâlîr, but Alp Khan proceeding along the banks of the Chambal river<sup>3</sup> would not permit the army of Mubarak Shah to cross; however the soldiers of Mubarak Shah crossed by another ford, scattered the forces of Alp Khan, and returned triumphant. This engagement led to a peaceful settlement, and Alp Khan sent in many presents and returned towards Dhûr, while Mubarak Shah proceeded to Dihli.

And in the year 827 H (1423 A.D.) he again ordered an expedition towards the hills of Kumâon and Kaithar, on returning whence he laid waste Mîwât. In this year a severe famine occurred throughout the whole of Hindustan. In the year 829 H he again proceeded towards Mîwât and reduced the fortresses of Indor and Alwar.

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) The text omits the words Shams Khan Auhadi. Firishta calls him Amir Khan ibn-i-Daud Khan ibn-i-Shams Khan (see Bombay Edition, p. 299 last line) and says that he had entrenched himself on the heights.

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) reads منحصر شد مخصوص شد The text reads مخصوص شد

<sup>3</sup> Firishta writes of this And Sultan Hoshang seized the fords of the Chhanbil river and opposed his progress but Mubarak Shah discovered another ford and crossed rapidly and certain of the Amirs of the advance guard of the Dihli forces pillaged the camp of the Sultan of Malwa and took many prisoners, but inasmuch as these were Muslims Mubarak Shah set them free.

Sultan Hoshang sued for peace sending in suitable offerings and withdrew towards Dhûr. Mubarak Shah halted on the banks of the Chhanbal levying taxes on the old scale from the landholders of that district and eventually arrived at Dihli in the month of Rajab 827 H.

The Chambal or Chhanbal river is a river of Central India and one of the principal tributaries of the Jamna it rises in Malwa about eight or nine miles south west of Mhow it is joined by the Kali Snd Parbati and Banis, flows past Dholpur into Etawah and joins the Jamna 40 miles below Etawah town. The Charmanwati of Sanskrit writers (See Hunter In p Gaz III 331)

And in the year 830 H. he took Baiān from Muhammad Khān Auḥndī, and sent the family of Auḥndī to the palace known as Jahān Numā,<sup>1</sup> and assigned it to them as a residence. He then gave Baiān to Malik Muqbil Khān one of his retainers, and Sikrī to Malik' Khairn-d-Din Tuḥṣa, while he himself led an army against Gwāliār receiving the submission of the Rāis of that district.

And in the year 831 H. (1427 A.D.) ambassadors arrived in Dihlī from Qādir Khan, governor of Kālpī, bringing tidings that Sharqī<sup>2</sup> was besieging him. Mubārak Shāh marched to oppose Sharqī; but in the meantime tidings arrived that Sharqī had attacked Bhūngāon<sup>3</sup> and was encamped there, intending to proceed to Badāon.<sup>4</sup> Mubārak Shāh, who had crossed the river Jamna at the ford of Nūli Patal, and had attacked Jartaulī,<sup>5</sup> on arrival at the township of Atrauli<sup>6</sup> received intelligence that Mukhtāṣṣ Khān<sup>7</sup> the brother of Sharqī had arrived on the borders of Itāwa with an army and many elephants; Mubārak Shāh detailed Maliku-sh-Sharq Maḥmūd Ḥasan with ten thousand cavalry to oppose Mukhtāṣṣ Khān. Mukhtāṣṣ Khān joined hands with Sharqī who proceeded along the banks of the Black-Water, otherwise known as the Kālinī,<sup>8</sup> and arrived in the vicinity of the township of Burhānābād one of the dependencies of Itāwa. Mubārak Shāh marching from Atrauli encamped at the town of

<sup>1</sup> This palace was in Dihlī. Firishta writes: "Sent his family and relatives to Dihlī."

<sup>2</sup> Sultān Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī.

<sup>3</sup> The text reads بھون گانور Bhūn gānūr MS. (A) reads Bhūkānūr.

In Firishta we find افواج شرقیہ بھوکانورا تاخت، The troops of Sharqī attacked Bhūngāon. Bhongāen is in the Mainpūri District, 9½ miles east from Mainpūri at the junction of the Agra and Grand Trunk roads. The town was founded according to tradition, by Rājā Bhim Sen who was cured of leprosy by bathing in the *jhil* or lake. (Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* II. 403.)

<sup>4</sup> Badāen lies N. of Bhengāon at a distance of about fifty miles.

<sup>5</sup> Firishta writes, رک از مشاهیر بلاد مواس بود تاخت. Attacked Jartaulī, one of the famous cities of Mawās. I fail to locate this place but it must have been in the Doāb. I can find no mention of it.

<sup>6</sup> Atrauli, 16 miles from Aligarh town. (Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* I. 180).

<sup>7</sup> Firishta calls him Mukhlīṣ Khān.

<sup>8</sup> MS. (A). The text reads Kālī Pānī. This is the Kālinī, the Karā Sū of the *Malsūzāt-i-Timūrī* (see note 3 page 360).

Kotn,<sup>1</sup> but Sharqi declined battle and withdrew towards Rāprī,<sup>2</sup> and thence, after crossing the Jaman, proceeded to Bāiānn and encamped on the bank of the river of Kaithar. Mubārak Shāh pursued him as far as Chhadrwār, a space of four krohs lay between the two armies so that the outposts of the forces could see each other. They remained thus confronting each other for twenty days, at last Sharqi came out in force, and from mid day till nightfall hard fighting went on between the two armies, and the event was not decided on that day, on the following day Sharqi turned back towards his own country,<sup>3</sup> and Mubārak Shāh, considering that both sides were Muslims, no longer pursued him, but went towards Satgāna,<sup>4</sup> and having conquered that country followed the bank of the Chubāl river and came down to Bāiānn.

Muhammad Khān Anjādi, who on account of having had an (unsatisfactory) interview with Sharqi had taken flight, and had entrenched himself in the fortress, came and sought protection in an interview with Mubārak Shāh.<sup>5</sup> Mubārak Shāh therupon retraced his steps to Dihlī.

And in the year 832 H. Mahkā al-Shārq Māhīmud Ḥasan, who had been left in Bāiānn by Mubārak Shāh as his Viceroy, and had put the affairs of that place in order, and had also chastised<sup>6</sup> those infidels who had made common cause with Muhammad Khān and had raised disturbances, came to Court and received substantial favours, and the fortress of Tiroza was confirmed to him. In that same year Malik Rajab Nādūn, governor of Māltān died, and Malik Mahmud Ḥasan received the title of 'Imādu'l-Mulk (Pillar of the State) and proceeded to Māltān.

And in the year 833 H. (1429 A.D.) Mubārak Shāh went to Gwalār by way of Bāiānn, and having taken the Rāprī district from the son of Ḥasan Khān gave it to Malik Hamzā and returned 294

<sup>1</sup> Firāshta writes مکونیہ کوئی ملکہ Mālik-e-Mulkota

<sup>2</sup> Took the road to Jaunpur (Firāshta)

<sup>3</sup> Went to Gwalār by way of Halghat (Firāshta) MS (A) بھکر ساتگانہ

<sup>4</sup> Firāshta says "Muhammad Khān Anjādi" for the reason that he despaired of any help from Sultan Sharqi asked for quarter and tendered his submission and was freely pardoned

<sup>5</sup> مکونیہ کوئی ملکہ MS (A) بھکر ساتگانہ Text

to the city (Dihli). On the way thither Saiyyid Sālim, who had served Khizr Khān for thirty years,<sup>1</sup> and held the sief of Tabarhinda, died. The title of Saiyyid Khān was conferred upon one of his sons, and that of Shujā'u-l-Mulk upon the other.<sup>2</sup> And Fūlād, a Turkbacha slave, one of the servants of the aforesaid Saiyyid Sālim, raised a rebellion in Tabarhinda and took possession of the enormous wealth which had been amassed by Saiyyid Sālim. Mubārak Shāh imprisoned the sons of Saiyyid Sālim, and appointed Malik Yūsuf Sarūr and Rāi Hansū Bhāti<sup>3</sup> to oppose him (Fūlād). Fūlād Turkbacha made a night attack upon them and scattered their forces, and much valuable booty fell into his hands. Mubārak Shāh led an army against Tabarhinda, and the Turkbacha slave was besieged there. Mubārak Shāh summoned 'Imādu-l-Mulk from Multān, and sent him with a message to the Turkbacha slave, who, after suing for quarter, came out from the fort and had an interview with 'Imādu-l-Mulk, but did not rely upon his assurances, and returned in alarm to the fort and continued to fight. Mubārak Shāh permitted 'Imādu-l-Mulk to proceed to Multān and himself returned to Dihli. The slave (Fūlād) continued to engage in battle at intervals with the troops of Mubārak Shāh during the six months during which he was absent. At last he sent considerable sums of money<sup>4</sup> by way of presents to Shaikh 'Ali Mughul who was the ruler of Kābul. Shaikh 'Ali accordingly came to his assistance from Kābul with a vast army, which was reinforced by a large number of men from the borders of the Panjāb. He removed the slave

<sup>1</sup> Firishta writes

گویند سید السادات سید سالم صدت سی سال در حضور خضرخان از زمرہ  
امراۓ عمدۃ بود -

"They relate that Saiyyidu-s-Sādāt Saiyyid Sālim was for a period of thirty years reckoned by Khizr Khān as one of his best Amīrs."

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) ۵۱۵ Text ۵۵۱. Firishta also adds that the whole of their father's privileges together with all the immonso wealth he had amassed were confirmed to those two sons, but that these favours were not sufficient to secure their fidelity to Mubārak Shāh. Badāoni's account does not explain the incident related in the subsequent passage. Firishta does, he says that these two sons of Saiyyid Sālim sent Fūlād to Tabarhinda and incited him to raise a rebellion.

<sup>3</sup> Firishta's text reads Malik Yūsuf and Rāi Habūlī. (?)

<sup>4</sup> مبلغها بوجہ نمایاں MS. (A). The text reads مبلغها بوجہ

(Fūlād) together with all his family and relations from Tūbir-hindā and taking them with himself returned, and having crossed the river Biāli came to Lāhor. Malik sh̄ Sharq Malik Sikander, governor of Lāhor, who used to pay a yearly tribute to Shāhī 'Ali, discharged his obligation and induced him to turn his intentions elsewhere. Accordingly Shāhī 'Ali passing by Lāhor without striking it<sup>1</sup> made towards Depālpur, and 'Imādu-l-Mulk came out from Multān to oppose him. Shāhī 'Ali taking the bank of the river Rāvī, proceeded to within a short distance of Tūlumbā,<sup>2</sup> and turning aside from thence came to Khutpūr.<sup>3</sup> ('Imādu-l-Mulk) fought with Shāhī 'Ali but was defeated, and Malik Suleiman Shāh Lodī, who was with the advance guard of the army of 'Imādu-l-Mulk, fell in this battle,<sup>4</sup> [and Shāhī 'Ali came to Khusrūlābād and for a long time daily engagements were fought between him and 'Imādu-l-Mulk].<sup>5</sup>

And in the year 834 H (1430 A D) Mubarak Shāh sent a vast army to the assistance of 'Imādu-l-Mulk, and appointed Iāth Khān ibn-i Sultān Muzaffar Khān of Gujrat to the command of that force. Shāhī 'Ali was not able to stand against them,<sup>6</sup> so changed front, and retired under cover of night into an entrenchment which he had thrown up around his position, when they surrounded his entrenchment he retreated towards Jhilam, and having crossed the river thereto lost the greater part of his men by drowning, some were killed and some taken prisoners.<sup>7</sup> Shāhī 'Ali and Amir Muzaffar proceeded with a certain number of men to the town of Shiwar;<sup>8</sup> all their baggage and property having

<sup>1</sup> This appears to be the meaning of the Persian.

<sup>2</sup> Tūlumbā is on the left bank of the Rāvī 52 miles N E of Multan. The old fort was situated a mile to the south of the present town. It has been identified with a town of the Malli conquered by Alexander the Great during his campaign in the Panjab, and also as the place where he crossed the Rāvī. (See Hunter Imp Gaz XIII 163 also Cunningham Anc Geog of India, 221.)

<sup>3</sup> Firishta says خطبپور Khasipur. The text reads somewhat obscurely here. I have supplied the words in brackets to restore the sense in English.

<sup>4</sup> Which took place according to Firishta at Khyrābad three stages from Multān.

<sup>5</sup> The words within brackets are not in MS (A).

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) بیاردہ Text آورد نتویست.

<sup>7</sup> MS (A) شدید کشند Text.

<sup>8</sup> MS (A) میکور شدیدور or Firishta (text).

been taken, the army of 'Imādu-l-Mulk pursued them up to that point. Amir Muzaffar remained entrenched within the fortress while Shaikh 'Ali set his face to go to Kābul. The victorious army abandoned the siege and returned to Dihli. Multān was taken away from 'Imādu-l-Mulk and given to Malik Khairu-d-Dīn Khān which led to great disturbances on the borders of Multān.

And in the year 835 H. (1431 A.D.) Malik Sikander,<sup>1</sup> governor of Lāhor, set out to quell the rebellion which Jasrat Khūkhar had stirred up at the foot of the hills. Jasrat took him<sup>2</sup> unawares and engaged him in battle; Sikander falling into the hands of Jasrat Khūkhar was taken prisoner near Jalandhar. Jasrat took his prisoner to Lāhor and besieged the city, and Saīyyid Najmu-d-Dīn the regent of Sikander, and Malik Khushkhābr<sup>3</sup> the slave of Sikander, fought several battles with him. In the meantime Shaikh 'Ali collected an army and again came on to the borders of Multān,<sup>4</sup> and assualted Khūtpūr,<sup>5</sup> taking prisoners the greater portion of the inhabitants of Jhīlam and its vicinity, and seized Tulumba, pillaging and despoiling all the inhabitants and making them prisoners; most of them he put to death, and took the rest of them, great and small, to his own country.

In the meantime Fūlād Turkbacha, who has been mentioned above, left Tabarhīnda and invaded the territory of Rāi Firoz<sup>6</sup> who engaged him in battle and was slain, Fūlād sending his head to Tabarhīnda.

In this year also the Sultān again led an army towards Lāhor and Multān; when he arrived in the vicinity of Sāmāna, Jasrat withdrew from in front of Lāhor towards the foot of the hills, and Shaikh 'Ali also retired to his own country. Lāhor and Jalandhar were taken from Shamsu-l-Mulk and given to Nuṣrat Khān Gurgandāz, and Mubārak Shāh gave orders for the family and relations of Shamsu-l-Mulk to be removed<sup>7</sup> from Lāhor to Dihli, whither he himself returned.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. The text reads wrongly بیانک.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) omits اورا.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) reads خوشنجر Khushanjar (?).

<sup>4</sup> At the instigation of Jasrat Khūkhar, according to Firishita.

<sup>5</sup> See note 3 page 389. MS. (A) omits ل.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) reads ، تاخذ instead of ، تاخت as in the text.

<sup>7</sup> Text بونه MS. (A) بود.

And in the year 836 H (1443 A D) Mubārak Shāh once more hastened to Sīmāā<sup>1</sup> to put down the rebellion of Jasrat, when he arrived at Pācipat̄h he received intelligence of the death of his mother, who was called Maḥdūma<sup>2</sup>; Jahan (Mistress of the world), and turned back with a small retinue<sup>3</sup> to Dihlī, and having remained there ten days to perform his mourning for her, again joined his army, and detailed Yūsuf Surūn I-Mulk to proceed to Tabarhāda to put down the insurrection of Fulid. Mubārak Shāh after taking Lāhor and Jalandhar from Nūqat Khān gave them to Malik Allāhdād Kālū Lodi. When<sup>4</sup> he arrived near Jalandhar, Jasrat, having crossed the river Biāb, had engaged Allāhdād Kālū<sup>5</sup> at Bajwārā,<sup>6</sup> and had defeated him. 297. Malik Allāhdād had fled to the hill-country

In this year the Sultān brought an army into Miwāt against Jalal Khān, and from thence despatching a force to operate towards Gwāliār and Itāwa, returned (to Dihlī). In this same year Shaikh 'Ali coming down into the Panjab again caused disturbances there. Mubārak Shāh accordingly nominated 'Imādu-l-mulk to reinforce the Amirs of that district. Shaikh 'Ali invaded the country from Shīwar to the banks of the Biāb, and taking great numbers prisoners and plundering, went to Lāhor. Zirāk Khān and the other Amirs<sup>6</sup> who were in Lāhor fortified themselves there, and fought repeated engagements with him, till, one night, the inhabitants of Lāhor were careless about their guards and sentries, and Malik Yusuf Surūn I-Mulk and Malik Ismā'il under cover of night succeeded in joining Zirāk Khān, then sallying from the fort,<sup>7</sup> gave battle and were defeated. Shaikh 'Ali pursued them, some of the fugitives were put to death, and some were taken prisoners. The following day Shaikh 'Ali took Lāhor and put to death great and small,<sup>8</sup> and taking many prisoners

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) مساعده سائبان

<sup>2</sup> حربیہ Firishta says تھا he returned alone

<sup>3</sup> Omit و MS (A)

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) omits کالو Kālu      <sup>5</sup> Bajwārā A village 1½ miles E. of Hoshierpar about 25 miles N E. of Jalandhar

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) دیگر امراء کے

<sup>7</sup> MS (A) supplies the words از حصہ

<sup>8</sup> MS (A) reads حاص و عارم the textual reading is probably incorrect, read حاص و عام

remained there. And after some days, he came to Debālpūr, which Malik Yūsuf Surūru-l-Mulk was intending to abandon. Malik 'Imādu-l-Mulk<sup>1</sup> on hearing of this despatched his brother Malik Aḥmad from Tabarhind to the fort of Debālpūr with orders to hold it. Shaikh 'Alī becoming aware of this returned from that direction: Sultān Mubārak Shāh proceeded as far as Sāmāna in order to quell these disturbances.<sup>2</sup> From Sāmāna he proceeded to Talaundi and thence to the ford of Pūhi, where he crossed the the Biāh and came to Debālpūr. Thence he marched along the banks<sup>3</sup> of the Rāvī, and Shaikh 'Alī crossed the Jhilam and fled,<sup>4</sup> Mubārak Shāh pursued him as far as the fortress of Shiwar and crossed the Rāvī near Tulumba.<sup>5</sup> Amīr Muẓaffar 298. Khān, brother's son to Shaikh 'Alī, who was holding the fort with Shaikh 'Alī's troops, fought against the king for a month, and at last sued for quarter, and gave his daughter together with a large amount of money and valuables to the prince. A part of Shaikh 'Alī's forces who were besieged in Lāhor sought quarter from Shamsu-l-Mulk and evacuated the fort. As soon as Mubārak Shāh had completed the affair of Shiwar and the conquest of Lāhor, he proceeded with a small retinue to visit the holy shrines of the Shaikhs at Multān, and returning almost immediately came to Debālpūr and remained there for some days. Having regard to Shaikh 'Alī (as a source of danger), he gave the districts of Lāhor and Debālpūr to Maliku-sh-Sharq 'Imādu-l-Mulk, and taking away the districts of Baiāna from 'Imādu-l-Mulk he gave them to Shamsu-d-dīn. Marching thence in light order by forced marches, he reached Dihli on the day of the 'Id-i-Qurbān<sup>6</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) omits مالک.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) omits و فساد and writes بِسَامَانَا for بِسَامَانَة.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) reads incorrectly کتاب for کنار.

<sup>4</sup> The text and both MSS. (A), (B) read و رفت و دشدا. The و is to be omitted.

<sup>5</sup> Besieging the fort Shiwar (Firishita).

<sup>6</sup> The festival of Sacrifice. This is the festival held on the 10th day of Zū-l-hijjah. It is known also as the 'Idū l-aṣḥā, see Qur'ān xxii. 33—38. It commemorates the intention of Ibrāhīm to sacrifice his son Isma'il in obedience to the command of God. It is the chief of the Muḥammadan festivals and is called 'Idū-l-kabīr, the great festival, to distinguish it from the 'Idū-l-Fitr which is known as 'Idū-s-saghir which ushers in the month of Shawwāl and celebrates the termination of the fast of Ramazān. (See Hughes Dict. of Islām).

conferred the office of *vazir* upon Sarwru-l-Mulk and gave to Malik Kamālu-l-Molk,<sup>1</sup> who was the Military Secretary (*Naib-i-Lashkar*), charge of the civil administration in conjunction with Sarwru-l-Mulk.

There was a hypocritical bond of fellowship between these two,<sup>2</sup> inasmuch as Sarwru-l-Mulk had a grievous thorn rankling in his breast on account of the deprivation of Debālpur, and bore a grudge against Mubārak Shāh so that at such a juncture, seeing that he had less than ever to hope from him, he entered on a course of secret treachery and deceit. He entered into a conspiracy with the sons of Kāngū Khatri and Kajwi Khatri and Mirāu Sadr Naib i-'Arz, (who for generations had been *protégés* of the Mobarak Shāh family, and held several high offices) and also with another party of Muslim ragabonds, to seek an opportunity of destroying Mubārak Shāh.<sup>3</sup>

And in the year 837 II (1433 A.D.)<sup>4</sup> Mubārak Shāh built a city on the banks of the river Jamna,<sup>5</sup> and gave it the name of Mubārakabad (City of Prosperity), though in reality it should have been called Kharshabad (City of Ruin), and was so zealous in building it that he spared no pains in its superintendence. In the meanwhile news of the capture of the fortress of Tabarhindia reached the court, accompanied by the head of the slave l'Alād Turkbaolia.<sup>6</sup> Mubārak Shāh could not contain himself for joy at this intelligence, and proceeded by forced marches to Tabarhindia<sup>7</sup> and returned thence speedily to Mubārakābād. In this year 11  
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tidings arrived that hostilities were going on between Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi and Alp Khān, governor of Kālpi, who had re-

<sup>1</sup> Firishta says كمال الدين Kamal ad din

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) omits ایں

<sup>3</sup> Firishta names as the accomplices Sidran, son of Kāngū Khatri and Sadpal, grandson of Kanjui Khatri with Mirāu Sadr Naib i-'Arz i Mamalik, Qazi 'Abdu 's-sadr Ilajib i Khāss and others (Firishta Bombay text, I, p 309).

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) ۸۳۷

<sup>5</sup> Briggs in his translation of Firishta (Vol I, p 529) assigns 839 II as the date of the building of this city, but a reference to the original shows that the historian gives 837 II as the date.

<sup>6</sup> The text reads here ملکہ سیدھہ but a footnote gives a variant ملکہ سیدھہ and this reading is confirmed by MS (A) and also by Firishta.

<sup>7</sup> Firishta says he returned direct to Mubārakābād

ceived the title of Hoshang.<sup>1</sup> Mubārak Shāh accordingly sent commands in all directions for forces to be collected and held in readiness to march towards Kālpī, and that they should assemble at the Court. At this juncture Mubārak Shāh persisted in his invariable custom of visiting the site of the new city in season and out of season. One day when he had ridden out thereto with a body of attendants without ceremony, and was preparing to say the Friday prayers,<sup>2</sup> the infidels under Mirān Ṣadr, who had continually lain in wait for him at the instigation of Sarwaru-l-Mulk, seeking an opportunity (to slay him),<sup>3</sup> with one accord entered the private apartment of Mubārak Shāh on some pretext or another, and Sidh Pāl,<sup>4</sup> the grandson of the scoundrel Kajwi Khātri, put that auspicious monarch to a martyr's death. This event took place in the year 837 H. The days of his reign were thirteen years three months and sixteen days.

#### Verse.

Wonder not at the vicissitudes of time, for the heavens  
Retain a recollection of thousands of such stories as this.  
Set not your affections upon that which passeth away, for the  
river Dajla.<sup>5</sup>  
Will continuo to pass by Baghdād, while many Khalifahs  
come and go.

<sup>1</sup> Firishta throughout calls him Hoshang.

<sup>2</sup> On the 9th Rajab 837 (Firishta Bombay text 1 803).

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) omits وقت.

<sup>4</sup> The text is followed here as it agrees closely with the account given by Firishta. MS. (A) reads در مکان پادشاهی در آن سده سال ساختند.....

<sup>5</sup> دجلہ Dajla or Dagla, as it may also be pronounced, is the Hiddekel of the Bible (Gen. ii. 14; Dan. x. 4) לִבְנָה lit., the swift. The old Persian form is Tigrā, "swift as an arrow," whence is derived Tigris, the modern name of this river. According to Pliny (VI. 27), the river in the upper part of its course where it flowed gently was called Diglito, and lower down, where it is more rapid, on account of its velocity it is called Tigris, for the Medes call an arrow by this name. According to Gesenius, in modern Persian both the river Tigris and an arrow have the common name تیر tîr, which in the Zend becomes Tedjer. See Gesenius *Thes.*: also Smith *Dict. G. R. Geog.*

"The Tigris is navigable for light steamers up to Baghdad, but owing to the rapidity of the current, the traffic is all down stream carried on mainly by a primitive style of craft, which is broken up at Baghdad and transported by camels back to Mosul."

SULTAN MUHAMMAD SHAH IBN I FARID KHĀN,

The brother's son of Mubarak Shāh ibn i Khizr Khān, whom 300  
 Mubarak Shāh had adopted as his own son, ascended the throne in  
 succession to Mubarak Shāh in the year<sup>1</sup> 837 H (1433 A.D.) and Sarwaru i Mulk, whose head was filled with treacherous designs, ostensibly owned his allegiance. Muhammad Shāh, in spite of the foregoing circumstances, conferred upon him the title of *Khān-i-Jahan* and bestowed a *Khil'at* upon him, he also appointed Miran Sadr Mu'min i Mulk, and for a short time winked at the doings of those infidels Malikn shi Shorq Kaniāln i Mulk, who was co-partner with Sarwaru i Mulk in the viceroyship, elected to reside outside the city, and gave in his allegiance to Muhammad Shāh. The second day after the accession Sarwaru i Mulk made some pretext for arresting<sup>2</sup> certain of the servants of Mubarak Shāh, and put them to death, and left nothing undone to secure the overthrowal of the family of Mubarak Shāh, moreover, he began to divide the country among his own partisans, giving the territory of Baisāna, and Amroha, and Narol, and Kuhrām, together with certain districts in the Doab, to Sidh Pal and Sidharan Khatri who were the (actual) murderers of Mubarak Shāh. Ranun the Black, a slave of Sidh Pal, arrived in Baisāna with a large following and attempted to enter the fort, but in the mean time Yusuf Khan Anhadi arrived from Hindwan,<sup>3</sup> and giving him battle defeated him, and sent the greater portion of those infidels to hell. Then women and children fell as prisoners into the hands of the Muslims, and the head of Ranun the Black was hung up over the gate of the fort. Inasmuch as Sarwaru i Mulk and his infidel hordes began to commit violence, the Amirs of Khizr Khan and Mubarak Shāh, who were scattered here and there about the country, in several places showed symptoms of revolt and set on foot many insurrections. Sarwaru i Mulk had the self same object, namely to damage the kingdom 301  
 Malik Allohdad Kala Ledi, governor of Sambhal and Ahar,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 9th Rajab 837<sup>2</sup> MS (A) و مالکین<sup>3</sup> The text and both MsS read حیندوان Firuzita reads Hindwan  
 Hindwan lies about 20 miles S of Baisāna it is situated in the Jeypore State<sup>4</sup> Ahar In Bulandshahr District N W P 20 miles N E of Bulandsingar

and Malik Chaman<sup>1</sup> governor<sup>2</sup> of Badūn, grandson of Khān-i-Jahān, and Amir 'Alī Gajrātī, together with some other Amirs, raised a large following to avenge the death of Mubārak Shāh, and started towards Dihli. Māliku-sh-Sharq, Kamālu-l-Mulk, and Sayyid Khān, son of Sayyid Salim, who had received the title of Khan-i-Āzam from Mubārak Shāh, were appointed by the *durbār* to proceed against those Amirs, and Malik Yūsuf, the son of Sarwāru-l-Mulk, together with Sidihrān and Kāngū were ordered to accompany Kamālu-l-Mulk. The Dihli army crossed by the ford of Kieha and came to Baran (Balandghahr). Malik Allahdād and the other noted Amirs having arrived at the township of Ahār desired to cross the Ganges without fighting and go where they could safely. But when they saw clearly that Malik Kamālu-l-Mulk was hotly bent upon taking vengeance upon Sarwāru-l-Mulk, they took courage and did not leave their positions. Sarwāru-l-Mulk becoming aware of this sent his lieutenant Malik Hushyār, under pretence of reinforcing Kamālu-l-Mulk, as a spy into their army. Yūsuf Khān and Malik Hushyār, and Sidihrān the infidel, entertaining suspicions regarding Kamālu-l-Mulk left the army and went to Dihli: and the Amirs of Sambhal and Badūn joined Kamālu-l-Mulk and came in great force to the ford of Kieha. Sarwāru-l-Mulk was engaged in strengthening his fort. The following day the loyal Amirs having crossed the Jumna encamped in the Bāgh-i-Jūd<sup>3</sup> while the traitors and infidels sallied out from the fort and engaged them in battle, but suffered defeat in the very first onset and retreated to the fort, but before they could enter it a large number were put to death and most of the remainder were taken prisoners.

302. The day following this victory the Mubārak Shāhi Amirs encamped near the fort of Siri, and the greater part of the Amirs who were inside the fort, came out and joined them. Fighting went on between the two parties for three months.

At the latter part of this year Zirak Khān, Governor of Sāmāna

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) writes ملک حمین Malik Hamīn; by Firishta, and in Elliott's translation of the Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi (IV. 82) he is called Malik Chaman.

<sup>2</sup> The word in the original is مُحْكَم Muqtī, i.e., holder of a قُطْعَ qut'. Firishta calls him حاکم بدارون Ḥākim-i-Badūn.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A).

died, and the country was confirmed to his son Muhammed Khān. Muhammed Shāh, although outwardly he held friendly relations with Sarwar-i-Mulk, still in his inmost heart was in union with his father's Amirs. Sarwar-i-Mulk became aware of this, and accordingly began to plot treachery against him also, and was only waiting his opportunity.

On the eighth of Moharram in the year 838 H. (1434 A.D.) Sarwar-i-Mulk and the sons of the perfidious Mirān Sadr suddenly broke into the tent of the king with the intention of doing him a grievous injury, but at this moment Muhammed Shāh became aware of their design; and with all despatch sent messengers to Kamālu-i-Mulk, while the attendants who were near the person of Muhammed Shāh were on their guard, and killed the traitor Sarwar-i-Mulk, and seizing the sons of Mirān Sadr executed them in presence of the darbar. The traitorous infidels blockaded themselves in their own houses. Kamālu-i-Mulk, accompanied by all the Amirs, entered the fort by the Darwāza-i-Baghdād (Baghdād gate). The royal Sidiq Pāl set fire to his house and property, and after performing the *jauhar*<sup>1</sup> which is a well-known custom expressed by that word in the Hindi language, went himself into battle and became food for the flames of the pitiless sword,<sup>2</sup> and his impure soul went to hell.<sup>3</sup> Sidiqān Kāngū and the rest of the Khatri confederation, were one and all taken prisoners, and were impaled near the *Hazira*<sup>4</sup> (mansoleum)

<sup>1</sup> جوهر Jauhar or *Sāhar* जहर is a Hindi word derived from the words जीव jīv, and हरा hara signifying taking one's own life. The custom of the Rajputs when reduced to the last extremity in warfare was in olden times to perform a rite of self-sacrifice known by this name: as for instance on the occasion of the siege and capture of Chitor by Sultan 'Ali-ud-Din: "Huge piles of timber were raised up and set on fire. The women approached in funeral procession and threw themselves into the flames. The men arrayed themselves in saffron-coloured garments and rushed out of the fortress sword in hand; most of them were cut to pieces." The evident object of the rite was to protect the persons of the women from the indignities to which they would be submitted if they were to fall alive into the hands of the enemy.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. omit بیداری.

<sup>3</sup> The word جوهر Jauhar, here used for "Soul," has the primary meaning of "essence." It is a Persian word and is used here as a play upon the Hindi word *jauhar* used above (Nota 1).

<sup>4</sup> حظیرہ Hazira. The literal meaning of this word is an enclosure, here

of Mubārak Shāh, and Malik Huslyār and Mubārak Kotwāl were executed along with them. The following day Kamālu-l-Mulk and the other noted Amīrs renewed their fealty to Muhammād

3. Shāh; Kamālu-l-Mulk obtained the rank of razīr and Malik Chairman of Badnōn received the title of Ghāzīn-l-Mulk, and was reinstated in his former position as governor of Badnōn, Amroha being also added to his province; Malik Allahdād Lodi would not accept any title, the title of Daryā Khān however he accepted for his brother. Thus after settling the important affairs, Muhammād Shāh gave durability to his rule, and conducted his Government in tranquillity.

And in the year 810 H. (1436 A.D.) he turned his attention towards Multān, and halted for some days at Mubārakpūr to give time for the Amīrs of the various districts to join him. When the Muhammād Shāh's troops were all assembled at Mubārakpūr he marched thence towards Multān, and after visiting the shrines of the holy men at that place <sup>1</sup> came to Dihlī. And in the aforesaid year, marching towards Sāmāna he despatched a force to proceed against Shaikhā Khākhār.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly they laid waste his country and returned.<sup>3</sup> In the year 811 H. (1437 A.D.) tidings arrived that the tribe of Langāhs had raised an insurrection in Multān, and in the meantime Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī obtained possession of certain divisions of Dihlī, and the Rāī of Gwāliār and the other Rāīs refused to pay the customary tribute. Muhammād Shāh affected to be indifferent to this, and disturbances sprung up in all directions, and everyone was hankering after something. The Khānzādas of Miwāt, who are the ancestors of Hasan Khān of Miwāt, invited Sultān Maḥmūd Khilji from Mālwā to assume the imperial power of Dihlī.

304. And in the year 844 H. (1440 A.D.) Sultān Maḥmūd arrived at Dihlī, and Muhammād Shāh drew up his forces and sent out his son Saiyyid ‘Alāu-d-Dīn to engage him in battle, giving the command of the force to Malik Buhlūl Lodi. Sultān Maḥmūd also

it means a tomb enclosed within walls or a palisade. Firishṭa writes "were put to death with great tortures" بعقوبٍ تهام بقتل رسيدند.

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) omits آنچا.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A). برس شیخا.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) تولایت اورا خواب کردا مراجعت نہو دند.

appointed his two sons Ghīāz-u-d-Dīn and Qāfir Khān<sup>1</sup> to oppose them. A fierce battle resulting they at last agreed to make peace, and Soltān Muhammād taking advantage of that, and alleging as an excuse that he had seen in a dream that the kingdom of Multān was being ruined, marched in light order under cover of night towards Mālwā. Mālik Bahādūr pursued him and seized a portion of his baggage and valuable equipment. Sultān Muhammād was so pleased at the energy displayed by Bahādūr that he called him his son,<sup>2</sup> and bestowed upon him the country of Lāhūr and Dēlājār.

And in the year 815 H (1411 A.D.) he marched to Sālāna, and having despatched Bahādūr to chastise Jārat Khākkhār, returned to Dihlī. Jārat concluded a peace with Mālik Bahādūr and held out to him the pleasing prospect of becoming Sultān of Dihlī,<sup>3</sup> till at last Bahādūr began to collect Afghāns from all directions and took forcible possession of a large number of provinces, then without any extensible reason he picked a quarrel with Muhammād Shāh and revolted against him, leading an army against Dihlī. He held Sultān Muhammād Shāh for a considerable time closely besieged, but could not accomplish his purpose, and returned without effecting anything. In the meantime Muhammād Shāh was afflicted with a grievous disorder,<sup>4</sup> and the Amirs who were at a distance of twenty krods from Dihlī revolted against him, and sending for his son Alāu-d-Dīn who held a fief in Badāun, and had left there on a hunting expedition at the foot of the hills, made him<sup>5</sup> heir apparent. And in the year 817 H<sup>6</sup> he passed away, the duration of his reign was fourteen<sup>7</sup> years and some months, or therabouts.

<sup>1</sup> The text reads علی بن مالک بن ابی بکر MS (A) reads علی بن  
Qāfir Khan Firūzī says قدر خان Qāfir Khan See also Tabaqat-i-Albar

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) اور پسر خواہ See Elliott IV 83

<sup>3</sup> Firūzī says: Inclined him to aspire to the kingdom of Dihlī. MS (A) Instead of شیر writes سرور

<sup>4</sup> علی بن ابی بکر Firūzī says: در حالت ضعفی پذیرفته شد becoming day by day weaker

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) اور

<sup>6</sup> Firūzī says that he died in 819 H which is probably correct, see n. 7

<sup>7</sup> As he came to the throne in 807 he had reigned only some ten years, not fourteen as here stated. Both MS (A) and (B) however read ۸۱۷

The Tabaqat-i-Albar according to Elliott IV. 86 says ten years and some months. With regard to this see Thomas, Pathan Kings, p 330 and note 1,

Come and cast one look upon their dust, and take warning.  
For the dust is the resting-place of trusted emperors.

305.

SULTĀN 'ALĀU-D-DĪN IBN I MUSAMMAD SHĀH IBN I MUBĀRAK

SHĀH<sup>1</sup> IBN I KHAZR KHĀN,

In accordance with the testamentary disposition of his father succeeded to the throne, and Malik Bahlūl with the other Amirs gave in their allegiance to him, and seeing that the indolence of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn was even greater than that of his father, a still more violent ambition to secure the throne began to work upon the excited fancy of Bahlūl.

In the year 850 H. (1445 A.D.) Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn made an excursion towards Baiāna; while on the road he heard a false rumour that the King of Jaunpūr was on his way to attack Dihli, and without attempting to ascertain its truth returned in hot haste to Dihli. In the year 851 H. (1447 A.D.) he went to

where it is said that Firishta "makes a less trivial mistake in insisting upon a twelve years' reign in spite of his own expressed figures of from '839 to 849' A. H. Briggs, pp. 332-339." This is not Firishta's error but is the fault of his translator. Firishta says clearly that Muhammad succeeded to the throne on the very day on which Mubārak Shāh was assassinated (Bo. text, p. 309) that is, "on the 9th Rajab 837" (Bo. text, p. 308), so that while his date as regards the death of Muhammad Shāh may be wrong, his calculation based upon the dates he gives is correct. I am not aware of any direct evidence that Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn ascended the throne in 847 H. The *Tarikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, if Elliott's translation (Elliott, IV, p. 86) is to be trusted, says, "Upon the death of Muhammad Shāh the amirs and nobles assembled, and raised his son to the throne under the style of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn" and in a footnote on the same page referring to the conflict of testimony between Badāoni and Firishta as to the date of Muhammad Shāh's death, he says: "Firishta seems correct in making it 849," and with this opinion I am inclined to agree. The mistake appears to have arisen from accepting the date given by Briggs in his translation of Firishta, instead of confirming it from Firishta himself, who gives 17th Jamādī I 824 as the date of Khizr Khān's death and Mubārak Shāh's accession, and states (Bo. text 309) that Mubārak Shāh reigned thirteen years three months and sixteen days. This would bring us to 837 H. not to 839 H. Therefore, unless there is evidence to show that 'Alāu-d-Dīn came to the throne in 847 H. we are justified in accepting Firishta's plain and coincident statement that Muhammad Shāh reigned twelve years and some months, dying in 849 H.

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) omits مبارک شاہ and writes خازد فارید Farid Khān. See Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, 335, *footnote*.

Bidāon and elected to take up his abode there, and after making preparations for remaining there<sup>1</sup> returned to his capital Dihlī.

And in the year 832 H (1428 A.D.) having made his two brothers in law Shahn-i-S̄ahr (City Constable) and Mir-i-Kuc (Superintendent of Roads) he returned to Badāon. A disturbance arose between those two brothers, and at last both were put to death by the people of Dihlī. Husain Khān who was Umdatu-l-Hulk (a Privy Councillor), and loyal to the Sultan, but from time to time spoke the direct truth to the Sultan in connection with the administration of State affairs, had for this very reason, fallen out of favour with the Sultan, and had been deposed from his office. Iamid Khān, Faiz-i-Muqaddas, (virtue of the State) who had fled to Dihlī fearing punishment at the hands of the Sultan, and dreading an attempt upon his life,<sup>2</sup> joined with Husain Khān in inviting Malik Bahlūl and in raising him to the throne. He accordingly took advantage of the absence of the Sultan to proceed to Sirhind<sup>3</sup> and having assumed to himself the title of Sultan read the Khutbah, and coming a second time with<sup>4</sup> his whole army seized upon Dihlī. Leaving his viceroy there he proceeded towards Dibālpur, where he set about raising an army, and wrote a letter couched in hypocritical terms to Sultan 'Alau-d-Din saying, "I am your obedient servant, and am undertaking all this marching backwards and forwards solely out of loyalty to your person." The Sultan in reply, wrote as follows "The deceased King, Sultan Muhammed Shah, called you by the name of Son. There is neither fruit nor profit for me in sovereignty, living in solitary contentment at Badāon I resign the empire of Dihlī<sup>5</sup> to you." Sultan Bahlūl leaving Dibālpur ascended the throne of Dihlī.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) مکانی طرح مکارتی تھا۔ The text reads مکارتی طرح مکانی تھا۔ Having laid the foundations of a palace, but there seems no authority for such a statement.

<sup>2</sup> Firishta gives a full account of this and says that the Sultan was instigated to this attempt by Qutb Khān and Rāj Pērshā, the latter of whom had a blood feud against Iamid Khān (see Firishta, Bombay text I. p. 316).

<sup>3</sup> MS (A)

<sup>4</sup> His oldest son Khwāja Bayazid. At this time, according to Firishta the Khutbah is used to be read in the joint names of Sultan 'Alau-d-Din and Sultan Bahlūl, who upon first marching against Dihlī had written to 'Alau-d-Din alleging as his excuse that he was marching to oppose Iamid Khān.

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) سلطنت دہلی

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) حاوم سرہ

without fighting or opposition ; and Sultān 'Alāu-d-Din by the orders of Sultān Bahlūl was invested with the sovereignty of Badāon and the districts appertaining to it, towards the river Ganges as far as Khairābād and the foot of the hills, and used to read the Khutbah in his own name in those districts, till at last after some time, in the year 855 H. (1451 A.D.) he bade farewell to this world.<sup>1</sup> The duration of his reign was seven years and some months.

*Verse.*

This is the sum and total of the world's conduct.  
It has never proved faithful to any man.

SULTĀN BAHLŪL [IBN I KĀLĀ]<sup>2</sup> LODI,

Who in the reign of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh had obtained the title of Khān-i-Khānān,<sup>3</sup> in the year 855 H. (1451 A.D.) in concert with Ḥamid Khān Vazir (who, after the execution of Ḫusain Khān at the hands of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Din, had gained possession of the family and relations of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Din in Dihlī, and had brought the key of the fortress and had given it to Sultān Bahlūl) 307. ascended the throne of sovereignty, and by degrees contrived to secure the imprisonment of Ḥamid Khān,<sup>4</sup> and in the same year proceeded to Multān to set that province in order.<sup>5</sup>

And in the year 856 H. (1452 A.D.) Sultān Maḥmūd Sharqī at the instigation of certain of the Amīrs of the party of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Din, came with a large army and laid siege to Dihlī,

<sup>1</sup> According to Firishta 'Alāu-d-Din died in Badāon in the year 883 H. (1478 A.D.) having reigned in Badāon some twenty-eight years.

Badāoni's statement is wrong in this particular. In 855 H. according to Firishta, 'Alāu-d-Din retired into obscurity, leaving the kingdom of Dihlī to Bahlūl Lodi, and reigned in Badāon for twenty-eight years, dying in 883 H. (Bo. text 316.) See n. 4 page 405.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (B) omits the words in brackets.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) writes خطاب خانی یافتہ بود.

<sup>4</sup> A long account of the way in which Ḥamid Khān was taken prisoner is given by Firishta.

<sup>5</sup> Firishta gives an account of the circumstances attending the birth of Bahlūl Lodi, telling us that the mother of Bahlūl Lodi, when close upon her confinement of him, was killed by the falling of her house upon her ; she was taken out lifeless, and to save the child the mother was instantly submitted to the Cæsarean operation and the child removed ; as it showed signs of life it was carefully tended and grew up. (Bo. text p. 317).

and after severe fighting gained possession of it,<sup>1</sup> and Iath Khan Haraw<sup>2</sup> who was one of the most trusted Amirs of Sultan Mahmud was killed. Sultan Mahmud<sup>3</sup> not being able to bear up against this went to Jaunpur, and the following year came into the same neighbourhood, proceeding from Jaunpur to Itāwa, and concluded peace upon the following terms, namely, that so much of the kingdom of Dihli as was under the sway of Mubārak Shahī should belong to Sultan Bahlul, while that portion which was under the rule of Sultan Ibrāhim Sharqi should revert to Sultan Mahmud,<sup>4</sup> and having promised that after the rainy season he would give Shamsabad to Sultan Bahlul<sup>5</sup> which was held by Junā Khan as the deputy of Sultan Mahmud, each of them went to his own country.

Sultān Bahlul at the expiration of the appointed time marched against Shamsabad, took possession of it, and gave it to Rūt Kiran, ruler of Bhūnaganw. Sultan Mahmud being displeased at this, proceeded again<sup>6</sup> to the borders of Shamsabad and fought with Sultan Bahlul.<sup>7</sup> In the meantime Sultan Mahmud quitted this existence for the house of eternity, and Muhammad Shah, the son of Sultan Mahmud, was nominated to the kingdom of Jaunpur in the room of his father, and having arranged peace upon the terms formerly agreed upon between Sultan Mahmud and Sultan<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) has here a different reading (note 7) وَسْمَاعِي The text seems right agreeing with MS (B)

<sup>2</sup> هَرَوِي Harawi of Herat

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) reads here وَكُشِّدَ شَهْنَهْ او سَلَطَان .. وَتَغَادَرَ شَاهْ حَانْ هَرَوِي Sultan Mahmud was not able to bear the fall of Fath Khan and is being killed

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) مُهَمَّد فِرِيزْتَه says that another term of the agreement was that Bahlul was to return the seven elephants taken in battle from Fath Khan and should receive Shamsabad in place of Junā Khan (Bo text p 322)

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) omits بِهِ Firishta tells us that Junā Khan refused to quit Shamsabad when called upon to do so by Bahlul Lodi who consequently marched against him and drove him out giving Shamsabad into the charge of Rai Kiran and conquering all that country (Bo text p 323)

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) دَرَجَاتِهِ

<sup>7</sup> In this engagement Quib Khan Lodi was taken prisoner in consequence of his horse stumbling and throwing him and was sent by Mahmud to Jaunpur where he was imprisoned

<sup>8</sup> Firishta says that Bibi Rachi the mother of Muhammad Shah Sharqi

Buhlūl proceeded to Jaunpūr, and, inasmuch as Qutb Khān, the cousin of Sultān Buhlūl had fallen a prisoner into the hands of Muḥammad Shāh,<sup>1</sup> Sultān Buhlūl, in defiance of the existing treaty, again brought up his army against Muḥammad Shāh, who also leaving Jaunpūr came to Shamsābād and took it from the Hindūs by force,<sup>2</sup> and on the borders of Rāpri confronted Sultān Buhlūl: Muḥammad Shāh was defeated and retreated towards Qanauj. Sultān Buhlūl pursued him.<sup>3</sup> And in the aforesaid year Sultān Ḥusain Sharqī, ibn-i-Sultān Maḥmūd revolted against his brother Muḥammad Shāh, and seized the throne of Jaunpūr with the assistance of the Amīrs, and detailed<sup>4</sup> a large army to proceed against Muḥammad Shāh, whom they finally put to death on the banks of the Ganges in the vicinity of Rāj Garh. Sultān Ḥusain made peace with Sultān Buhlūl, and sending for Qutb Khān Lodi who was still in prison, from Jaunpūr, presented him with a horse and a robe of honour and sent him to Sultān Buhlūl<sup>5</sup> and returned from Qanauj to Jaunpūr.<sup>6</sup>

intervened, and arranged peace upon these terms, that Muḥammad Shāh should retain his father's kingdom, while Buhlūl should be in undisturbed possession of all that he already held.

<sup>1</sup> See preceding page n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> There is a rather important difference here in the account given by Firishta (Bo. text p. 323) who writes: "When Sultān Buhlūl arrived near Dihlī Shams Khātūn, the sister of Qutb Khān Lodi sent him a message, saying, "So long as Qutb Khān remains in the prison of Muḥammad Shāh Sharqī food and sleep is unlawful for thee O King." Accordingly Buhlūl broke the truce, and came to Dihlī, whence he returned towards Jaunpūr. On his arrival at Shamsābād he took it out of the hands of Rāi Kiran, and gave it to Jūmān Khān who had arrived before him, and Muḥammad Shāh Sharqī also had come out to meet him, consequently the two Kings encamped near Sarsuti facing one another at close quarters, and engaged each other early and late." From this it appears that Shamsābād was taken by Buhlūl from Rāi Kiran, whereas Badāoni makes it seem as though Muḥammad's forces re-conquered it. Firishta's account is undoubtedly the correct one as subsequent events show.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) کرد او تعاقب.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (B) نامزد کرد.

<sup>5</sup> The account of the circumstances given by Firishta shew that Ḥusain Khān started with his army under pretence of opposing Buhlūl but changed direction to Qanauj. When Buhlūl heard of this he had despatched a few of his Amīrs to meet Ḥusain Khān, and himself took prisoner Jalāl Khān, brother of Ḥusain Khān who was also coming out after his brother, and kept him as a hostage for Qutb Khān, for whom he was eventually exchanged (Bo. text, p 323).

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) جونپور بجانب از قدوچ: The text and MS. (B) are wrong here.

Sultān Bahlūl also despatched Jalāl Khān, the brother of Ḫusain Khān, whom he held in confinement as hostage for Qutb Khān, to Sultān Ḫusain after conferring honours upon him. And after some years<sup>1</sup> Sultān Ḫusain coming to the borders of Chandwār, fought a battle with Sultān Bahlūl, and having concluded a peace for three years again returned to his own country. At this juncture Ahmad Khān Jilwāni, the ruler of Baiāna read the *Khuṣbah* in the name<sup>2</sup> of Ḫusain Khān; and Sultān Ḫusain, upon the expiration of the period for which peace had been concluded, proceeded towards Dihli with 10,000 cavalry and a thousand elephants. They met near a place called Bhātīwār, and Sultān Ḫusain having agreed to peace encamped at Itāwa. Sultān Bahlūl came to Dihli. The fact of these two kings being thus within a seven days' journey is not without its ridiculous side.

#### Verse.

Who has ever seen a scabbard which can contain two swords !  
Who has over seen the thrones of two Jamshids in one place !

And in this year Sultān 'Alān-d-Dīn, whose daughter [Malika-i-Jahān]<sup>3</sup> was married to Sultān Ḫusain, passed away in Badāon,<sup>4</sup> as has been already related,<sup>5</sup> and lost his kingdom to Sultān Bahlūl and Sultān Ḫusain.

#### Verse.

Even supposing that thou hast attained to that which thou desirest,

Even supposing that thou hast been all that thou shouldest be,  
Has not everything which has attained perfection, suffered afterwards from loss ?

Does not the azro heaven taken away again all that it has bestowed ?

And Sultān Ḫusain came from Itāwa to Badāon to perform the

<sup>1</sup> A peace had been arranged for a term of four years (*Firīghta*).

<sup>2</sup> Both MSS. (A) (B) omit *muṣṭaq*.

<sup>3</sup> The name is omitted in MS. (A).

<sup>4</sup> See note 1 page 402. 'Alān-d-Dīn really died in 883 H. according to *Firīghta*. In the former place our author says he died in 855 H. but here he corrects the mistake.

duties of mourning for him,<sup>1</sup> and having taken those districts from the sons of Sultān 'Alān-d-Dīn, took possession of them himself, and thence went<sup>2</sup> to Sambal, and having taken prisoner Tātār Khān,<sup>3</sup> the Governor of that place, sent him to Sāran,<sup>4</sup> and with a large army and the number of elephants already mentioned, arrived at Dihlī in the month of Zū Hijjah, in the year 880 H.<sup>5</sup> and encamped on the banks of the Jamna near the ford of Kichā.<sup>6</sup> Sultān Buhlūl coming from Sihriṇd summoned<sup>7</sup> Ḫusain Khān, the son of Khān-i-Jahān from the vicinity<sup>8</sup> of Mirath, and despatched him to oppose Sultān Ḫusain,<sup>9</sup> while he himself held Dihlī against him. And on this occasion also, owing to the exertions of Quṭb Khān, Sultān Ḫusain agreed to peace, taking into his own possession the whole of the country on the further side of the Ganges;<sup>10</sup> then relinquishing this side of the river to Sultān Buhlūl he returned. Sultān Buhlūl<sup>11</sup> seized his opportunity, and when Sultān Ḫusain marched, crossed the river Jamna and captured some baggage and other property<sup>12</sup> which Sultān Ḫusain, relying upon the truce, had left on the camping-ground: a certain proportion of the treasury also which was laden on elephants and horses, fell into the hands of Sultān Buhlūl, and as many as forty<sup>13</sup> noted Amīrs of Sultān Ḫusain's force, were taken prisoners, among others for instance, Qāzī Sainā'u-d-Dīn, entitled Qutlugh Khān the Vazīr, who was the most learned of the doctors of his time.

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) reads بتعزیت او *ba-ta'zīyat-i-ā* which agrees with the words of Firishta (Bo. text, p. 325) and is far preferable to the reading of the text and MS. (B) بتقریب او *bataqrīb-i-ā*; i.e., on his account.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) رفت. <sup>3</sup> Firishta calls him مبارک خان *Mubārak Khān*.

<sup>4</sup> Thus also both MSS. (A) and (B). The text has a footnote variant بشاران *ba Shārān*.

<sup>5</sup> There is a serious discrepancy here in the dates. Firishta says in 883 H. (Bo. text, p. 325) and this must be correct.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) reads گذر گنجینہ *Guzr-i-Ganjīna*, but the text is right. Firishta reads کچھ کچھ *kachha*.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. (A) and (B) omit طلبیده.

<sup>8</sup> MSS. (A) and (B) read جانب for ولایت (Text).

<sup>9</sup> Firishta says بضم بط میرک, to take Mīrak.

<sup>10</sup> MS. (A) reads گرفته. That is to say eastward of the Ganges.

<sup>11</sup> MS. (A) omits و. <sup>12</sup> MS. (A) اشیائی کم *ashyā'i kām*. MS. (B) اشیائی را کم *ashyā'i rā kām*.

<sup>13</sup> Firishta says "thirty or forty."

Sultān Muhibbūl made over Qatīngh Khān in chains to Qutb Khān Lodī, and himself giving chase went as far as Shamsābād<sup>1</sup> in the Doāb, which was held by Sultān Husain, and seizing it, appointed commissioners<sup>2</sup> of his own over<sup>3</sup> that country; this occurrence took place in the year 881 H. (1479 A.D.)<sup>4</sup> the chronogram for that year was *Nawid-i-Kharabī* (Tidings of ruin).<sup>5</sup>

And Sultān Husain seeing that he was being very closely pursued, determined to make a stand at Rāptī, and once more peace was agreed to between them upon the old conditions, namely, that each should rest contented with the countries of which he was in possession, and should retire. Upon the conclusion of this peace Sultān Husain remained at Rāptī, and Sultān Muhibbūl at a place called Dhopūmū'; and after a time Sultān Husain again collecting an army came up against Sultān Muhibbūl, and a fierce engagement took place in the vicinity of Sonhār<sup>6</sup> Sultān Husain again suffered defeat, a great deal of treasure and valuables beyond compensation falling into the hands of the Lodī party, and was a means of increasing their influence and power. Sultān Muhibbūl left Dhopūmū' for Dihlī to mourn<sup>7</sup> for Khān-i-Jahān who had died in Dihlī, [and having conferred the title of Khān-i-Jahān upon his son, again returned to attack Sultān Husain, and reaching Rāptī fought a battle in which he gained a victory],<sup>8</sup> and when Sultān Husain took refuge in flight a number of his family and

<sup>1</sup> Firishta enumerates Khanjal (Kanjil?) Baitali, Slamasabad, Sakit Marhara and Jalesar, as the townships seized on this occasion by Bahūlūl

<sup>2</sup> شہزاداران Shiqqāzārān Officers appointed to collect revenue from provinces

<sup>3</sup> دران MSS (A) (B) The text reads داران

<sup>4</sup> First to includes this among the events of 883 H. See note 17

<sup>5</sup> Our author here shows that he is wrong, as the total of the letters given amounts to 883 not 884 Thus ۵۰ + ۰ + ۱۰ + ۴ + ۶۰۰ + ۲۰۰ + ۱ + ۲ + ۱۰ = 883

<sup>6</sup> This passage is differently worded in the text In both MSS (A) and (B) it runs thus —

و بعد از ملح سلطان حسین براپری و سلطان بہلول در صورع دھوپامڑ قرار گرفت و بعد از مدتی سلطان حسین باز حمایت نموده در مر سلطان بہلول آمد و در مساد صورع سوبهار مسحاریہ سنت آنکار

<sup>7</sup> The text reads incorrectly تقریب instead of MS (A)

<sup>8</sup> MS (A) omits the portion in brackets

children were drowned in the Jamna. Sultān Husain continued his march towards Gwāliār, and was still on the way when the rebel tribes of Hatkānt,<sup>1</sup> who are a clan of the Bhadauris, attacked his camp; Rāi Girat Singh, the Governor of Gwāliār came to the assistance of the Sultān offering his services, and having presented

311. him with money and property, horses, camels, and elephants, with tents for himself and his troops, sent an army to accompany him, proceeding himself with the Sultān<sup>2</sup> as far as Kālpi; Sultān Buhlūl pursued him, and the two Kings<sup>3</sup> met in the neighbourhood of Kālpi and a considerable time was spent in hostilities. In the meantime Rāi Tiluk<sup>4</sup> Chaud, the Governor of the country of Baksar,<sup>5</sup> came and offered his services to Sultān Husain,<sup>6</sup> and enabled him to cross the Ganges at a place which was fordable. Sultān Husain not being able to stand against him withdrew to Thatta,<sup>7</sup> and the Rāja of Thatta came to receive him, and having presented him with several *laks* of *tankahs* in cash, and other valuables,<sup>8</sup> together with several elephants, escorted him to Jaunpūr.

Sultān Buhlūl made an attempt to conquer Jaunpūr, accordingly

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) omits the word مُتَهَدِّدَان leaving a hiatus, and writes حکَمْتْ Hatkānt which is correct, see n. 2.

Hatkānt is said by Abūl Fazl to be the chief town of Bhadāwar a district S. E. of Āgra. Its inhabitants are called Bhadāwirs. They were known as daring robbers and though so near the capital managed to maintain their independence till Akbar had their chief trampled to death by an elephant, when they submitted. *Ain-i-Akbari* (B) I. 488. Elliot. *Races of N. W. P.*, vol. I, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> We should probably read here مُتَابِعَاتْ *Mushā'īfat* *fer* *Mutabi'at* see Firishṭa.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) reads میان.

<sup>4</sup> Both MSS. Also Firishṭa who calls him Rāi Tilok Chand, Governor of Khatra (? Katehr.)

<sup>5</sup> Baksar is situated on the left bank of the Ganges 34 miles S. E. of Unāo town, and has an interest in connection with the massacre of 1857 at Cawnpore (see Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, I, 450) MS. (A) reads یکسر Yaksar.

<sup>6</sup> Firishṭa says بھلول سلطان بھلول بخدمت. Offered his services to Sultān Buhlūl; from our author's subsequent words it would appear that it was Sultān Buhlūl, and not Sultān Husain.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. (A) and (B) read بھٹا Bhatta instead of پانہ Paṇa. Firishṭa has بھٹھ Thatta, and this seems to be the proper reading.

<sup>8</sup> MS. (A) جنس.



name of Bāyazid,<sup>1</sup> and having arrived at Dholpūr<sup>2</sup> levied several *mans* of gold as tribute from the Rāī of that place ; then passing by Bārī went to Ilāhpūr,<sup>3</sup> one of the dependencies of the fortress of Rantambhūr, and having laid waste that country came to Dihli and remained there. Some time after this he hastened to Hissār Firoza, where he remained a few days and then returned to Dihli. Once more he went to Gwāliār, where Rūja Mūn the Governor of Gwāliār sent an offering of eighty laks of *tankas* of that period ; accordingly Buhlūl confirmed him at Gwāliār, and proceeded to Itāwa, and was making his way back to Dihli when he was taken ill in the neighbourhood of a township of the dependencies of Sakīt.<sup>4</sup> And in the year 894 H. (1488 A. D.) he died, the duration of his reign was thirty-eight years,<sup>5</sup> eight months and eight days.<sup>6</sup>

*Verse.*

Whether it be Afrāsiyāb or his son Zāl,  
He will meet with chastisement at the hand of Fate.

To a cup whose measure the wine-bearer has appointed

It is impossible to add a single drop, however much you may  
strive.

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) writes بیرون دیگر another son. Firishta says اعظم همایون بن خواجه بایزید *Khwāja Khāzīn* son of *Khwāja Bāyazid*. (Bo. Text, p. 327). This is correct. Bāyazid was the eldest son of Buhlūl.

<sup>2</sup> Both MSS. (A) and (B) omit خود.

<sup>3</sup> The text and MS. (B) read Pālhanpūr. MS. (A) reads باہنپور *ba jānib-i-Ilāhpūr*: Firishta's text however reads clearly (p. 327) *ba jānib-i-Ilāhpūr*. Briggs (p. 560) says Ruttunpoor !

<sup>4</sup> Text and MS. (B) have سکیدت *Sakpat*. MS. (A) reads سکیدب *Sakib*. In Firishta we read (Bo. text 327) that "Buhlūl took Itāwa from Sakīt Singh and set out to return to Dihli but fell ill on the way." Later on we read that "he died near Bhadāullī one of the dependencies of Sakīt." Sakīt is in the Etah District of the N.-W. Provinces, and it is here according to Hunter (*Imp. Gaz.*, XII. 146), that Buhlūl Lodī died. Abūl Fażl states (*Aīn-i-Akbarī* text I. 532) that he died near the township of Saketh, but places Bhadāwah in the Sarkār of Sahār in the Āgra Sūbah, while he places Saketh in the Sarkār of Qanauj (see *Aīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett) (II. 809 n. 3)). Sakīt was probably the head-quarters of the Sakīt Singh whom Firishta mentions.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) reads بود after مل.

<sup>6</sup> Firishta says seven-days.

Whether it be a king or a *khas* seller<sup>1</sup>  
 Fate brings to his hearing the summons of death  
*The date of his death*<sup>2</sup>  
 In eight hundred and ninety and four  
 The world conquering Khedive, Bahul left the world,  
 With his sword he seized provinces, but for all his bright  
 sword and burnished dagger,  
 He was not able to repel death<sup>3</sup>

SULTAN SIKANDAR ibn i SULTĀN BURLŪL,<sup>4</sup>

Who was known by the name of Nizōm Khōn, upon hearing the tidings of his father's decease, came in haste<sup>5</sup> from Dihli to the township of Jalah, entered the camp<sup>6</sup> and despatched the corpse of his father to Dihli. On Friday, the seventeenth of the year above mentioned, he ascended the throne in the palace of Sultan Irfuz, which is situated on the banks of the Black water, with the concurrence of Khōn i Jahān ibn i Khon i Jahon, and Khān i Khanon Tirmoli,<sup>7</sup> and all the Amirs, and was addressed by the title<sup>8</sup> of Sultan Sikandor. It is said that at the time of leaving Dihli, he went to Shaikh Samā'n d Dīn Kanbu,<sup>9</sup> the spiritual guide of Shaikh Jamali,<sup>10</sup> who was one of the greatest among the Ulomo Shaikhs of his time, on purpose of taking an

1 خس درویش *Khas suri sh* *Khas* is a fragrant grass (*Andropogon muricatum*) from which screens are made and wetted with water for the purpose of cooling rooms by the air which blows through them commonly known as 'Khas Khas' tatties in India

2 MS (A) reads وَرَجَعَ وَرَجَعَ This is omitted in the text

Prior to his death Sultan Bahlul had made a partition of his dominions assigning Jaunpur to Shāl zada Bārbak Shah and Kara Manikpur to Shāl zada 'Alam Khan Bahraich to his son Shaikh Muhammed Far mal; who was known as Kala Bhār and Lakhnau and Kalpi to Azam Humayun ibn i Khwaja Bayaz d Khān (Farsi ta Bo text 327)

3 These same verses are found in Farsi ta

4 MS (A) has no further words MS (B) adds لودی لودی Lodi The text adds عالی عالی ibn i Kala

5 Neither MS (A) nor (B) has مُلْتَهِبَ as in the text

6 ماردوی نو سندھ Marodvi Nasendh

7 MS (B) has حائلان دھلی Khan i Khanan Dihli it omits فرمائی Farmai

8 MS (A) omits حطاب Hatib

9 MS (A) کندو Kandu

10 MS (A)

omen,<sup>1</sup> for this reason that he feared lest the Shaikh might favour the claims of the other brothers,<sup>2</sup> so making his customary daily walk a pretext, he enquired the meaning of the expression *As'aduk Allāh*<sup>3</sup> from the Shaikh.

314. When he answered, It means *may God Most High make you fortunate*, he besought him saying, Kindly let this expression fall three several times from your auspicious lips; the Shaikh did so,<sup>4</sup> then he arose and said I have gained my request, then

فَأَلْ تفَاعُل tafā'l. Taking a فَأَلْ fā'l or omen from the words of a book. Sortilego, in the manner of the *Sortes Virgilianae*, or the oracle of Prenesto. Among Muhammadans it is a not infrequent custom, before embarking upon any important undertaking, to consult the Qur'ān, or the works of Ḥāfiẓ in this way. The word fā'l properly means a good omen, as opposed to طيّر الطيّرات a bad omen, this distinction is however not strictly observed. The prophet Muhammad directed his followers not to put faith in a bad omen, but rather to take a good one; on being asked the meaning of a good omen he said "a good word which any of you may hear: such as if a person in search of anything be addressed thus, O Finder!" (*Mishkātū-l-Maṣabīḥ* Mathow ii. 381) see also Lane s. v. **جُلُّ**; also Lane's Modern Egyptians 259, where a full account of one of the methods of sortilego by the Zāirgah is given.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (B) reads بِراذر دیگر another brother. Firishta gives a detailed account of the circumstances attending the accession of Sikandar; he says that most of the Lodi Amirs favoured Ā'zam Humāyūn, and before Bahlūl's death practically forced him to summon Sikandar from Dihlī, intending to make a prisoner of him. This plot came to the ears of 'Umr Khān Shirwānī who was a friend of Sikandar, and he consequently agreed with the mother of Sikandar, who was in the camp at the time, to warn Sikandar of his danger. Sikandar accordingly made excuses from day to day, and eventually delayed coming so long that Bahlūl died. The Amirs then held a consultation, most of them favouring Būrbak Shāh the eldest surviving son, but some leaning to Ā'zam Humāyūn: Zebā, the mother of Sikandar, spoke from behind a curtain in favour of her son, but was rudely repulsed by one Isā Khān a cousin of Bahlūl, who said, "the son of a gold worker's daughter is not fit to be king." Thereupon Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī rebuked him, and words ensued which led to a quarrel. Khān-i-Khānān took his party of Amirs with him, and removed Bahlūl's corpse to Jalālī, summoning Sikandar from Dihlī where they placed him on the throne in the palace of Sulṭān Firuz on the banks of the Biāh, as Sultān Sikandar. He thou sending his father's body to Dihlī, marched against Isā Khān and defeated him, but pardoned him (Firishta Bo. text 338-339).

<sup>3</sup> اللہ اسعدك Asa'dak allāh, i.e., May God prosper thee. MS. (A) reads صرف ہوای ساختہ معنی.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) omits the words بار & و and reads و بعد.

he besought the Shah<sup>1</sup> to assist him, and set out to go to the army, and after that his rule was firmly established,<sup>2</sup> he left Dihli, and marched towards<sup>3</sup> Rāpi and Itawa to conquer the country, and spent seven months there. He also sent Isma'il Khan Luhāni<sup>4</sup> with overtures of peace to King Barbak Shah at<sup>5</sup> Jannpu, while he proceeded in persona against<sup>6</sup> 'Isā Khān Governor of Patiali,<sup>7</sup> and<sup>8</sup> Isā Khan confronted and fought with him and was wounded, and after tendering his submission succumbed to his wounds. Rāi Ganesh,<sup>9</sup> the Rāja of Patiali who was friendly to Bārbak Shah, came in and had an interview with the Sultan who<sup>10</sup> confirmed him in the Government of Patiali.<sup>11</sup> Barbak Shah coming from Jannpu to Qananj, the parties met and an engagement took place between them.<sup>12</sup> Mubārak Khān Lubāni,<sup>13</sup> who was with the army of Bārbak Shah, was taken prisoner in this battle,<sup>14</sup> Bārbak Shah fled to Bidaon, Sultan Sikandar besieged<sup>15</sup> that fortress, and Bārbak Shah being reduced to extremities sought an interview with the Sultan, who reassured and encouraged him, and took him along with him to Janapur, restoring him to his former position upon the throne of the Sharqi kings, except that he divided certain *parganas* of these territories<sup>16</sup> among his own Amirs, detailing armies for each place and appointing trusted officers of his own following to assist Bar-

<sup>1</sup> MS (B) wrongly 马苏德

<sup>2</sup> MS (B) حاصل

<sup>3</sup> The text and MS (B) read نوحانی val in MS (A)

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) پتیالی (B) در عیسیٰ حاصل <sup>5</sup> MS (A) در حربه

<sup>7</sup> MS (A) omits و

<sup>8</sup> MS (B) reads رای کلشن MS (A) reads رای کش رای کیلان MS (A) reads رای گلیس Firishta reads رای کیلان

<sup>9</sup> MS (A) omits سلطان reading مقرر گشت و در حملہ او

<sup>10</sup> MS (B) پتیالی (A) Patiali

<sup>11</sup> MS (A) reads instead of طریق را در مناب طریق

<sup>12</sup> Text نوحانی

<sup>13</sup> Firishta (No. text 331) says that it was Kala Bhar (Sikhi Muhammad Farman; nephew of Sultan Bahlul and cousin of Sikandar and Barbak) who was taken prisoner, and in return for his kind reception by Sikandar joined him against Barbak Shah who lost heart and fled to Badan

<sup>14</sup> MS (A) کرد محاصرہ

<sup>15</sup> In Bihar (Firishta)

315.

bak Shih.<sup>1</sup> Then he took Kalpi from A'zam Khān & Humāyūn tho son of Khwāja Bayazid. From thence he came to Jahtara,<sup>2</sup> and from that place to Gwāliār, sending Khwāja Muḥammad Farnali with a special robe of honour on an embassy to<sup>3</sup> Rāja Mān,<sup>4</sup> who in turn sent his brother's son to pay his respects to the Sultān and to offer his submission. This nephew of his accordingly accompanied the Sultān as far as Baiāna. Sultān Sharq<sup>5</sup> the Governor of Baiāna, the son of Sultān Ahmud Jilwāni the First, came and visited him, and was desirous of handing over the key of the fort<sup>6</sup> to the agents of the Sultān; however he changed his mind, and on arrival at Baiāna strengthened the defences of the fort. The Sultān proceeded to Agra where Haibat Khān Jilwāni, a subordinate of Sultān Sharf<sup>7</sup> fortified himself in the fort of Agra.<sup>8</sup> The Sultān left certain of his Amirs in Agra and<sup>9</sup> proceeded to Baiāna<sup>10</sup> and in the year 897 H. (1491 A. D.) Sultān Sharq<sup>11</sup> fell into straits and sued for quarter, surrendering the fortress of Baiāna to the Sultān; that province was then conferred upon Khān-i-Khānān Farnali. In the same year the tribe of Bachgotis<sup>12</sup> in the Jannpūr territory had assembled to the number

<sup>1</sup> Firīshṭa says, leaving trusted officers of his own following in his service, though Badāoni's words would convey the idea that these officers were left to control Bārbak Shāh's actions. MS. (A) omits بُر before گماشت and ب after معمد ان، and گالبی.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) omits خان giving it to Mahmūd Lodi (Firīshṭa).

<sup>3</sup> Briggs (p. 568) says Bhurjee, but the original text of Firīshṭa says جہڑا Jahtara. I fail to locate this.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) نزد. <sup>5</sup> Governor of Gwāliār (Firīshṭa).  
Briggs has Mān Singh. Firīshṭa reads Mān merely.

<sup>6</sup> Firīshṭa reads thus سلطان شرف. Sultān Sharf. Badāoni (text and both MSS.) reads شرق Sharq.

<sup>7</sup> MS. (B) reads قلعه instead of قلع.

<sup>8</sup> The text reads سلطان الشرق. Sultānu-sh-Sharq. MSS. (A) (B) read سلطان شرق Sultān Sharq.

<sup>9</sup> MSS. (A) (B) متحفظون شد.

<sup>10</sup> MSS. (A) (B) گداشت و.

<sup>11</sup> Where he besieged Sultān Sharq who after a while capitulated (Firīshṭa 381).

<sup>12</sup> شرق Sharq (text and MSS.).

<sup>13</sup> A tribe of Rājpūts said to be descended from the Mainpūri Chauhāns

of a hundred thousand cavalry and infantry,<sup>1</sup> and were raising a disturbance. The Sultān proceeded thither and Barbak Shāh came in and offered his allegiance. Leaving there, he proceeded to occupy himself with a hunting expedition to the borders of Awadh (Oudh), and again returned to Jānnpur, and arrived at the fortress of Janhār,<sup>2</sup> and engaged in battle with the Amirs of Sultan Husain Shārqī who held it, and having defeated them, without waiting to completely invest the fortress came to Patna,<sup>3</sup> and having come to Āril,<sup>4</sup> which is near Ilāhabās (otherwise called Prayag),<sup>5</sup> laid waste that district,<sup>6</sup> and proceeding by way of Karra and Mānikpur hastened to Dalman,<sup>7</sup> and from thence came to Shamsābād, and remaining there six months went to Sambal [whence he again returned to Shamsābād].<sup>8</sup>

And after the rainy season in the year 900 H (1494 A.D.) 316 he set out with the object of chastising the rebels of Patna, and great slaughter took place and many prisoners were taken, from whence he proceeded to Jānnpur.<sup>9</sup> In this expedition very many

notorious for their turbulence originally Muhammadians see Elliot, Races of N.W.P. I 47

<sup>1</sup> MSS (A) (B)

<sup>2</sup> Text Janhār MS (A) reads حنھار (?) MS (B) جھار Chinar Firishta چنار

<sup>3</sup> Firishta says came to Kāṣuba (?) which is one of the dependencies of Patna MS (A) reads رفت

<sup>4</sup> A footnote variant is given in the text نارکل ba Arkal

Firishta reads اریل Arīl he says حاب اریل رفت

Arīl is mentioned by Abul Fażl (Āin-i Akbari (B) I 420) he held Jhosi and Arīl (Jalalabās) as jagir

<sup>5</sup> The text reads بیاک Payak MS (A) reads بیاک Bayak MS (B) بیاک Bapak Regarding the derivation of Prayag the ancient name of Allahabad see Cunningham (A.G.I 391)

<sup>6</sup> حرب گردہ رفت MS (B)

<sup>7</sup> Dalman lay opposite to Karra on the other side of the Ganges see Rennell's Map see also, Āin-i Akbari (J) II 167 n 2 Firishta (Bo text) reads Dalpur, p 332

<sup>8</sup> و مدد MS (B)

<sup>9</sup> Not in MSS (A) and (B) The text has a footnote saying that these words occur in only one copy They are however in exact accord with Firishta's statement and are probably copied from his work

<sup>10</sup> MS (A) دویں

horses were lost, hardly one in ten remaining alive;<sup>1</sup> the zemindārs of Patna and others wrote and informed Sultān Ḫusain Sharqi of the loss of the horses, and of the scarcity of supplies in Sultān Sikandar's army, and invited him (to advance). Sultān Ḫusain collected an army, and marched from Behār with a hundred elephants against Sultān<sup>2</sup> Sikandar, who for his part crossed the Ganges by the ford of Kantit<sup>3</sup> and came to Chenār<sup>4</sup> and from thence to Banāras. Sultān Ḫusain had arrived within seventeen *krohs* of Banāras when Sultān Sikandar marched against him rapidly.<sup>5</sup> In the midst of his march Sālbāhan the Rāja of Patna, who was a trusty zemindār, left Sultān Ḫusain and joined Sultān Sikandar.

Sultān Ḫusain drew up in line of battle, but suffered defeat and retired towards Patna.<sup>6</sup> Sultān Sikandar left the camp, and pursued him<sup>7</sup> with a hundred thousand light cavalry; while thus engaged he learned that Sultān Ḫusain had gone to Bihār. After nine days Sultān Sikandar arrived,<sup>8</sup> and joining his camp set out for Bihār. Sultān Ḫusain, leaving his deputy<sup>9</sup> in Bihār, could not remain there, but proceeded to Khul Gānw one of the dependencies of Lakhnautī, and Bihār fell into the hands of Sikandar's troops.<sup>10</sup> Thence the Sultān proceeded to Tirhut and conquered it.

And in the year 901 H. (1495 A. D.) Khān-i-Jahān Lodi died, and Ahmad Khān his eldest son<sup>11</sup> was styled A'zam Khān Humāyūn. The Sultān returned from Tirhut, and went to pay a visit to the tomb of Quṭbu-l-Mashāikh-i-l-'Izām,<sup>12</sup> Shaikh Sharfu-d-Dīn Munīrī,<sup>13</sup> may God sanctify his resting-place, and came to

1 MS. (A) نہاند.

2 MSS. (A) and (B).

3 The text and MS. (B) read مکدر گشت *mukaddar gasht*, i.e., became disturbed; but the proper reading is بگذر کنیت *baguzr-i-Katit*. MS. (A) or بگذر گفت *baguzr-i-Kantit* (*Firishta*). Kantat is on the S. W. bank of the Ganges, in the Sarkar of Allahabad, see Āīn-i-Akbarī (Jarrett) II. 89 : 158.

4 Text جنہار Janhār.

5 Both MSS. (A) and (B) omit تمام.

6 MS. (A) reads پنہ *Panna*. Text reads پٹا *Patta*. MS. (B) reads گرفت.

7 MS. (B) نہود و دروازہ.

8 MS. (B) omits ڈھنڈی.

9 Malik Kandhū (*Firishta*).

10 MS. (A) ڈھنڈی.

11 MS. (A) reads بخطاب اعظم *Māyoni* مخاطب شد.

12 MSS. (A) (B) in Bihār (*Firishta*).

13 He was the son of Yahya-b-Isrā'il the head of the Chishtis, a disciple of Gauj-i-Shakkur. His burial place is in Bihār, see Āīn-i-Akbarī (J.) III. 370.

Darveshpur From thence he set out on an expedition against Sultan 'Alau d-Din king of Baagula, and in the vicinity of Bihār, the son of Sultan 'Alau d-Din, whose name was Dāniāl, in obedience to his father's orders came out to overthrow Sultan (Sikandar), and prepared to oppose him, but they retraced their steps, each one contenting himself with his own territories<sup>1</sup> and consenting to make peace. In this year great scarcity and dearth occurred in the camp of the Sultan, orders were promulgated<sup>2</sup> remitting the customary tribute of grain in all provinces, in fact they were entirely abolished. From thence he came to the township of Saran, and divided that district among his own followers in perpetuity,<sup>3</sup> and came by way of Mahligarh<sup>4</sup> to Janpur, and having spent six months there proceeded to Panna.<sup>5</sup> And in the year 901 H. (1498 A.D.) he invaded the territory of Panna,<sup>6</sup> as far as Bādhūgagh<sup>7</sup> which is a famous fortress plundering and taking prisoners, but being unable to take the fortress on account of its strength, went to Janpur where he remained. In the meanwhile a quarrel had arisen among some of his Amirs during a game of chaugān,<sup>8</sup> and at last it ended in an open fight,<sup>9</sup> and the Sultan

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) قویات درویش

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) مکتبہ مدارک

<sup>3</sup> MS (B) تخصیم کرد معمول نمود MS (A) تخصیم کرد معمول نمود

<sup>4</sup> Firishta reads مچھلی گڑ Machli gagh

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) پانہ Panna, text and MS (B) پٹنہ Patna. Firishta text اپنے Patna Briggs in his translation say Panna (p. 573) and this must be correct to judge from what follows.

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) reads بندھو گڑ Wilayat + Panna

<sup>7</sup> MS (A) reads بندھو گڑ Ma thugagh but Bandh gagh is the right reading. Regarding the position of this fortress we find Abul Fazl states (*Ain-i Akbari* (J) II, 157) that Bāndhu lies south of Alitalabad. The translator appends a footnote (9) in which he identifies it with Banda. Banda, however lies to the west and not to the south of Alitalabad. Bādhugagh was one of the two chief fortresses of the province of Bandhu (which corresponds nearly to the state of Rewa) and lies south of Rewa (Bewa) distant about 60 miles and S 8 E from Panna, distant about 90 miles [Keith Johnson]. In Rennell's Map (Tieff III,) it is very plainly marked though the distances and bearings differ slightly from the above see Rennell's Map N p. 19. The other fortress lay south of Bandhugagh and was called Mandla Gagh.

<sup>8</sup> چوگان Chaugān Called in Arabic موتسل Saulajan The modern name of this game is Polo. For a full account of the game, see *Ain-i Akbari* (B) I 297 298

<sup>9</sup> Firishta gives a detailed description of the events, and states that within

becoming suspicious<sup>1</sup> of the Amīrs, gave orders that some armed and trusty guards<sup>2</sup> should attend him every night, which was accordingly done. The majority of the disaffected and disappointed Amīrs urged Fath Khān the son of Sultān Buhlūl to seize the empire. He in his simplicity communicated<sup>3</sup> this secret to his mother, and also to Shaikh Tāhir, and a party who were among the confidants of the Sultān, at the same time giving them<sup>4</sup> a memorandum containing the names of those confederate Amīrs. The party above mentioned diverted him from that insane idea with friendly admonition. To prove their own innocence of complicity in

318. that treasonable design, they took that memorandum to Sultān Sikandar,<sup>5</sup> who devised some specious pretext for scattering in different directions all those Amīrs<sup>6</sup> who had shewn partiality for the Prince<sup>7</sup> Fath Khān.

And in the year 905 H. (1499 A.D.) he proceeded to Sambal, and resided there for four years employed in affairs of State, and used to spend his time<sup>8</sup> either in luxurious living, or in hunting expeditions.

And in the year 906 H. (1500 A.D.) Aşghar the Governor of Dihlī began to commit malpractices. The Sultān accordingly sent orders from Sambal to Khawāss Khān the Governor of Māchhīwāra,<sup>9</sup> to seize Aşghar and send him (into his presence); but Aşghar anticipating this had gone humbly to Sambal where he suffered imprisonment; and Khawāss Khān received the Governorship of Dihlī. In this year also<sup>10</sup> Khān-i-Khānān Farmali the Governor of Baiāna died, and the Government of that place was for some time entrusted to Aḥmad and Suleiman the two sons (? grandsons) of Khān-i-Khānān.<sup>11</sup> After a time they

four days the fight was renewed, in consequence of which the Sultān began to believe it was due to some preconcerted plan against his own person.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. (A) (B) بُریشان بد مظنه شدند. <sup>2</sup> Both MSS. (A) (B) omit اُز.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. (A) (B). <sup>4</sup> نموده و MSS. (B).

<sup>5</sup> MS. (B) omits سکندر and reads نموده. MS. (A) agrees with the text.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. (A) (B) reads امیرار. <sup>7</sup> MS. (B) reads پادشاه.

<sup>8</sup> Both MSS. omit او. MS. (A) reads بالعيش both MSS. read بیشکار و سیر.

<sup>9</sup> MS. (A) reads ماجھر وارہ. Firishta writes ماجھروڑہ Māchhīwāra.

<sup>10</sup> MS. (B) سال.

<sup>11</sup> The text here reads بِرْعَمَادْ وَسَلَطَانْ بِسْرَانْ خانْخَانَانْ both MSS. have با حمده و سليمان پسران پسر خانخانان same reading but Firishta reads

entered the Sultan's service at Sambal, and the Government of the fortress (of Baiāna) was made over to Khawāṣṣ Khan, while Safdar Khan<sup>1</sup> was appointed to the charge of Āgra, which was one of the dependencies of Baiāna. Khawāṣṣ Khan with the assistance of 'Alam Khan<sup>2</sup> Governor of Miwāt, and Khām Khāvān Luhāni, proceeded to attempt the capture of Dholpur<sup>3</sup>. The Rāī of that place came out to oppose them, and heavy fighting ensued in which many Muslims attained martyrdom. The Sultan leaving Sambal came with all haste to Dholpur, and Rāī Mauk Deo,<sup>4</sup> Rūja of Dholpur, not being able to hold out, evacuated the fort and went to Gwāhār. They plundered and pillaged<sup>5</sup> the district around Dholpur. The Sultan having remained a month in those parts left to reduce Gwāhār, and leaving Ādāni Lodi there crossed the river Chambal, and encamped for two months on the banks of the river Mendaki.<sup>6</sup>

By reason of the<sup>7</sup> badness of the climate of that place sickness 319 broke out among<sup>8</sup> the population and a pestilence arose. The Rāī of Gwāhār also came and made overtures of peace,<sup>9</sup> and delivered up Sa'īd Khan, and Bābu Khan, and Rāī Ganesh,<sup>10</sup> who had deserted from the army of the Sultan and had taken refuge in that fort, and also sent his eldest son<sup>11</sup> to do homage to the

<sup>1</sup> Briggs calls him Sadr Khae but the original reads Safdar Khan

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) reads حاں عالم Khan ; 'Alam

<sup>3</sup> Native State in Rajputana. The town of Dholpur capital of the State lies 34 miles south of Agra and 37 miles north west of Gwalior, see Hunter Imp Gaz, IV 273

<sup>4</sup> Firāzīta calls him lum دم بیانی Binayek Deo

<sup>5</sup> MS (B) reads سے for سے hero and in several other places

<sup>6</sup> Firāzīta calls this river "the Asi otherwise known as Medaki," and says that in consequence of the badness of the water sickness broke out among the troops terminating in a pestilence. Medaki means frog haunted

There is no river which I can definitely identify as this river but the Asun in Keith Johnson (India) E f flowing west of Gwalior would answer to the Asi in position. Rennell's Map gives no name to this river

<sup>7</sup> MS (A) omits و and also زاری

<sup>8</sup> MS (B) reads دریاں دویں

<sup>9</sup> MS (B) reads مسلح musallak (armed) for لاس ba sulk

<sup>10</sup> Supply لی MS (A)

<sup>11</sup> Vikramojit (Firāzīta)

Sultān, who sent him back after bestowing upon him a horse and robe of honour, returning himself to Agra. At the time of his return he restored the fort of Dholpūr<sup>1</sup> also to Bināyik Deo,<sup>2</sup> and having spent<sup>3</sup> the rainy season in Agra, after the rising of Canopus<sup>4</sup> in the year 910 H. (1504 A.D.), marched to reduce the fortress of Mandrāyal,<sup>5</sup> which he took without fighting from the Rāja of Mandrāyal, who sued for peace; he also destroyed all the idol-temples and churches<sup>6</sup> of the place, and, as he returned, rebuilt anew the fortress of Dholpūr, then came to Agra and gave his Amīrs permission to proceed to their several *jaegīrs*.<sup>7</sup> [And in this year Mīr Saiyyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr,<sup>8</sup> may God sanctify his holy resting place, who was one of the chief of the great *walīs* and had even laid claim to be the Mahdī, in answer to the call of Him who has the true claim to us all answered, *Here am I*, while returning from Makkah the sacred city towards Hindustān, at the town of Farah<sup>9</sup> where he was buried. Qāzī Husain Zargar of Qandahār, *God's mercy be on him*, whom, as well as the Mir himself I had the honour of visiting, wrote the following chronogram:

<sup>1</sup> MS. (B) omits سلطان باز for ب.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (B) reads دھولپور قلعہ بنیا.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. (A) (B) گذرانید و.

<sup>4</sup> In the month of Ramazān (*Firishta*).

<sup>5</sup> Mandrāyal. This is not marked in Rennel's map, but Tieffenthaler (I. 174) mentions it under the name of *Mandalayer* or *Madrael*, and says that it lies upon the side of a round hill distant two miles from the western bank of the Chambal, and twelve miles S. S. E. of Caroli (Kerauli) see Keith Johnston's Atlas, India E. F. Mandler, see also *Aīn-i-Akbarī* (J) II. 190, Mandlāer.

<sup>6</sup> بخانها و کنایس آنجا So also *Firishta*.

<sup>7</sup> The portion in square brackets is not in either MS. (A) or MS. (B).

<sup>8</sup> Mir Saiyyid Muḥammad was the son of Mir Saiyyid Khan of Jaunpūr, and was the first to give definite form in India to the doctrine of the advent of the Mahdī, alleged to have been promised by the prophet Muḥammad. He gained many adherents after he had declared that he was the promised Mahdī, among them was Sultan Mahmūd I. at whose request it was that he proceeded on the pilgrimage to Makkah from which he was returning at the time of his death, see *Aīn-i-Akbarī* (Bl) I. Biog. p. V.

The Shī'ahs believe that the Mahdī has already appeared, the Sunnīs still look for his appearance. Hughes, *Dict of Islam*.

<sup>9</sup> Farah in Biluchistan (*Aīn-i-Akbarī* (Bi) I. Biog. p. V).

He said, Go and enquire from the Shaikh<sup>1</sup>

Shaikh Mubārak also invented a chronogram in the words<sup>2</sup>  
Mazā Mahdi, The Mahdi has departed].<sup>3</sup>

On the third of the month of Ṣafar in the year 911 H. (6th July, 1505 A.D.) so violent an earthquake occurred over the whole of Hindūstān<sup>4</sup> that the hills began to tremble, while strong and lofty buildings<sup>5</sup> fell to atoms, and the earth in places was cleft and rents appeared,<sup>6</sup> while they assert that villages and trees left their places, and men supposed that the day of resurrection had arrived.<sup>7</sup> We learn from the *Waqi'at-i-Bābarī*,<sup>8</sup> and other histories, that this earthquake was not confined to Hindūstān, but that on the same day in Persia also a similar earthquake occurred, and the word *Qazī*,<sup>9</sup> was invented as a chronogram to record the date of it.

### Rubā'i.

In nine hundred and eleven the city of Agra became the goal of several successive earthquakes

کفتا کے نروز شیخ کی استفسار<sup>1</sup> Gustā ke birāz is Shaikh kūn astfāz. The value of the letters of the word شیخ is  $300 + 10 + 600 = 910$ .

<sup>2</sup> مصطفیٰ مهدی Mazā Mahdi These words as written in the text only total 900, but if we write more accurately, مصطفیٰ مهدی they will be 910

<sup>3</sup> A footnote to the text states that this portion (here included in square brackets) only occurs in one MS. Firūzīta also has no reference to this event

<sup>4</sup> Firūzīta only says in Agra.

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) چنانکہ کرکھا دو لرزہ در آمد و عمارتیاں عالی

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) چنانکہ دشواریا دشواریا دشواریا دشواریا Difficulties and dangers

<sup>7</sup> MS (B) قیامت واقع شد

<sup>8</sup> Regarding this work, see Elliott IV, 218. The commentaries of Baber, originally written in Turki were translated into Persian in Akbar's reign, see *Atn-i-Akbarī* (B) I, 105, and an English translation was made by Dr Loydon and Mr Erskine. At page 170 of that translation is found the account of the earthquake referred to by our author. Baber says "there were thirty-three shocks that same day, and for the space of a month the earth shook two or three times every day and night". The date is not given, but the account follows closely upon that of the death of his mother, which he states occurred in the month of Muharram, and we may from the account reckon about 40 days afterwards so that it must have been early in the month of Ṣafar.

<sup>9</sup> قاصی Qazī  $100 + 1 + 800 + 10 = 911$

And whereas her buildings were excessively lofty, that which had been their highest points became the lowest.<sup>1</sup>

From the time of Adam to the present time no such earthquake has ever been known.

And in the year 912 H. (1506 A.D.), after the rising of Canopus, he marched against the fortress of Üntgarh,<sup>2</sup> and laid siege to it, and many of his men joyfully embraced martyrdom, after that he took the fort and gave the infidels as food to the sword ; those who escaped the sword fed the flames of the fire of *jūhar* with their wives and children. He then cast down the idol temples, and built there a lofty mosque.

In the year 913 H. (1507 A.D.), after the rising of Canopus he proceeded with the object of reducing the fortress of Narwar.<sup>3</sup> Whilst en route he fell in with the elephants and cavalry and infantry of Jalāl Khān Lodi,<sup>4</sup> whom he had sent on in advance to clear the way,<sup>5</sup> and whom he had appointed to reduce Narwar. Becoming suspicious of him, he set about overthrowing him, and made some pretext for dispersing his forces, and taking him prisoner sent him to the fortress of Sakkar ;<sup>6</sup> he then took Narwar, the garrison having capitulated. And in the year 914 H. (1508 A.D.) he constructed other forts round Narwar to increase its strength, and bestowing

<sup>1</sup> Firishta gives this *rubā'i* with slight variation omitting چون *chūn* in the second line.

<sup>2</sup> Firishta reads ادانت گر (*Udītnagar*). MS. (A) *Advantgar*. MS. (B) اونت گر *Üntgarh*. This fortress lay just Sonth of Mandler (p. 420 n. 5) and is shown in the map as Deogarh, see Āīn-i-Akbarī (B) I, 380 n 1. Firishta states that the Sultān regarded *Udītnagar* as the key to Gwāliār which he wished to reduce (p. 338).

<sup>3</sup> Firishta Bo. text, p. 339, says this was after the rains of 913 H. in the year 914 H., but from the detail he gives of the varions operations it is doubtful if he can be correct. Narwar was a dependency of Mālwa (Firishta). It lay about half way between Gwāliār and Dhār, see Tieff. I. 175 for a description and map of the fortress : see also Āīn-i-Akbarī (J.) II, 190, on the right bank of the river Sind, 44 miles south of Gwāliār city, see Hunter Imp. Gaz. X. 227.

<sup>4</sup> Who upon the death of his father Maḥmūd Khān had become governor of Kālpī.

<sup>5</sup> Firishta says Jalāl Khān was ordered to go on in advance and invest the fort of Narwar.

<sup>6</sup> Firishta says Hanwantgarh.



In this year also Suleimān, the son of Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī, was dismissed from the service of the Sultān, on the grounds that he had been appointed<sup>1</sup> to perform a service at Ūntghar,<sup>2</sup> and in the direction of Sūpar, and had refused: the *pargana* of Indri Karnāl<sup>3</sup> was given him as *Madad-i-ma'āsh* (rent-free land), with orders to go and remain thereto.

In this year<sup>4</sup> Bahjat Khān of Mālwa transferred Chanderī to Sultān Sikander on account of the weakness<sup>5</sup> of Sultān

322. Maḥmūd of Mālwa, and read the Khuṭbah in his name in those districts. Accordingly proclamations conveying tidings of this victory were written to all parts of the Kingdom; and Muḥammad Khān, the grandson of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Din of Mālwa,<sup>6</sup> was taken prisoner, and Chanderī was (nominally)<sup>7</sup> placed under his authority, but Amīrs were appointed to supervise him so that they might be aware of all his movements, control his actions, and administer<sup>8</sup> his *jāegīr*, then the Sultān proceeded on a hunting excursion towards Baiāna, and paid his respects to the various learned and holy men of those districts, who were at that time famous for their miracles and wonder-working,<sup>9</sup> especially<sup>10</sup> Saiyyid N'amātn-llāh and Shaikh 'Abdullāh Ḫusainī,<sup>11</sup> who was

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) بود ۸۵۷ فرموده.

<sup>2</sup> Firishta says Hanwantgarh, Bo. text, p. 341, and tells us that Suleimān was summarily dismissed with permission to remove all that he could by day-break, and all of his property that remained was to be looted by the populace (غارت عام دھنند).

<sup>3</sup> Firishta says Bāgerī و کرناں. MS. (B) reads اندروی و سُرْتَرْی. For the meaning of *madad-i-ma'āsh* called also *sūyūrghāl*, see *Aīn-i-Akbarī* (B1) p. 268 سویورغال *Sūyūrghāl* is a Turkī word meaning gifts (of land). (Pavet de Courteille).

<sup>4</sup> MS. (B) reads مال چند رین. <sup>5</sup> MS. (A) omits ضعف.

Firishta reads: Bahjat Khān, Governor of Chanderī, whose ancestors for generations had been the faithful subjects of the Sultāns of Mālwa, on account of the weakness of Sultān Maḥmūd of Mālwa, and the decadence of his kingdom, sought an interview with Sultān Sikandar, and agreed to the Khuṭbah being read in his name in Chanderī, see Briggs, p. 583, and Bo. text, p. 341.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) omits خان مالوی. MS. (B) writes مسْمَد خان Muḥammad Khān, as also does Firishta. The text reads مسْمَد خان Maḥmūd Khān.

<sup>7</sup> Firishta reads ظاہرا. <sup>8</sup> MS. (A) omits و. MS. (B) reads در جایگیر.

<sup>9</sup> See Lane s. v. كرامة. also Hughes, Dict. of Islām art. Miracles. The full expression is خوارق العادة *Khawāriqul-ādat*.

<sup>10</sup> MSS. (A) (B) خصوصا.

<sup>11</sup> MSS. (A) (B).

one of those famous for revelations and miracle working,<sup>1</sup> with whom he used to consort frequently Shāhzāda Daulat Khān, Governor of the fortress of Rantambhōr, in the service of Sultan Mahmud of Mālwa, availing himself of the intermediary aid of 'Alī Khān of Nagor, who was in charge of the province of Siwi Siyupur,<sup>2</sup> came one day on an interview with the Sultan, and agreed to give up to him the key of the fortress. It so chanced that the 'Alī Khān who has been spoken of above, once more practised his hypocrisy, and came out from the fort to oppose him. The Sultan pretended not to notice this, and treated Daulat Khān as though he were his own son, bestowing upon him a special robe of honour, with several horses and elephants, and proceeded towards the fort of Thankar,<sup>3</sup> and from thence proceeding by way of the township of Bāri,<sup>4</sup> he returned thence to Āgra. Here he was seized with an illness, and took the journey to the next world on Sunday the seventeenth<sup>5</sup> of Zul Q'adah 923 H (Jan 1518 A.D.). The words *Jannatū l-Firdaus nazalā* (The gardens of Paradise came down) furnish the date<sup>6</sup> of his death, the duration of his reign was twenty-eight years and five months.

### Verse

Sikandar, the emperor of the seven kingdoms continued not  
No one continues, seeing that Sikandar himself did not  
continue

Sultan Sikandar used to associate frequently with poets and 323.  
was himself also a man of taste, and would occasionally compose

<sup>1</sup> MSS (A) (B) read کہ اور اعلیٰ کشف و کرامات بود and this reading is preferable to that of the text

<sup>2</sup> The text reads سیوی سوپر *Su Subar* with a footnote variant سیوی سوپر و سیوپر *Su: Su pur*. Firishta reads سیوپور *Siyupur* (? Sibi) see Ann. + Akbars (J) II 328 n 1

<sup>3</sup> Firishta writes ثانکر *Thankar*

<sup>4</sup> In the Sarkar of Āgra See itself I 166

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) reads سخنات آمرت

<sup>6</sup> Firishta says Sunday the seventh of Zul Qadah and adds that he died from suffocation, owing to the impaction of a morsel of food in the ear passages, not of quinsy as Briggs translates it. See Bo text 343 and Briggs I 580

<sup>7</sup> MS (B) reads بارج شد and omits بادو. The letters make up the total 923 حنات القدر و میں

verses after the ancient Hindustānī<sup>1</sup> models, under the pseudonym of Gulruk̤h, accordingly he felt great pleasure in the companionship of Shaikh Jamāl.<sup>2</sup> The following verses are the product of the genius of the Sultān, and are written with the utmost regard to poetical form.

*Ode.<sup>3</sup>*

That cypress whose robe is the jasmine, whose body the rose,  
Is a spirit incarnate whose garment the body provides.

What profits the Khatanī musk ? all the kingdoms of Chin  
Are conquered, and bound in the chains of her clustering curls.

In the eye of her eyelashes' needle the thread of my soul  
I'll fasten and swiftly repair every rent in her robe.

Could Gulruk̤h essay to discover the charms of her teeth,  
He would say they are water-white pearls of the ocean of speech.<sup>4</sup>

One of the poets of the reign of Sultān Sikandar was the Brahman [Dūnkār<sup>5</sup>] who, they say,<sup>6</sup> in spite of being an infidel, used to give instruction in books of science.<sup>7</sup> The following *matla'*, (opening couplet) was spoken [and is a most auspicious *matla'*<sup>8</sup>] by him in the metre of Mas'ūd Beg,

Had not thy glance been the dagger, my heart had not bled  
to-day ;

Had not thy look been the serpent<sup>9</sup> I never had lost my way.

Also among the great and learned men of the time of Sultān Sikandar were Shaikh 'Abdu-llāh Tulumbī<sup>10</sup> in Dihli, and Shaikh 'Azizu-llah Tulumbī<sup>11</sup> in Sambhal, both of whom came

<sup>1</sup> MSS. (A) (B) هندوستانیہ.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (B) جمال الدین Text جمال اذین (A). مس. (A) (B) جمال اذین.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. (A) (B) غزل Text ابیات.

<sup>4</sup> The verses are here given in the order in which they come in MSS. (A) and (B). Both MSS. read چو کند گلرخ and MS. (A) reads تا خاک or چاک Text.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) دونکر Dūnkār?

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) میگویند.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. (A) (B) omit کتب علمی. <sup>8</sup> MS. (A) reads مطلع مسعود رسمی.

<sup>9</sup> Abtar. A noxious serpent which no one sees without fleeing from it see Lane s. v. بترو.

<sup>10</sup> MS. (B) omits طلبی.

<sup>11</sup> MS. (A) بوده اند.

to Hindustān at the time of the ruin of Mamluk, and introduced the systematic study of the intellectual sciences into that country. Before then time, with the exception of the Sharḥ-i Shamsiyah, and the Sharḥ-i Sahafī<sup>1</sup> there were no books current in Hindostan which treated of logic and metaphysics. I heard also from my masters,<sup>2</sup> that more than forty expert and profoundly learned men have risen from among the disciples of Shaikh 'Abdu'llah, for example, Miyān Ladan, Jamol Khōn of Dihli, Miyān Shoirkh of Gwāhar,<sup>3</sup> Mirōn Sayyid Jalal of Badāon, and others. They say also that Sulṭān Sikandor, during the instruction of the aforesaid Shoirkh 'Abdu'llah, used to come<sup>4</sup> and seat himself quietly in a corner unseen by the rest, fearing lest he should interrupt the lesson of the other students, and when the lesson was ended they used to exchange the customary salutation of *Solām 'alaikum*<sup>5</sup> and mix freely with each other.

And Shoirkh 'Aziza llah of Tulnāma, who was a man of great probity and rectitude, had such an abundant genius and marvellous power of recollection<sup>6</sup> that no matter how difficult or minute the subject matter of a book which a student of intelligence might be reading he would give his lesson in it without previously reading it, and that time after time when they came up for examination, and propounded the most intricate problems, the learned Shaikh would explain them on the instant while giving his lesson.

<sup>1</sup> The former of these two works was most probably the famous commentary by Qaqba d Din Maḥmud bin Muhammād Razi on the *Shamsiyah*, a famous treatise on Logic composed by Najmu d Din 'Umar bin 'Ali Qazwīnī who died A.H. 693 (1293 A.D.) see Haji Khālīfah No. 7667 El Salāf fi el kalam folia de metaphysica. The *Sharḥ-i Ghāday* must be the commentary mentioned by Haji Khālīfah and by him ascribed to Samārqandī. There was another commentary by Bīrūnī. See II. p. 7718.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) حَدَّثَنِي حَمْدُ اللَّهِ وَالْمُلْكُ

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) has a h dot between the first and last letters of this name

<sup>4</sup> Text and MS. (B) اَوْ مَنْ مَنْ MS. (A) اَوْ مَنْ مَنْ <sup>5</sup> MSS. (A)(B)

<sup>6</sup> 'Recollection' does not quite convey the full meaning of the word in the original which is *إِسْتِذْكَارٍ* Istizkār this means literally, *making present* something. It seems to be used here for the power of calling up at will any impress on. It is not memory or rather retentiveness but implies the power of recalling impressions by purely mental forces after the removal of the stimulus. MSS. (A) (B) read *إِسْتِذْكَارٍ فَرِغَ دَاهِشَ*

One of his pupils was<sup>1</sup> Miyān Ḥātim Sanbali, who is commonly said to have read the *Commentary on the Miftāḥ*<sup>2</sup> more than thirty times in the course of his life, and the *Muṭawwal*<sup>3</sup> more than forty times, from the first letter of the *Bism’illāh* to the last of the word *Tammat*.<sup>4</sup>

Another is Shaikhū-l-Hadiyah Jaunpūrī, the author of many worthy compositions and excellent books, who wrote a commentary extending over several volumes upon the *Hedāyah-i-Fiqh*,<sup>5</sup> while there is no need of mentioning his commentary on the *Kāfiyah*:<sup>6</sup> in addition to these he wrote notes upon the *Tafsīr-i-*

<sup>1</sup> MSS. (A) (B) ٨٥.

<sup>2</sup> The text and MS. (B) agree in this reading. MS. (A) reads مفتاح موصيین which may possibly stand for شرحین مفتاح Sharhain-i-miftāḥ, the two commentaries on the *Miftāḥ*.

*Miftāhu-l-ulūm* (clavis doctrinarnm), see Hājī Khalifah 12578. This book was written by Sirājūn-d-Dīn Abū Ya’qūb Yūsuf bin Abī Muḥammad bin Alī as-Sikkākī who died 626 A.H. (1228 A.D.)

The book was divided into three parts, of which the first treated of grammatical inflection, the second of syntax, and the third of arrangement and composition of sentences. (علمی المعانی والبيان) ‘Ilmaiū-l-ma’ānī wal bayān. (Regarding ‘Ilmu-l-bayān, etc., see Garcin de Tassy *Rhetorique des langues de l’orient Musulmān*, pp. 1-5.)

A commentary on all three parts was written by Maulā Husāmūn-d-Dīn al-Muwazzīnī, and this is probably the commentary alluded to in the text. Other commentaries were written on the third part, of which Hājī Khalifah mentions three as worthy of special notice.

<sup>3</sup> *Muṭawwal* (commentarius longior). By this book is meant the commentary written by Sa’du-d-Dīn at-Taftazānī (who died 792 A. H.) on the book called *Talkhiṣ-l-Miftāḥ*. It was called by the name of *Muṭawwal* or long commentary because after its completion in A. H. 748 its author wrote a second commentary, an abbreviation of the first, and gave it the name of *Mukhtaṣar* or shorter commentary. (See H. K. II. p. 401).

<sup>4</sup> All works written by Muslims commence with بسم الله *Bism’illāh*. In the name of God. The word تمت الكتاب *tammat*, stands for tammat-il kitāb, the book is finished, and forms the last word, answering to our word ‘Finis.’ MSS. (A) and (B) write only تم.

<sup>5</sup> *Hidāyah-i-Fiqh*. (see Hājī Khalifah 14366.)

<sup>6</sup> *Kāfiyah*. The famous grammar known by this name is *Al-Kāfiyat fi-l-nāḥiyya* (liber sufficiens) whose author was Shaikh Jamālu-d-Dīn abī ‘Umar Uṣmān bin ‘Umr, commonly known as *Ibnu-l-hājib*. (ob: 646 A. H.). For a full account of the work and its various commentaries see H. K. 9707.

Ma'lārik<sup>1</sup> and other works, which are read up to the present day<sup>2</sup> Sultan Sikandar also collected together learned men<sup>3</sup> from all parts of the country to instruct him,<sup>4</sup> placing on one side Shaikh 'Abd u'llah, and Shaikh 'Aziz u'llah, and on the other Shaikh Nadiyah<sup>5</sup> and his son Shaikh Bhakari to discuss difficult points. Eventually it became clearly evident that the former pair of worthies were superior in oratory, while the two latter were the better writers. The death of Shaikh 'Abdu'llah occurred in the year 922 H., the following chronogram was invented to commemorate it *Ulāka lahum u'l darajatu l ulā*<sup>6</sup>

And among the poets of the time of Sikandar, was the afore said Shaikh Jamali Kanbawī of Dihli, to whom Sultān Sikandar was in the habit of submitting verses which he had written, for his opinion.

Speaking generally, he had many excellent points, he was a man who had travelled much, and had been honoured with the fellowship of our master the saintly Jami,<sup>7</sup> may God sanctify his resting place, and had gained many advantages from<sup>8</sup> him and won his approbation,<sup>9</sup> and was moreover in the habit of submitting<sup>10</sup> his poems to that revered master. The following verses are by him

### Verse

I wear a garment woven of the dust of thy street  
And<sup>11</sup> that too rent to the skirt with my tears

### Verse 12

Love's speech is swift, whole countries of words,  
Friend speaks to friend swift as the eye can close

<sup>1</sup> *Tafsīr-i-Madarik* Explanation of the sources from which are sought the ordinances of the law. See Lane s.v. مدریک

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) omits و عالی

<sup>3</sup> MSS (A) (B) write علماء

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) در درس حوش

<sup>5</sup> Both MSS (A) (B) write شیخ

<sup>6</sup> The text reads wrongly here اولنک لہم در حات اعلیٰ MSS (A) (B) are correct. The quotation may be found in the Quran (XX 77). The value of the letters is 929

<sup>7</sup> MSS (A) (B) omit کلی

<sup>8</sup> MS (A) omits لز

<sup>9</sup> MSS (A) (B) در راه

<sup>10</sup> MS (A) (B) در مکارست

<sup>11</sup> MS (A) omits the couplet

<sup>12</sup> MS (B) omits the couplet

The following ode also,<sup>1</sup> which he translated and set to music in his native Hindī, is marvellously inspiring, and is well known.<sup>2</sup>

My heart's desire is fixed on thy abode  
 Oh thou that art long absent from my sight ;  
 By day and night the thought of thee alone  
 My constant partner is, ask then thy thought  
 Should'st thou desire, to bring thee news of me.

He also wrote a *Tazkirah* (Book of Memoirs) to recount the assemblies of some of the Shaikhs of Hindūstān, called the *Sīyaru-l-Ārifīn* (Biographies of the Saints) which is not entirely free from defects and discrepancies. It commences from the 326. venerable Khwāja<sup>3</sup> Mu'inu-l-Haqq wau-d-Dīn Ajmīrī, and finishes with his own spiritual guide Shaikh Samāu-d-Dīn <sup>4</sup> Kanbawī of Dihlī, in addition to which it contains other matter both<sup>5</sup> prose and poetry. His *dīwān* is made up of eight or nine thousand couplets.

### SULTĀN IBRAHĪM BIN SULTĀN SIKANDAR LODĪ,

Ascended the throne in Āgra in the year 923 H. with the concurrence of the Amīrs, and Shahzāda Jalāl Khān ibn-i-Sultān Sikandar<sup>6</sup> [was appointed to the rule of Jaunpūr and was styled by the title of Sultān, while Khān-i-Jahān Lūhānī<sup>7</sup> governor of Rāpī came to Āgra] and blamed the Amīrs greatly for associating (Jalāl Khān) in the government<sup>8</sup> of the kingdom ; and after that he had pointed out to them the foolishness<sup>9</sup> of this procedure orders were issued to the Amīrs of the eastern districts to seize Jalāl Khān and bring him to the Court. He however went from Jaunpūr to Kalpi and collected a large following, and after establishing the *Khutbah* and *sikkah* in his own name, assumed the title of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn. A'zam Hūmāyūn Shirwānī sided with him for a time, but eventually came and had an audience of Sultān Ibrāhīm. Sultān Ibrāhīm

1 (A) omits مَوْهِم.

2 MS. (A) omits حضُورت.

3 MS. (A) جمیری.

4 MS. (A) دارد.

5 From this point there is a very long omission in MS. (B).

6 The portion included in square brackets is repeated twice in MS. (A).

7 MS. (A) نوحانی (Nūhānī).

8 MS. (A) reads بامسر.

9 MS. (A) فسح.

sent to the fortress of Hānsī certain of his brothers who were imprisoned, for instance Shāhīzāda Isma'il Khān, and Iusain Khān, and others,<sup>1</sup> and appointed for each of them food and clothing and two<sup>2</sup> servants from the private establishment. Then he proceeded in person with the object of conquering<sup>3</sup> the Eastern districts, and came to Bhūn Gānw, and having settled the disturbances in Mawāṣ<sup>4</sup> came to Qanānj. There he nominated a large number of Amirs to proceed against Jalāl Khān, who with thirty thousand cavalry and a certain number of elephants had gone off in the direction of Āgra. Malik Ādam Kōkar was 327. sent by the Sultān to defend Āgra, and certain other Amirs arrived to support him. They succeeded in persuading Jalāl Khān, by making pleasing overtures and using attractive arguments, to surrender his paraphernalia of royalty and kingly splendour to the Sultān, in order that they might prefer his application for pardon of his past offences and obtain for him the Kalpi district as a fāgīr. Jalāl Khān instantly agreed, and made over his royal canopy, his kettle-drums, etcetera to Malik Ādam with instructions to convey them to the Sultān in the neighbourhood of Itāwa.

<sup>1</sup> It will be remembered that A'gam Humayūn was the eldest son of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, Isma'il and Hasan were respectively the fourth and fifth sons, Jalal being the second son, and Ibrāhim the third.

<sup>2</sup> Text reads دو در MS. (A) more correctly reads دو.

<sup>3</sup> بُشْكِير (A).

<sup>4</sup> The text reads here: wa dān Mawāṣha rā pāk kurdः while MS. (A) reads مواشہ for Mawāṣha. Neither reading is intelligible.

Frishta reads here:

جیچنہ زمیندار چرتولی من توان پر گندہ کول کہ از موسس مشہور بود با عمر خان پسر سکندرخان سور چنگ کردہ او را بشهادت رسانید بنابر این ملک قاسم حاکم منبعہل بر میش رفتہ آن مفسدہ را بقتل کورد و آن فتنہ ناگھانی را تسکین داده در قزوچ بمالزمت پادشاہ رسید -

Jai Chand, a Zemindār of Chartūlī, a dependency of the pargana of Kol which was better known as Mawāṣ, had fought against 'Umr Khān the son of Sikandar Khān Sūr and had slain him. Accordingly Malik Qīṣān Ijākīm of Saubhal proceeded against him and put that rebel to death, and having quelled that sudden rebellion came and joined the king at Qanānj.

On the strength of Frishta's statement the above translation is given, and I would suggest that the text should read آن مفسدان موسس را ... .

The Sultān would not agree to his proposal of peace, and despatched a large army to oppose Jalāl Khān, who fled in consternation and took refuge<sup>1</sup> with the Rāja of Gwāliār, and the Amirs of Sikandar's party, who had heretofore been a source of weakness to the administration of the empire, one and all owned allegiance to the Sultān. The Sultān experienced<sup>2</sup> a revulsion of feeling with regard to Miyān Bhol, who was the chief of the Amirs of Sikandar, and had been his *vazīr* and privy councillor, accordingly he cast him into chains and sent him to Malik Ādam; however, he treated his son with kindness and advanced him to the high offices formerly held by his father. Miyān Bhol died in prison, and A'zam Humāyūn Shirwānī, the Governor of Karrā, was sent with thirty thousand cavalry and three<sup>3</sup> hundred elephants to attempt the reduction of Gwāliār. Jalāl Khān fled from Gwāliār and went to Mālwa to Sultān Mahmūd of Mālwa. After the arrival of the Sultān's troops Rāi Vikramājīt the son of Rāi Mān Singh,<sup>4</sup> who, after the decease<sup>5</sup> of his father, held the government of Gwāliār, was not able to cope with them, and could not properly defend the fortress. The fortress of Bādalgarh, which lies below<sup>6</sup> the fortress of Gwāliār,<sup>7</sup> a very lofty structure, was taken from Rāi Mān Singh<sup>8</sup> and fell into the hands of the Muslims,<sup>9</sup> and a brazen animal,<sup>10</sup> which was worshipped by the Hindūs also fell into their

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) omits بُرْد.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) بَيْدَا Firishta calls him بَوْهَرَہ Bhūra.

<sup>3</sup> The text reads سی صد سی sad three hundred. MS. (A) reads میں صد سی sad thirty hundred. Firishta (Bo. text p. 349.) reads also میں صد سی sad.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) مان سنگھ.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) در گذشتن Text reads کشتن Firishta says he died.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (B) continues here.

<sup>7</sup> This fortress of Bādalgarh is to be distinguished from another fort of the same name mentioned in subsequent page (text page 429) see Āīn-i-Akbarī, I. (B) p. 380 n. 1. Firishta says it had been built by Mān Singh and was a lofty fortified building (Bo. text p. 350).

<sup>8</sup> MSS. (A) (B) omit رای.

<sup>9</sup> MS. (A) omits لہل.

<sup>10</sup> The text reads صورتی روئین Šūratī rū'īn a brazen image: but both MSS. (A) (B) read سوری روئین Sūrī rū'īn a brazen animal. So also Firishta, who says that it was ultimately erected at the Baghdād gate of Dihlī, and goes on to say that "that cow remained at that gateway till the reign of Akbar" (p. 350).

hands, and was sent by them to Āgra, whence it was sent by Sultān Ibrāhīm to Dihlī, and was put up over the city gate. This image was removed to Fathpur in the year 932 H., ten years before the composition of this history,<sup>1</sup> where it was seen by the author of this work. It was converted into gongs, and bells, and implements of all kinds.

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In those days Sultān Ibrāhīm becoming distrustful of the old Amirs, imprisoned the greater number of them,<sup>2</sup> and expelled (others) in different directions, and inasmuch as Jalal Khan could not get on with Sultan Mahmūd of Malwa, he fled from Malwa and came to the country of Kara Kunka,<sup>3</sup> where he fell into the hands of a tribe of the Gonds,<sup>4</sup> who took him prisoner and sent him as a present<sup>5</sup> to the Sultan who ordered him to be taken to Hansi and imprisoned with his brothers. While on the way thither he drank of the draught of martyrdom.

The draught of sovereignty and glory is so sweet  
 That for its sake kings will shed the blood of their brethren,  
 Shed not the blood of the afflicted in heart for the sake of  
 kingdom,  
 For they will pour the selfsame draught into the cup for  
 theo.<sup>6</sup>

After some time, in accordance with the orders of Sultān Ibrāhīm, A'zam Humājūn Shāhwanī, together with his son Fath Khan, abandoned the siege of Gwalior Fort which he was within an ace of taking, and came to Āgra, where both were made prisoners. Islām Khan the son of A'zam [Khan]<sup>7</sup> Hnmayun, gathered together<sup>8</sup> a following in Kātīrā by means of his father's

<sup>1</sup> MS (B) agreeing with the text MS (A) reads حجع اس تاریخ

<sup>2</sup> MS (B) reads گردانیده

<sup>3</sup> Text and both MSS (A) (B) Firishta (Bo text 351) reads در جنگ کند شناخت, fled to the Raja of Kadba (?) It would seem we should read Garha Katana which is the name of country bounded on the North by Panna and on the south by the Dakhan see Elliot VI 30

<sup>4</sup> For an account of the Gonds see Sherring Hindu Tribes and Castes, II 134 et seqq, see also Hunter Imp. Gaz. article Central Provinces

<sup>5</sup> MSS (A) (B) read مقدمہ ساختہ تجھے نہ

<sup>6</sup> Firishta also has these same lines

<sup>7</sup> MS (A)

<sup>8</sup> MS (A) رسایدہ

wealth, and, having brought over to his side the Amirs of that district, fought a battle with Ahmed Khan<sup>1</sup> the governor of Karra, and defeated him. Sultan Ibrahim accordingly despatched Ahmed Khan, the brother of Azam Humayun Lodi, in command of a vast army,<sup>2</sup> to oppose the Amirs who had fled from his camp and had joined Islam Khan. With him also he sent<sup>3</sup> other Khans of eminence, such as Khan-i-Khanan Farmali, and others of similar rank. Near the township of Bangarman, in the neighbourhood of Qanauj,<sup>4</sup> Iqbal Khan, the chief cavalry commander under Azam Humayun, with five thousand cavalry and some splendid elephants, broke out of ambuscade and attacked the forces of the Sultan, and after throwing them all into confusion<sup>5</sup> withdrew (into ambush). The Sultan by way of precaution despatched<sup>6</sup> a further force to their assistance, but the enemy, who had about forty thousand cavalry, well armed, and five hundred elephants, shewed a firm front against them, until Nasir Khan Luhani with other generals arrived from the direction of Bihar and engaged the enemy on both sides. A fierce conflict ensued between the two armies, such a conflict as baffles description, and after a severe struggle<sup>7</sup> the rebels were defeated. Islam Khan was killed and Sa'id Khan Lodi was taken prisoner, thus the rebellion was quenched.

#### Verse.

Do not inflict ingratitude upon a benefactor and generous friend,

Like the cloud, which receives bounty from the ocean, and rains a storm of arrows upon its breast.<sup>8</sup>

As far as you are able, make the requital of favours your habit and custom,

Like the river, which gives to the clouds an ocean in return for one drop of its rain.

And withal that he had gained so important a victory, yet was not the heart of the Sultan favourably disposed towards the

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) omits مُهَمَّد.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) reads سردار لشکر انبوہ کردہ.

<sup>3</sup> نامزد ساختہ.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) wrongly inserts و before قبائل.

<sup>5</sup> Firishta says, "after killing some and wounding many."

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) فروستادہ و.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. (A) (B) کشش و کوشش.

<sup>8</sup> This couplet is also given by Firishta.

Amirs and they also being aware of this, raised in all directions the banners of antagonism. In the meanwhile, many of the eminent Amirs of royal descent, as for example A'zam Hamayun Shirwani, and Miyān Bhūl, the Vazir of Sultan Sikandar, departed from this world in the confinement of the prison house.<sup>1</sup>

This is that same journeying place this interminable desert  
In which the army of Salm and Tūr was lost,<sup>2</sup>

This is the selfsame stage, this world of ruin

Which witnessed the palace of Afrasiyab<sup>3</sup>

Miyān Husain<sup>4</sup> Farmali was assassinated in Chanderi, at the instigation of the Sultan, by certain rashly Shaikh Zadas of that place, and Daryā Khan Lāhūm governor of Bihar, and Khan-i-Jahān Lodī being alarmed,<sup>5</sup> became disaffected. After a short time Darya Khan died, and his son Bahadur Khan turned rebel and occupied the place of his father. The revolted Amirs made common cause with him, so that he collected a force of nearly a hundred thousand cavalry in the vicinity of Bihar, and gained possession of that country,<sup>6</sup> assuming the title of Sultan Muham mad,<sup>7</sup> establishing the Khūjbah and sikka in his own name. His army penetrated as far as the country of Sambal and brought it within the area of their control.<sup>8</sup> The Khūjbah was read in his name in Bihar and the territories adjacent, for some time. It so happened that the son of Daalat Khan Lodi whose name was Khan-i-Khanan<sup>9</sup> came from Lāhor to Agra to visit the Sultan, but being suspicious of his intentions fled from his court and went to his father Daalat Khan, seeing no hope of obtaining release from the (wrath of the) Sultan, sent that same son of his<sup>10</sup> to Kabul. He accordingly did homage to the supreme King, Zahiru

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) reads در قعده

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) reads مرحلاً و مرحلاً MS (B) مرحلاً و مرحلاً For the story of Salm and Tūr two of the sons of Farid n see *Sīlāl-nāma* (Athinson) page 49 et seqq also *Shāhnāma* (Turner Macan) pp. 58 to 83

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) reads قلعه بخاری

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) در ایمان MS (B) در ایمان

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) omits و Fīrshtā adds as far as Sambal

<sup>6</sup> Footnote variant معمود Mah i i Fīrshtā reads Muham mad

<sup>7</sup> MS (A) بخاری و مسعود MS (B) بخاری و مسعود Text مسعود و تصرف

<sup>8</sup> Fīrshtā says غازی خان MS (B) عاریخان پسر حود را

d-Din Bābar, and induced him to advance against Hindūstān. Eventually Khān-i-Khānān laid a complaint<sup>1</sup> against his father before the supreme King Bābar, and poisoned his mind against him, and led to discord between them, as will be related if the Most High God so will it. Khān-i-Khānān was living up to the date of the rebellion of Sher Shāh, but at last died in prison. Sultān Muḥammad departed to the world of permanence from Bihār, and the Amīrs on all sides rebelled against Sultān Ibrāhīm, and great damage was inflicted upon the kingdom. The pillars of the empire began to totter,<sup>2</sup> and the standard of the fortune of King Bābar floated high.

331. The following is a brief epitome of the matter: Daulat Khān and Ghāzi Khān his son, together with the other noble Amīrs of Sultān Ibrāhīm, sent ‘Alam Khān Lodi to Kābul, bearing despatches to Zahīru-d-Dīn Bābar Pādīshāh, inviting him to attempt the conquest of Hindūstān. Accordingly Bābar Pādīshāh appointed a number of his own Amīrs to accompany ‘Alam Khan, with orders to advance and conquer that country. Having conquered Siālkot and Lāhor with its dependencies, they represented the condition of affairs (to Bābar) and the following *qit’ah* was written to commemorate the date of the conquest of Hindūstān.

#### Verse.

Zahīru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh Bābar,  
 In fortune Sikandar, in force a Bahram,  
 By his fortune conquered the country of Hind,  
 The date of this was *Fatḥ bādālat*.<sup>3</sup> (Victory by fortune).

Bābar Pādīshāh marching continuously, arrived at the banks of the river Indus, and drew up the whole force, composed of ten thousand [veteran] cavalry<sup>4</sup> in that camp after passing the troops in review. In the interval, Daulat Khān and Ghāzi Khān had turned back with thirty thousand veteran<sup>5</sup> cavalry composed of Afghāns and other tribes, and had occupied the town of Kalānūr, and prepared to engage Bābar's Amīrs at

<sup>1</sup> MS. (B) writes کایت after خود instead of before it as in the text.  
 MS. (A) reads معاقب کایت.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. (A) (B) افتاد.

<sup>3</sup> فتح بدولت *Fatḥ bā dālat*. These letters give the date 930 H.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. (A) (B) omit صورہ گاری.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (B) omits سوار.

Lâhor, while Amir Khânû, who had strengthened the fortress of Sîâlker, evacuated it as soon as Ghâzi Khân arrived, and took refuge in flight to the camp. Some days afterwards Bâbar arrived at Sîâlkot where he encamped [and after laying waste the township of Sîâlkot founded Dholpur].<sup>1</sup> 'Alam Khân proceeded to Dihl by order of Bâbar, and encountering Sultan Ibrâhim, made<sup>2</sup> a night attack upon the army of the Sultan, and Jalâl Khân with certain other Amirs retired in the course of that night and joined 'Alam Khân. Sultan Ibrâhim did 332 not stir from his tent till dawn. The followers<sup>3</sup> of 'Alam Khân, fancying they had secured an easy victory, were scattered in all directions, only a small number remained<sup>4</sup> with 'Alam Khân. Sultan Ibrâhim, urging an elephant forward, attacked the enemy's centre, who could not withstand<sup>5</sup> his attack. The faithless 'Alam Khân passing through<sup>6</sup> the Doab came to Sîltind, and thence fled for refuge to the fortress of Gunguan,<sup>7</sup> one of the dependencies of Malot,<sup>8</sup> at the foot of the hills. Dilâwar Khân Lâhiûni separated from him, and joined the service of Bâbar Padishâh, and became one of his faithful adherents. 'Alam Khân also after some time came and had an interview with Bâbar, who, in accordance with his former custom, gave him an honourable reception, and as he was halting at the time of the interview he distinguished him with a robe of honour and other marks of favour, and when he pitched camp in the neighbourhood of Kalanur, Muhammad Sâlik Mîrzâ and other Amirs<sup>9</sup> came from Lâhor and joined him. Thence he proceeded to the fortress of Malot in which Ghâzi Khân [and Daulat Khân were, and besieged it, and Ghâzi Khân and Khân-i Khânuu]<sup>10</sup> dexterously upon flight

<sup>1</sup> Not in either MS. (A) or (B) a footnote to the text states that this passage occurs in one MS. only.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. (A) (B) آورد و

<sup>3</sup> The text reads rightly عالم خان حاییان MS. A reads عالم خان

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) مددگار

<sup>5</sup> MS. (B) omits مددگار

<sup>6</sup> MS. (B) پایی ثابت

<sup>7</sup> The text and both MSS. read Ganguan. See Erskine's Bâbar, p. 300  
"The fort of Kinkutel."

<sup>8</sup> In Pind Dadan کل in tahsil Jhûlam, District Panjab see Hunter Imp. Gaz., IX 263

<sup>9</sup> MSS. (A) (B) (C) يگر اعرا

<sup>10</sup> Not in text of MSS. (A) (B) which read MS. (A)

و دو لشکار دراں مودودہ روڈہ عاصمہ نہود

and left the fort. Daulāt Khān hastened to tender his submission, and his faults were<sup>1</sup> pardoned as on former occasions; and on the day of public audience when they brought him into the presence with two swords tied round his neck, orders were given that he was not to be brought in in that (humiliating) manner. On the contrary, Bābar sent him a respectful summons, and bidding him be seated<sup>2</sup> gave him a place near himself.<sup>3</sup>

That is (true) generosity to shew kindness to the wrongdoer,  
For the generous cannot but shew kindness to a friend.

However, he distributed his effects among the soldiery,<sup>4</sup> and the fortress of Malot, which apparently means Malot itself, fell into the hands of Bābar Pādishāh. Some few days after this occurrence  
 333. Daulat Khān, who had been imprisoned by Bābar, died in prison<sup>5</sup> and Bābar proceeded to the Siwālik hills in pursuit of Ghāzi Khān, and encamped<sup>6</sup> at the foot of the Dūn,<sup>7</sup> which is a very high hill, Ghāzi Khān was not to be found. Bābar accordingly returned stage by stage to the frontiers of Sihriṇd, and pitched his camp on the banks of the Ghaghar;<sup>8</sup> thence he came to the borders of<sup>9</sup> Sāmāna and Sanām, and gave orders to Amīr Kittah Beg to<sup>10</sup> proceed to within a short distance of the camp of Sultān Ibrāhīm, who, after the defeat of 'Alam Khān, had stood fast<sup>11</sup> near Dihlī,

<sup>۱</sup> محاصرہ نہودند و غازی خان و خانخانان ازان قلعہ فرار داد MS. (B) goes on

<sup>۲</sup> ۱ MS. (A) reads گناہان او.

<sup>۳</sup> ۲ MS. (A) جائی دادند و فرمود MS. (B)

<sup>۴</sup> ۳ Compare the account of this given by Bābar himself, see Elliot IV. 246. Firishita's account (Bo. text p. 378) tallies with that given by our author.

<sup>۵</sup> ۴ In MS. (A) the word بسپاہیاں precedes سهی: in the text it follows it.

<sup>۶</sup> ۵ Firishita does not mention the death of Danlat Khān, and tells us that Bābar took possession of Ghāzi Khān's library of valuable books, of which he kept some for himself and gave the rest away.

<sup>۷</sup> ۶ MS. (A) نزول فرمود

<sup>۸</sup> ۷ The text reads دامن کوہ نا دون with a footnote variant هندوون. MSS. (A) (B) read دامن کوہ دون, see Tūzak-i-Bābarī, Elliot IV. 247. "Marching thence and passing the small hills of Ābkand by Milwat we reached Dūn. In the language of Hindustan they call a Jūlga (or dale) Dūn."

<sup>۹</sup> ۸ MS. (A) گھکو.

<sup>۱۰</sup> ۹ MSS. (A) (B) omit در بھدوہ.

<sup>۱۱</sup> ۱۰ MS. (A) omits اک.

<sup>۱۱</sup> ۱۱ MSS. (A) (B) متمکن بود.

and bring intelligence of the position and strength of his army; and at this camp Balūn the Afghān who had been in revolt came and had an interview (with Bābar). From this camp also Shāhzāda Muḥammad Ḥunmayūn Mirzā, together with Khwaja Kalān Beg and other notable Amirs, were despatched against Hamid Khan the *Khas-i-Khalil* (Chief of Cavalry) of Sultān Ibrāhim, who was advancing at the head of a force from Hissār Firoza to give them battle. They proceeded by forced marches, and a severe engagement took place. Hamid Khan was defeated, many of his men being either killed or taken prisoners.<sup>1</sup> The sashār of Hissār Firoza with a revenue of two crores,<sup>2</sup> was given as a reward to the Shāhzāda, and Bābar Padishāh encamped on the bank of the Jamna, two marches from Shāhbād, and detailed Khwāja Muḥammad Saltan Mirzā, and Sultān Jauaid Mirzā<sup>3</sup> Birlas to oppose Da'ud Khan and a body of Amirs of the army of Sultān Ibrāhim, who had crossed the Jamna with five or six thousand cavalry. Accordingly they also crossed the Jamna and gave the Afghans a second drubbing, killing them and taking them prisoners, while the remnant of the sword took refuge in the camp of Sultān Ibrāhim.

Marching thence, having drawn up his right and left wings and centre,<sup>4</sup> King Bābar reviewed them in person. Eight hundred gun carriages<sup>5</sup> had been prepared in one day. Ustād 'Alī Quli the Artillerist, acting upon my orders, had followed the custom of the Turkish artillery, and bound together the gun carriages with chains and raw hide thongs, twisting them into the form of a whip-lash.<sup>6</sup> And in the interval between each pair of gun carriages six or seven shelter parapets<sup>7</sup> were placed, so that on the day of

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<sup>1</sup> MS (B) اسپر

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) دو گروہ (J) 293. <sup>3</sup> MSS (A) (B) مراجار

<sup>4</sup> baranghar, right wing جوانگھار, left wing called also عول قتل qul or قتل qul, means the centre of an army (See Pavet de Courteille Dict Turk oriental), see also Erskine's Babur, p 227

<sup>5</sup> Text writes عزاب MS (A) writes this word براہی

<sup>6</sup> Ustad Ali Quli (Erskine's Babur, p 302).

<sup>7</sup> P do O does not give this word (?) at the end of a whip, i.e., the lash See Erskine's Babur, p 304

<sup>8</sup> The text reads توبڑا purrahak MS (A) omits the words توبڑا purrahak while MS (B) writes پورھاک purkhak + tufang. All these readings appear to be incorrect. For توبڑا tobra, we should read تورہ

the battle the riflemen might be able to fire in safety from the shelter of the guns and parapets. He had determined<sup>1</sup> to march, and encamp with the city of Pānipath in the rear of his army, and to use the line of gun-carriages as a front line of defence for his troops,<sup>2</sup> while the cavalry and infantry should come into action from behind the gun-carriages with<sup>3</sup> arrow and musketry fire, while the remainder of the cavalry should advance on both sides, and keep up a constant attack,<sup>4</sup> and in case of necessity should retire to the cover afforded by the gun-carriages.<sup>5</sup> Accordingly on Thursday the last day of Jumaidu-l-Ākhīr<sup>6</sup> 932 H., he encamped in the vicinity of the city of Pānipath, at a distance of six *krohs* from the camp of Sultān Ibrāhim, whose force was composed of a hundred thousand cavalry and a thousand elephants, while the army of Bābar Pādīshāh<sup>7</sup> comprised fifteen thousand cavalry and infantry on a rough estimate.<sup>8</sup> The troops under Bābar used to make daily sallies from unexpected quarters, and attack the Afḡhān army, bringing in several heads: in spite of which Sultān Ibrāhim and his men did not dare to make a single attempt at any counter attack during all this time.<sup>9</sup> At last one night Mahdi Khwāja, Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā and certain other Āmirs, with five or six<sup>10</sup> thousand men made a night attack<sup>11</sup> upon Sultān Ibrāhim's army, and after killing a large

*tūra*, with the meaning *palisades* or *abattis*, see Pavet de Courteille Dict. Turk-oriental s. v. تورہ *tūra* قبورہ *tūbra* pièces de bois et de fer qu'on relie ensemble avec des chaînes et des crochets, et derrière lesquelles s'abritent les soldats. See also Erskine's Bābar, p. 304 n. 2. See also Pers: *Lat Lexicon* s.v. تورا, also Elliott IV. 251. n. 4. This seems to be undoubtedly the correct reading, the word قبورہ *tūbra* having been written by our author in mistake for قبور *tūbūra*, the words پر خاک having been subsequently added. Sacks full of gunpowder would form a not very comfortable shelter for riflemen.

<sup>1</sup> MS. (B) قرار او (A) پیش سپاہ. <sup>2</sup> MS. (A) بمدافع و مقادله. <sup>3</sup> MS. (B) تیرو و تفنگ.

<sup>4</sup> The text reads بادھا with a footnote to say that this is the reading of all three MSS., but that probably the verbal noun of action should have been written. MS. (A) gives this verbal noun مفعه. So that clearly this MS. was not one of the three from which the text was edited.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (B) omits عربہ and writes بار تعقب.

<sup>6</sup> April 12, 1526. <sup>7</sup> MS. (B) بادھا. <sup>8</sup> MS. (B) تھمینا.

<sup>9</sup> MS. (A) writes ظاهر نشد for ظاهر. MS. (B) writes wrongly راقع. جراحتی for جراحتی.

<sup>10</sup> MSS. (A) (B) پنج شش.

<sup>11</sup> MS. (A) شبیخون.

number of them returned in safety. In spite of the consternation into which this threw them, the enemy were not put upon their guard,<sup>1</sup> and on Friday the eighth of the honoured month Rajab<sup>2</sup> in the aforesaid year, Sultān Ibrāhīm with a large army, strong as the brazen rampart of Sikāadar,<sup>3</sup> clad in iron armour came out to the fight.

Bābar Padishhāh also, having arrayed his army with all the pomp and circumstance of war, and showing a firm unbroken front, gave orders detailing from the left wing Amir Qarā Qūrchi and Amir Shāikh 'Ali, with certain other Amirs, and from the right wing, Wali Qizil and Bāba Qashqāh, with the whole force of Mughuls, to form two parties and attack the enemy in the rear, while the Amirs of the right and left wings in a body, and from the picked troops,<sup>4</sup> Amir Muhammād Gokultāsh, and Amir Yūas 'Alī, and Amir Shāb Mansūr Birlās, with other famous Amirs, should lead the front attack: and since the Afghāns [were specially observant of the right wing, Amir 'Abda-l-'azīz, who was with the reserve, was ordered by king Bābar to reinforce the right wing],<sup>5</sup> and when he got within bowshot of the enemy,<sup>6</sup> the bodies of the enemies took to themselves wings, and the bird of the soul of many of them took flight from the cage of the body, while the wings of others<sup>7</sup> were clipped by the shears of the two-edged sword.

*Verse.*

So vast was the river of blood which flowed on that battle field

That the feet of the warriors could not stand against its flood;  
The breeze which blew from that battle field at morning time  
Brought to the nostrils the odour of the heart's blood

The slain lay in heaps,<sup>8</sup> while those who escaped death by the sword became the portion for kites and ravens A period of two

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) writes پرائندہ شد MS. (B) agrees with the text.

<sup>2</sup> المرحوب *Al-muṣajjib*. So called because in the Time of Ignorance it was held in special honour, inasmuch as war or fighting during this month was held to be unlawful, see Lane s.v. رجب.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) omits مسکندر.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (B) فوج.

<sup>5</sup> Omitted from MS. (B)

<sup>6</sup> The text is wrong here: we should read در شیده نیو *dar shayda niyā* on the authority of MSS. (A) (B).

<sup>7</sup> MS. (B) supplies بعضی after پروانہ.

<sup>8</sup> We should read واز کشند پشندا شد.

*qarns*<sup>1</sup> has elapsed since this event up to the time of the composition of this *Muntakhab*, but up to the present, the noise of conflict and shouts of combatants proceeding from that field of battle reach the ears of travellers at night.

In the year 997 H. (1588 A.D.) the writer of these pages<sup>2</sup> was proceeding one day at early morning<sup>3</sup> from the city of

336. Lāhor towards Fathpūr, and had to cross that plain, when these terrifying noises reached his ears, and the people who were with him imagined that some enemy was upon them. I also witnessed with my own eyes what I had heard related. Submitting this divine mystery to the Almighty we went on our way.

Sultān Ibrāhim together with a party of attendants was taken in an unknown desert and put to the sword, his head<sup>4</sup> was brought into the presence of Bābar Pādishāh, and<sup>5</sup> about five or six thousand who formed Sultān Ibrāhim's retinue were put to death in the one spot.

#### Verse.

It is plainly evident<sup>6</sup> to thee that this dark world is a snare of calamity,

Thou knowest<sup>7</sup> now that the world is full of guile, and desperately deceitful.

That man from fear of whom no one would enter the water

He himself is drowned in the ocean, an ocean without bounds.<sup>8</sup>

Bābar Pādishāh after gaining this<sup>9</sup> signal victory departed thence, and reached Dihli<sup>10</sup> on the same day and encamped there. He then caused the *Khuṭbah* to be read in his name,<sup>11</sup> despatching Shāhzāda Muḥammad Humāyūn Mirzā and all the Amīrs to Āgra, with orders to make forced marches, and to seize the treasure<sup>12</sup> belonging to Ibrāhim, which was of untold value, and divide it among the soldiery.<sup>13</sup>

1 The قرن *qarn* is an uncertain period of time, here it probably means a space of forty years.

2 MSS. (A) (B) اوراق را.

3 MS. (A) سری (B) وقت.

4 MSS. (A) (B) سوچن را.

5 MS. (A) (B) supply و.

6 MS. (B) reads روز شب.

7 MS. (B) reads حیرتی.

8 Read here بنا پہننا for بنا پہننا. A footnote to the text states that بنا پہننا is the reading of all three MSS.

9 MS. (A) این چنین فتح (B) دھلی ب.

10 MS. (B) omits ب.

11 MS. (A) (B) خزینہ ک.

12 MS. (A) (B) نہودند.

## Verse.

He who sacrifices his life upon the field of battle  
Sacrifice thy gold to him by way of generosity.

However brave hearted a man may be

He cannot be eager to fight whom he is without food.<sup>1</sup>

This event took place in the year 932 H. (1525 A.D.), and the Hindus invented this date *Shahid-e-Shudan-i-Ibrahim*<sup>2</sup> (the martyrdom of Ibrahim) to commemorate it. From that time the empire once more passed from the Afghān Lodi family, and rested on the descendants of Amir Timur Sāhibqirān. The duration of the reign of Sultān Ibrahim was nine years.

Zainu-d-Dīn Muhammād Bābār Pādišhāh Ghāzī.

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After this ascended<sup>3</sup> the throne<sup>4</sup> of sovereignty, and by his justice and liberality adorned the world with fresh lustre and glory, and sent rewards to Samarqand, Trūq, Khurāsān and Kashgār. He also despatched offerings<sup>5</sup> to the sacred cities of Makkah and Medinah, and to the holy places of pilgrimage, and sent off gold beyond price to all the inhabitants of Badakhshān and Kābul, to each its separate store, from the vast treasuries of Hindūstān. He converted the world into a rose garden. The Amirs of Hindūstān, notwithstanding his conciliatory behaviour and efforts to improve<sup>6</sup> their fortunes, did not yield obedience to him, but behaved like unruly swallows,<sup>7</sup> and took to fortifying themselves in their fortresses and estates,<sup>8</sup> while Qāsim Sanhalī in Samhal, and Nizām Khān in Bāiān, and Hasan Khān Miwāti in Alwār, and Tātār Khān Sārang Khān<sup>9</sup> in Guhār, took refuge in their respective fortresses. Itāwa was held by Qatb Khān, and Kalpi by Ālam Khān, while Qānnūj and all the eastern districts were in the possession of the Afghāns, who, in the reign of Sultān Ibrahim also, had refused to own his sway,<sup>10</sup> and<sup>11</sup> having raised the son of Bihār Khān to the throne, gave<sup>12</sup> him the title of Sultān Muhammād, his empire extended as far as

<sup>1</sup> MS (B) reads دی مورگ

شہید شدن ابراہیم = 932

<sup>2</sup> MSS (A) (B) سوہ

نذر = MS (B) سویر

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) reads ترقیہ

منتوحش = MS (A) نود after

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) omits و تخت

ساریک حلق = MS (A)

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) نمیکرد

و = MS (A) (B) supply

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) بھادڑ

Bihār, and Naṣīr Khān Lūhānī and Ma'rūf Farmalī and other powerful Amīrs gave in their allegiance to him, while a slave of Sultān Ibrāhīm named Marghūb, having fortified the township of Mahāwan, which is situated at a distance of twenty *krohs* from Āgra, on the far side of the river Jamna, refused to own him as king.

Accordingly troops were detailed by Bābar Pādīshāh to conquer these countries, and Firoz Khān, and Sārang Khān,<sup>1</sup> and Shaikh Bāyazid, the brother of Muṣṭafā Farmalī, with other Afghāns coming and tendering their submission, were given *jāegīrs*.<sup>2</sup> Shaikh Khūran who was one of the Hindustānī Amīrs, and also one of their most accomplished men,<sup>3</sup> being unrivalled in the art of music, came with his whole following and had an interview (with Bābar) in the Doāb.

The territory of Sambal was conferred as a *jāegīr* upon Shāhzāda Muḥammad Humāyūn Mīrzā. The Amīrs seized Qāsim Sanbalī and sent him to Bābar, while another body of men had been sent against Baiāna, and had besieged Niẓām Khān, keeping him closely invested. In this year also Rānā Sānkā having wrested the fortress of Khandār,<sup>4</sup> which is in the vicinity of Rantānbhūr, from Ḥasan son of Makhan, was in possession of it; and Shāhzāda Muḥammad Humāyūn Mīrzā,<sup>5</sup> with a party of Amīrs who had been appointed<sup>6</sup> to capture and hold Dholpūr, were ordered to proceed against a body of Afghāns of the Lūhānī faction who were close on fifty thousand, and had advanced beyond Qanauj. Both Saiyyid Mahdi Khwāja, and Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā, who had been ordered to capture Itāwa,<sup>7</sup> joined the retinue of the Shāhzāda,<sup>8</sup> who brought into subjection the whole of the eastern districts as far as Jaunpūr. In the meanwhile Rānā Sānkā and Ḥasan Khān Miwātī raised to the throne one of the sons of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, named Sultān Muḥammad, with the title of Pādshāh, and started on an expedition against the territories of Bābar with a large following and vast<sup>9</sup> army.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. (A) (B) خانی.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. (A) (B) جایگیروہا.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. (A) (B) متعین.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. (A) (B) کھنڈار.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. (A) (B) ب.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. (A) (B) معین.

<sup>7</sup> MS. (B) writes گدماں for آتاوا.

<sup>8</sup> MS. (A) writes گش Shāh.

<sup>9</sup> MS. (A) بیبايان.

Marching by way of Basāwar<sup>1</sup> thou arrived in the neighbourhood of Fathpur, otherwise known as Sikri<sup>2</sup> Nizām Khān, the Governor of Bahāna made representations to the Court of Babar and gained a certain degree of influence. Rafi'n d Dīn Sufi, who was one of the most powerful Suyyids of Balkh<sup>3</sup> and the chief<sup>4</sup> of the traditionists, and who, hating come to Hindustān in the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, had been given the title of Ḥa-rat<sup>5</sup> Muqaddas (His Holiness), came and had audience of the Sultan and tendered his service. Tūtū Khan Surāg Khāz also, after that Rūnā Sāukā seized the fortress of Khaundhar, and the infidels had got the upper hand, first of all sent a representation to King (Babar) saying, I intend to surrender the fortress of Gwalior, but when Khwāja Rahīm<sup>6</sup> Dad and Shāikh Khurān and a further party also arrived, he was ashamed (of this weakness). This party then, by the guidance of Shāikh Muhammad Ghāzi, who was unrivalled in his time, and was the chief authority on the science of da'watu l asmā,<sup>7</sup> entered the fort by some skilful stratagem and took it from Tatar Khān whether he would or no, and sent him into the presence of Babar Padishah. In just this same way also Muhammad Zaitūn the Afghan gave up the fort of Dhelpur to<sup>8</sup> the Amirs of Babar, and coming in had an interview with the King. In the meanwhile, Rūnā Sāukā<sup>9</sup> had arrived on the confines of Bahāna and was doing damage to the country, and had, after a halt of a few days, reached Fathpur, Babar Pādīshah, with a small body of the soldiery which he had with him left the capital of Āgra with the object of engaging him in battle. He also wrote<sup>10</sup> a despatch to summon Shāhzada Mohammad Hamajna Mirza, ordering him to leave Janapūr in charge of certain eminent Amirs, and to come himself with all speed to take part in that war, the victorious Prince, having taken the country of Haran<sup>11</sup> and

339.

1 MS (A) بشارور

2 See Hunter, *Imp Gov*, IV 433

3 MSS (Δ) (B) أَبْكَهُ

4 MS (A) اعاظم

5 MS (B) حُم

6 Lit. calling upon the names (of God). This is a term used to express a system of incantation which is held to be lawful by orthodox Muhammadans. For a full account of it, see Hughes (*Dict. of Islam*) articulo *Da'wah* p. 72.

MS (B) reads تَعْزِيزٌ رَّحْمَوْيٌ The text has a misprint for رَّحْمَوْيٌ

7 M<sup>4</sup> (A) د

8 MSS (A) (B) د

9 MS (B) دوشتندہ

10 Footnote variant to the text reads دوشتندہ

Bihār from Nasir Khān<sup>1</sup> Luhānī, and having appointed Khwāja Amīr, Shāh Ḥasan and Amīr Junaid Birlās to the government of Jaunpūr, proceeded by way of Kalpī, and by adopting measures partly peaceful and partly warlike, brought over ‘Ālam Khān the governor of that place,<sup>2</sup> and made him one of his adherents. He lost no time in attaching himself to the king’s service, and was granted many royal favours.

At this same time, that pattern for the great<sup>3</sup> and noble, Khwāja Khāwind Naqshbandī arrived from Kābul, and the Amīrs sitting in council determined by a majority, that, seeing that the army of Rānā Sānkā is currently reported to exceed in multitude the ants and locusts, it appears advisable to strengthen the fortress of Āgra, and that, leaving it in charge of a garrison, the sovereign of Islām should proceed in his own excellent person towards the

340. Panjāb, and wait for the development of unseen events. The king did not agree to the decision of this council, but girded up his loins to carry into effect his intention of a *jihād*, and setting his heart upon martyrdom, marched in the direction of the field of Fathpūr and made this project the aim and object of his ambition.<sup>4</sup>

#### Verse.

Since the soul must of necessity at last leave the body,  
This is best, that, when the time comes, it should at least  
depart with honour.

The end of the world is this, and nothing more  
That after a man’s death, his name should remain.

The Amīrs also, placing their hands upon the sacred word, (the Qur’ān), swore an oath to renew their compact and carry out their intention of making war upon the infidels, for the exaltation of the sublime creed,<sup>5</sup> and the promulgation of the

<sup>1</sup> A footnote variant نصرت خان Nuṣrat Khān. So also MS. (B).

<sup>2</sup> MS. (B) reads حاکم بخارا Hākim-i-Bukhārā.

<sup>3</sup> The text reads قدوة الاعظم so also MSS. (A) (B). A footnote to the text says that this reading is found in all three copies, but that اعظم is correct.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) وَلَا نَهْمَتْ (A).

<sup>5</sup> Tho كلام Kalimah. “There is no God but God and Muhammad is the Apostle of God,” see Qur’ān xlvi. 21 and xlvi. 29. See also Hughes (Dict. of Islām) art : Kalimah.

glorious law, deeming the field of battle to be a joyful assembly, and doing full justice<sup>1</sup> to the claims of manliness in such a way as the eye of time had never before witnessed, and after many strenuous efforts the standards of Islam floated bravely on high, while the banners of infidelity were laid low. In the thick of the fight an arrow found its way to the forehead of Hasan Khān Miwāti, who was an infidel who used the Kalimah, they cast him into a well and took to flight, while he fell into the well of Hell, although a certain Miwāti,<sup>2</sup> a *jogi*<sup>3</sup> in form and appearance, in the year 960 H., after the death of Salim Shāh Afghān Sur, raised a rebellion in Miwāt, and called himself<sup>4</sup> Hasan Khān, and mentioned certain of the secret signs to the Miwātis, still, a certain number acknowledged him. The composer of this *Muntakhab* (selection) also, in the year 965 H. (1557 A D) saw him<sup>5</sup> in Āgra, but no signs of nobility or authority were visible in his features,<sup>6</sup> and the late Khān-i Khānā Burām Khān used to say, that Hasan Khān Miwāti<sup>7</sup> was a man who commanded a large following,<sup>8</sup> and was of kingly appearance, and had a poetical temperament. His poems are well known, but this mannikin<sup>9</sup> resembled<sup>10</sup> an uncoonth rustic, his appearance was extremely repulsive<sup>11</sup> God forbid that this wretch, should be that Hasan Khān.

After some time certain of the Khānzādas of Miwāt moved by indignation and jealousy put him to death. A short time after this<sup>12</sup> victory, that gallant king was attacked by a severe illness, and after that he had reached the age of fifty years, he departed from this transitory world to the eternal realms in the year 937 H. (1530 A D). 341.

#### THE DATE OF THE DEATH OF SULĀN BĀBĀR

This took place in the year nine hundred and thirty seven. The words *Shash-i Shawwal*<sup>13</sup> also form the date of his decease,

<sup>1</sup> MS (B) reads میوادی

<sup>2</sup> MS (B) omits میوانی

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) reads جوکی <sup>4</sup> MS (B) میگفت Text and MS (A) میگرفت

<sup>5</sup> MS (B) دیده دوده <sup>6</sup> Both MSS (A) (B) omit دیده

<sup>7</sup> Both MSS (A) (B) read میوانی for میگذر

<sup>8</sup> MS (A) reads صاحب حقنی <sup>9</sup> MSS (A)/(B) مردک

<sup>10</sup> MS (B) میماد <sup>11</sup> Lit like that of a changeling

<sup>12</sup> MSS (A) (B) omit اس

<sup>13</sup> شش شوال = 937 (H)

while the date of his birth may be found from this compleat.

Since this revered monarch was born in the sixth of Muharram,

The year of his birth<sup>1</sup> also is *Shash-i-Muharram*.

The duration of his reign in Māwarā-nunahr, Badaūj-hshān, Kābul, and Kāshghar, as well as in Hindustān, was<sup>2</sup> thirty-eight years. He had succeeded to the kingdom at the age of twelve, and Khwāja Kalūn Bēg wrote this compleat in his funeral ode :

Alas ! that time and the changeful heaven should exist without thee.

Alas ! and Alas ! that time should remain and thou should'st be gone.

Among the learned men of his time is Shaikh Zain Khānī,<sup>3</sup> who translated in most elegant<sup>4</sup> style, the *Wāqī'at-i-Bābarī*,<sup>5</sup> which the deceased monarch wrote, and the following verses are by him :

*Verses.*

342. Thou hast rested with thy guardians and hast fled from me  
What have I done ? or what hast thou heard or seen from  
me ?  
There was no necessity for injustice to enable thee to seize  
my heart.  
I would have yielded it had'st thou but desired it of me.

*Verses.<sup>6</sup>*

So straitened did my heart become for longing for those lips  
of thine  
Too narrow was the way by which my soul should quit its  
earthly shrine.

<sup>1</sup> The text reads correctly او تاریخ سال but both MSS. (A) (B) read تاریخ فوت *tārikh-i-faut*, the date of his death.

The letters of the words شش محرم give the date 888 H. This would make him fifty years of age in 938 H. This couplet has a variant reading which is given in the footnote to the text.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) omits بود.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) reads حواسست ذین.

<sup>4</sup> *Wāqī'at-i-Bābarī*. This, called also *Tūzak-i-Bābarī* is the work of which Erskine's translation is so well-known. I can find no other reference to the translation from the original Türkī horo referred to by our author. See Elliot V. 218 *et seqq.*, also Erskine's Bābar (Introduction).

Footnote variant فصیح.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) reads دل و.

My verses are both rational and traditional, and my desire is,  
that Maulānā Hasan, who comprises in himself all rational<sup>1</sup> and  
traditional science, may hear them.

Another is Maolana Baqā'i who wrote a Maṣnavī in the metre  
of the Maṭḥān-i-Asrār<sup>2</sup>. At the moment I do not remember a  
single poem of his.

Another<sup>3</sup> is Maulānā Shihābu d Dīn the Unigmatist, whose  
general learning was overshadowed by his special skill in the  
composition of enigmas, and at the time when Darmash Khān<sup>4</sup>  
was appointed<sup>5</sup> by Shah Isma'il Ḥafawi Husaini to the Governor-  
ship of Khurasan, that prince of traditionists, Mir Jamilu d Dīn,  
the traditionist, one day while the preaching was going on, in  
dispelling the apparent contradiction between the sacred word  
*Verily your Lord is God, who created the heavens and the earth in six*  
*days,*<sup>6</sup> and that true ḥadīth (tradition) that He created the world in  
seven days,<sup>7</sup> explained it in two ways, Maulana Shihābu d  
Dīn<sup>8</sup> refuted it, by adducing one after another several excellent  
arguments and wrote a treatise on that subject, to which the  
learned divines of that time subscribed<sup>9</sup> their signatures. The  
writer of these pages also on the same occasion wrote a few lines  
of prose and poetry, from which the following rubā'i is selected,<sup>10</sup>

Quatrain

343

Thus writing which has appeared like lawful magic,  
Its poetry and prose are purer than the purest water

<sup>1</sup> MSS (A) (B) read حکیم

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) supplies سیار! See *Ain-i-Albari* (B) I p 595 n 2, also Beale, p 67

<sup>3</sup> MSS (A) (B) و دیگری! See Beale, p 243 Shihābu d Dīn died in the  
reign of Humayun 942 A H. See next p go

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) درویانی

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) درمش خاں (B) Darmash Khān

<sup>6</sup> MSS (A) (B) مخصوص شد

<sup>7</sup> Qur'an VII 52 X 3

<sup>8</sup> See *Mīghāt* xx v I 9 God created the earth on Saturday, and the hills  
on it on Sunday and the trees on Monday and unpleasant things on Tuesday,  
and he created the light on Wednesday and scattered the beasts of the earth  
on Thursday and created Adam after afternoon prayer on Friday the last of  
the creation.

<sup>9</sup> MS (B) writes شیخ only

<sup>10</sup> MSS (A) (B) write احمد

<sup>11</sup> The text reads اوان حملہ فخر است MS (A) omits the word فخر and  
MS (B) reads فخر possibly for جس

- It is a gleam from the brightness of "the brilliant Star,"<sup>1</sup>  
In describing whose dignity the tongue of meditation is struck dumb.
- The following enigma on the name Kūshif is also by him.

*Quatrain.*

With a view to deceive the heart of this broken-hearted one,  
That idol with mouth like the rosebud is every moment<sup>2</sup>  
displaying coquetry.

Upon the leaf of the rose she wrote that curling ringlet  
And then displayed her moon-bright face from<sup>3</sup> one corner.<sup>4</sup>

The death of the Maulavī took place at the time of the return of the Emperor Muḥammad Humāyūn, whose abode is in Paradise, from his expedition to Gujrāt in the year 942 H., and Mir Khond<sup>5</sup> Amīr the historian invented the chronogram *Shihābu-s-sāqib*. And one of the wonderful<sup>6</sup> inventions of that Emperor, whose shelter is the pardon of God, is the Khatt-i-Bābārī (the Bābārī script), in which writing he indited a copy of the Qur'ān, and sent it to the sacred city of Makka: his anthology of Persian and Tūrki poetry is well-known. He has also composed a book on the Hanifite Theology called *Mubaiyyin*,<sup>7</sup> and Shaikh Zainu-d-Dīn<sup>8</sup> wrote a commentary upon it which he entitled *Mubīn*. His treatises<sup>9</sup> on Prosody are also in common use.

<sup>1</sup> *Shihābu-d-Dīn* was called *Shihābu-s-sāqib* (the brilliant star); these words also give the date of his death, see post.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) reads *جی* for *مرد*.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) reads *در* for *از*.

<sup>4</sup> The following is the explanation of this *Mu'mma* which is contained in the two last lines of the *Rubā'i*. That is to say: she took the word *گل* and removed from it the *dāira* or curved portion of the *ل lām*, thus leaving *کا*; to this she added *آن سرزلف* *ان Sar-i-zulf*, that is to say the last letter of the word *زلف*, the letter *ف*, thus having *کا...ف*. To this she added *رخ rukh-i-mah*, the first letter of the word *شهر شہر*, which is in Arabic. This will give the whole word *کاشف غرائب*.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A), see Beale, p. 150.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. (A) (B) omit *غراياب*.

<sup>7</sup> مبین نام بفتح باي مثنات.

<sup>8</sup> MS. (A), see Elliot and Dowson IV. 288, *et seqq.*

<sup>9</sup> MS. (B) reads *وسائل* for *وسائل*, see Elliot and Dowson IV. 219.

## Verse

The heaven, whose sole skill is oppression,  
Has this one object, to wring each moment the heart's blood,  
It gives not to the knave the crown of royalty without laying  
low under the foot of oppression the head of a crowned  
monarch

NASIPU D DIN [WAUD DUVVAD] MUYAMMAR HUMAYUN

PADSHAH I (TAZI)

344.

Marching by forced marches from Sanbal in the year 937 H.  
(1530 A D ), with the concurrence of Amir Khalifa who was the  
agent and prime minister<sup>3</sup> of the Government ascended the  
throne. The following chronogram was invented to record the  
date

## Verse

Muhammad Humayun Shah of auspicious fortune  
Who is the best of kings by virtue of his merit  
The year in which he ascended the kingly throne  
Was distinguished by the words *Khairu l Muluk*<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, inasmuch as at the time of his accession he  
made present of trays filled with gold another chronogram was  
invented in the words *Kishti i Zar* (Tray of gold). After dis-  
posing of all matters of importance he led an army against the  
fortress of Kalinjar<sup>5</sup> and<sup>6</sup> after quelling the insurrection of  
Sultan 'Alam ibn i Sultan Sikandar Lodhi who had raised a revolt  
in Janpur, returned to Agra and made a great feast at which  
entertainment twelve thousand people were distinguished by the  
bestowal of robes of honour

## Verse

A King will have the upper hand of his enemies  
When his army is happy and contented,  
But if he withdraws then just reward from his soldiery,  
They in turn will withhold their hands from the sword

In those days<sup>6</sup> Muhammad Zaman Mirza ibn i Badi u z Zaman  
Mirza<sup>7</sup> ibn i Sultan Husain Mirza, who had hostile intentions

<sup>1</sup> MS (A)

<sup>2</sup> The text reads وکل و ویر مطلق MS (A) reads ویر سلطنت

<sup>3</sup> حبیل الملوك *Khairu l Muluk* Best of Kings. The letters of the words  
کشیدی رز ور give the date 937 H as do also the letters of the words  
کشیدی رز ور in the next line

<sup>4</sup> MS (B) writes کچور *Kalclar* and وہ کچور

<sup>5</sup> MSS (A)(B) supply و <sup>6</sup> MS (A) داراب الام

<sup>7</sup> MS (B) صدر

was captured. Sending him to the fortress of Baiāna, orders were given for his eyes to be put out. The pupil of his eye remained uninjured however, and shortly after, he escaped from prison and fled for refuge to Sultān Bahādur of Gujrāt. It is said that at the time when Muhammād Zamān Mīrzā joined Sultān Bahādur, the latter was engaged in besieging Chitor, and the weather was exceedingly hot. Muhammād Zamān Mīrzā was seized with a pain at the heart,<sup>1</sup> for the cure of which the physicians declared *gulgand* (confection of roses)<sup>2</sup> to be indispensable. Muhammād Zamān Mīrzā begged Sultān Bahādur to send him a piece of this *gulgand*. He accordingly summoned his *shurbatdār* (preparer of beverages), and enquired how much *gulgand* there had been brought with the camp; he replied that there must be more than twenty cart loads. The whole of this he sent to the camp of Muhammād Zamān Mīrzā,<sup>3</sup> and apologetically explained that this amount had been estimated as the probable requirements of the army, if it were not sufficient he begged to be excused. It eventually transpired that the juice of the *gulgand* used to be extracted for his use, and that for this reason there were<sup>4</sup> so many carts accompanying him. Muhammād Sultān Mīrzā, with his two sons Ulughī Mīrzā and Shāhī Mīrzā, proceeded to Qananj and laid the foundations of revolt, and when the king, now deceased, wrote and despatched to Sultān Bahādur letters summoning Muhammād Zamān Mīrzā, Sultān Bahādur sent back a discourteous reply;<sup>5</sup> he accordingly determined upon the conquest of Gujrāt. Bahādur, having collected an army to reduce the fortress of Chitor and oppose Rāmā Sānkā, engaged him in battle, and besieged him. Tātār Khān Lodi being despatched by him, came and gained possession of the fortress of Baiāna, extending his depredations as far as Āgra; and after a fierce

<sup>1</sup> MSS. (A) (B) گل ڈھنڈا.

<sup>2</sup> گل ڈھنڈا *Gulgand*. Confection of rose-petals and honey, said to be a powerful cardiac stimulant and tonic, see *Makhzanu-l-adwīyah* s.v. ڈھنڈا.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. (A) (B).

<sup>4</sup> MSS. (A) (B) بالآخر.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) reads بودی بود for بودی بود in the text.

<sup>6</sup> For the text of this reply and an account of the circumstance, under which it was written, see Bayley's *History of Gujerāt*, pp. 377 to 380.

conflict<sup>1</sup> with Muzâ Hândîl, in which he attacked with three thousand<sup>2</sup> men, was put to the sword with all his following. While Sultân Bâhadrî was besieging Chitor for the second time, Muhammad Hmâyûn Padshâh<sup>3</sup> moved against him from Agan, and in this same year Mirzâ Kamran, proceeding by forced marches from Lashor to Qandahar, defeated Sam Muza, the brother of Shâh<sup>4</sup> Tâlimâsp, who was besieging Khwaja Kalan Bög, and<sup>5</sup> the following homistich gives the date

Zada Padshah Kamran Sam rā 6

(King Kāmīān defeated Sam)

<sup>7</sup> Manikānā Bekasi also writes the following

Verse

At that time when the crown and the golden goblet stands in sight,

When amid the joy and feasting is seen the form of the flagon and the chasing of the cup,

I enquired from wisdom, why hast thou cast down in ear  
midst the gold scattering crown, like a crimson tulip?

Sbo answered, tho heavon, by way of assigning a date to this encounter, has cast down the golden crown,<sup>8</sup> in consequence of the defeat of the army of Sam.

Muhammad Hmmayun Padshah, considering that it would be disgraceful to go up against Sultan Babadur and engage his attention

1 MS (A) ٢٥٣

<sup>2</sup> The text reads ~~Sākṣi~~ S: Sad 3000 MS (B) reads ~~Sākṣi~~ Shash Sad 600

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) writes لیکو Mirz <sup>4</sup> MS (A) omits سلیمان <sup>5</sup> MS (A) و داد

<sup>6</sup> وَدَة يَادِشَهْ كَاهُوْدَان مَسَامْ دَا These letters form the date 912 H.

<sup>7</sup> Footnote variant شکیده، *Shakebi*

وَكَذَّبَ قَاحْرَهُ رَشْكَسْتَ سِيَاهَ سَامَ The letters of this line form the date 942 in the following way

The literal meaning of the line may be taken thus

Has cast away the crown of gold (Taj + Zar) from the defeat of the army of Sam (Shikast + Sipah + Sam) By *Taj + Zar* is meant the letter *j*, the first letter of the word *jj*, the value of which is 7, this being cast out from the value of *Shikast + Sipah + Sam* gives 949 - 7 = 942

while he was engaged in the siege of Chitor,<sup>1</sup> halted at Sārang-pūr. Sultān Bahādur meanwhile forcibly reduced the fort of Chitor, after which he engaged in war with Pādshāh (Humāyūn) for a space of two months in the neighbourhood of Mandsūr, a dependency of Mālwa, but owing to the fact that no supplies of grain could reach the camp of Bahādur, man and beast died from starvation, and<sup>2</sup> Bahādur with five of his most trusty Amīrs left the royal tent by the rear door and fled towards Mandsūr.<sup>3</sup> The following verse commemorates the date of this event:—

Humāyūn Shah-i-Ghāzi, who has thousands of slaves in his  
palace like Jamshīd,

When he came victorious towards Gujrāt, returned in triumph,  
the glory of the sons of Timūr.

Since Bahādur fell humbled and abject,

The date thereof was "The disgrace of Bahādur."<sup>4</sup>

Muhammad Humāyūn Pādshāh pursued him, and the Mughūl soldiers came upon Bahādur one night while he was asleep,<sup>5</sup> and were near taking him prisoner, but he made his escape with five or six horsemen towards Gujrāt. Sultān 'Ālam Lodi, however, fell into their hands and they cut off his feet. The army of Humāyūn Pādshāh pursued Bahādur by rapid marches and laid waste Ahmadābād. Bahādur leaving Ahmadābād went to Kanbhāyat,<sup>6</sup>

347. and from there to the port of Dīp,<sup>7</sup> and at that time the fortress

<sup>1</sup> See Bayley, *History of Guzrāt*, p. 382.    <sup>2</sup> MSS. (A) (B) supply „ here."

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) reads جاد، so also footnote variant to text.

<sup>4</sup> ذل بادر Zull-i-Bahādur. These letters form the date 942 H. We may also read Zill-i-Bahādur, in which case we translate "the submission of Bahādur."

<sup>5</sup> MS. (B) reads ياقه و گرفته which the text gives in a footnote variant. This appears from the context to be the true reading.

<sup>6</sup> Cambay. The name Khambāt is said to be derived from *Khamba* or *Stambhatirthi*, the pool of Mahādeva under the form of the pillar god. See Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, III. 271. See also Tieffenthaler I. 370 et seqq.

<sup>7</sup> Tieff I. 395, writes *Diu*, appelé *Dip* dans la langue du pays, est une petite île située dans (près de) la presqu' île de Soroth où se trouve une ville et un château très fort, appartenant aux Portugais avec un petit territoire. La ville est séparée du château par un canal taillé dans la pierre. Un pont de bois joint l'un à l'autre. Elle a un port commode, d'quel sort chaque année, un vaisseau chargé de marchandises pour Mōsambique. *Diu* est à 60 milles portugais de Surate vers l'Ouest."

See also *Aīn-i-Akbarī* I. 348, and II. 265, also Bayley, *Hist. of Gujrāt*, 319 n.

of Jānpānir<sup>1</sup> was also taken after a battle by the Padshāh, and treasure beyond computation fell into his hands.

The year in which this happened may be learned from the following verse —

Wisdom sought for the date of the victory of Shāh Humāyūn  
and discovered this,

"It was the ninth of the month of Safar"\*

Then Bahādur, in concert with the Zamīndars of the country<sup>2</sup> of Sorath, collected a force and proceeded towards Ahmadābad. Mīrzā 'Ashkārī who, after the return of Humāyūn Padshāh towards the East,<sup>3</sup> remained at Ahmadābād with the intention of having the Khutbāh read in his own name, in which project he had the support of Amīr Ifrīq Bēg, however, he could not carry out his plan, and after slight opposition left for Jānpānir, the governor of which place, Tardī Bēg, having entrenched himself, sent letters to the court conveying the tidings of the revolt of Mīrzā 'Ashkārī. But at the time when Humāyūn had left Mandir on his way to Āgra Mīrzā 'Ashkārī met him on the road and gave in his submission, and Bahādur took Jānpānir from Tardī Bēg without the necessity of fighting<sup>4</sup> [And in this year Shāhīk<sup>5</sup> Jamālī Kanbawī of Dīlī left this transitory world for the kingdom of eternity. A chronogram has been invented to commemorate this in the words Khusrū-i-Hind būda (he was the Khusrū of Hindostān)]<sup>6</sup> In this year also Shāh Nūhīmāsp came up against Qandahār from 'Irāq to take vengeance on Sām Mīrzā,<sup>7</sup> and<sup>8</sup> Khwāja Kalān Bēg leaving the city empty, and leaving the Diwānbhūna (Hall

<sup>1</sup> Or Champānir. See Bayley's *History of Gujerat*, pp. 390 et seqq.

<sup>2</sup> شہر صورت دوڑ Shahr-e-Safar ba'l These words give the date 942 H.

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) omits عزیز, \* A footnote variant reads بورھان پورہ Burhanpur

<sup>4</sup> The portion in square brackets is omitted in MS (A) in this place

<sup>5</sup> MS (B)

<sup>6</sup> شاہ نوہمیش The letters of these words give the date 942 H. There is a footnote to the text calling attention to an alleged discrepancy in the dates of the chronograms and asserting that ۹۴۲ جا represents 932 and not 942. This is a mistake.

<sup>7</sup> MS (A) here inserts the date ۹۴۲ (942) in figures

<sup>8</sup> MS (A) here inserts the paragraph relating to the death of Shāhīk Jamālī, *supra* n 6

of audience) locked up just as it was, adorned with its splendid carpets, its magnificent furniture, and all the appurtenances of the audience chamber, came out to invite Shāh Tahmāsp to alight at that pleasantly prepared<sup>1</sup> resting place, which he did, and<sup>2</sup> gave Khwāja Kalān Bōg great praise for his conduct, saying, that is a good servant whom Kāmrān Mīrzā possesses. Shāh Tahmāsp left Qandahār in charge of Badagh Khān, one of his own Amīrs, and returned to 'Irāq. Mīrzā Kāmrān at this same juncture, proceeded by forced marches from Lāhor, and arriving at Qandahār took possession of it. Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā, whom Bahādur had despatched after his defeat to inflict injury upon Hindustān, took advantage of the absence<sup>3</sup> of Mīrzā Kāmrān to invest Lāhor; but, when he heard tidings of the return of Humāyūn Pādshāh to Gujrāt, retraced his steps. At the expiry of one year from the accession<sup>4</sup> of Humāyūn Pādshāh in Āgra, Shīr Khān Afghān Sūr, in the absence of Humāyūn, collected a large force, and took possession<sup>5</sup> of the country of Gour, Bihār, and Jaunpūr, and also the fortress of Chinār. Humāyūn Pādshāh encamped<sup>6</sup> before the fort of Chinār, with the intention of opposing Shīr Khān, on the fourteenth of the month of Ṣafar in the year 943 H., and besieged Jalāl Khān, son of Shīr Khān, who eventually obtained the title of Islām Shāh. In a short time by the exertions of Rūmī Khān the Artillerist, (on whose name Sultān Bahādur had written and despatched the following enigma :—

[Haif bāshad nām i ān sag bar zabān,  
Mīkh dar jānash nīh o nāmash bi khwān]<sup>7</sup>

It were a pity to take the name of that dog on one's lips  
Place a stake (mīkh) in his life (jān) and read his name).

<sup>1</sup> MSS. (A) (B) طیار ترہ. <sup>2</sup> MS. (A) supplies . <sup>3</sup> MS. (B) omits زمان.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read استقرار. <sup>5</sup> MS. (A) متصروف شد.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) ساختہ مسکن.

<sup>7</sup> This لعنه mu'ammā or enigma requires explanation: The English version is naturally meaningless.

The words in the original, خان رومنی رومی خان Rūmīkhān, contain as will be seen the word میخ mīkh between the syllables Rū...ān. These form the word روان Rawān, one meaning of which is life, for which the synonym in Persian is جان jan. So the writer says: Place the word mīkh in his life (روان rawān,) and you have his name رومنی ان Rū mīkh ān, i.e., Rūmī Khān.

<sup>1</sup> The *ārād* *Mihaffi* is, as its name implies, a litter so closed in that the curtains surround on all sides the sitter upon it. See Lane s.v. حاف.

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) reads درجۃ و درجۃ

<sup>3</sup> Regarding the truth, etc. (See M4, Copy)

The climate of Bangālā proved so extremely suitable to Humāyūn, that he changed the name of Gaur to Jannatābād (The realm of Paradise), and having halted there for (two or)<sup>1</sup> three months returned. In the meanwhile Shīr Khān's affair was assuming large proportions, and his following was increasing. He wrote a letter to Humāyūn, saying, 'all these Afghāns are the servants and retainers of His Majesty the King, and beg to be granted *jāegīrs*,<sup>2</sup> if the king will think about a *jāegīr* for them, then it will be well, but if not, hunger will drive them to open revolt. Up to the present time I have kept them in check, but now they no longer obey me, and the proverb is well-known. *The hungry man will throw himself upon the sword.* For the rest whatever the king says is law.'

Humāyūn, when he grasped the contents of the letter, saw clearly what its object was, and seeing that the opportunity had passed by,<sup>3</sup> and considering the bareness of equipment and inefficiency<sup>4</sup> of his army, which had recently been doubled, many horses and camels having died, while the remainder were so jaded and emaciated that they were of no use whatever, he set about devising some remedial measures. Mīzā Hindāl, who had accompanied the king as far as Mongīr, was despatched to Āgra to put down the rebellion<sup>5</sup> of Muḥammad Sultān Mirzā, Ulugh Mirzā, and Shāh Mirzā, who had fled and had done great mischief in the Dihlī country, and were now returning. Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā, after that Sultān Bahādur was drowned in the sea owing to the treachery of the Firangīs,<sup>6</sup> could not accomplish anything, and again sought refuge with Humāyūn.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. (A) (B) omit و د.

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) omits ل.

<sup>3</sup> بَعْدَ ازْ خَرَابِيِّ بَصْرَةِ. *Ba'd az Kharābi-i-Baṣra.* After the ruin of Baṣra.

A proverbial expression equivalent to the English "shutting the stable door after the horse is stolen." For the story from which the proverb arises see *Sharh-i-Nahju-l-Balāgh* by 'Abdu-l-Ḥamīd bin Abī-l-Ḥadīd al Mu'tazīlī. When Alī ibn Muḥammad Ṣāḥebu-z-Zanj besieged Baṣra in the year 255 H. Aḥmad Abūl-Abbās, son of Al-Muwaffaq b-Illāh came up and opposed him, but not until Baṣra was ruined. Hence the proverb. See Arabum Proverbia. Freytag III, p. 129, No. 774.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) reads بِي سَامَانِيٍّ وَبِشِيمَانِيٍّ (B) مَي سَامَانِيٍّ وَبِرَبَشَانِيٍّ

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) omits و فساد.

<sup>6</sup> This happened at Dīn on the 3rd Ramaḍān A.H. 943. See Bayley, *History of Gujarat*, pp. 396, 397.

And in the year 945 H Mirzā Hindal, at the instigation of certain turbulent innovators,<sup>1</sup> put to death Shaikh Bulbul, the older brother of Shaikh Muhammad Ghnūs of Gwālār, who was one of the chief exponents of the art of invocation and incantation,<sup>2</sup> and who enjoyed the full confidence and friendship of Humāyūn. The year in which this event occurred was commemorated by the chronogram *Faqad mata Shahidin*.<sup>3</sup> Verily he died a martyr's death.

Mirzā Hindul in this year read the Khutbah in his own name in Agra. Humāyun despatched five thousand picked men to reinforce Jnhungir Bēg the Mughul, and making over the rule of that country to him, with permission to read the Khutbah should occasion arise, set out for Agra, and, not unprepared as he was, reached Jausū,<sup>4</sup> which is a village on the bank of the Ganges. The Amirs of Jaunpūr and Chūmūr came in and offered to tender their services. Shu Khan seized the head of the road, and being aware of the distress of the army, placed between it and his own army a canal,<sup>5</sup> which joined the Ganges, and, owing to the rains, was quite full of water, and for three months encamped over against the King. It is said that during this period when they were confronting each

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) reads شیخ مسٹریان

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) reads دعوت اسماء و سحر da'u i't-*Atma* wa sihr, the invocation (of the attributes of God) and magic'. Da'rah is said in the *Jatahirat-i-Khamra* to be used for several purposes establishment of friendship or enmity, for the induction of sickness and death, or for the cure of disease for the accomplishment of desires temporal or spiritual, and to secure victory in battle.

By اسماء اسماء is meant the names or attributes of the Deity, they are of two categories, the *Asmau i jalaliyah* or "terrible attributes" and the *Asmau i jamaliyah*, "amiable attributes". For a full account see Hughes, Dict of Islam articles DA'WAT and MAGIC.

<sup>3</sup> فَقَدْ مَاتَ شَاهِيْدِين Faqad mata shahidin These words give the date 945 H  
MS (B) appends the date in figures

<sup>4</sup> Footnote variant حواشی Jausū

<sup>5</sup> The text reads رہابی ramahi which has no meaning. A footnote variant is given زھابی zahabi, which means water oozing from the ground. This is the reading of MS (B). MS (A) reads رہابی raha'e. We should read رہابی rahabe, in the sense of a canal or aqueduct. See Elliott and Dowson IV, 370n.

other, Humāyūn one day sent Mulla Muḥammad ‘Azīz,<sup>1</sup> who was an old friend of Shīr Khān, as an ambassador.<sup>2</sup> Shīr Khān was at that moment with his sleeves<sup>3</sup> rolled up, and with a spade in his hand, in spite of the heat, was busy preparing the fort and entrenchments.

When Mulla Muhammad came near he washed his hands, and having ordered a *shāmiāna*<sup>4</sup> to be pitched, sat on the ground unceremoniously, and after hearing the King's message said, "Take this one message from me to the King and say: 'You yourself desire war, but your army does not, I on the other hand, do not desire war,<sup>5</sup> but my army does: for the rest the decision is the King's.'" Then he sent Shaikh Khalil,<sup>6</sup> one of the descendants of the venerable Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shukkar, *may God sanctify his soul*, who was the spiritual guide of Shir Khān, to Humāyūn, and made overtures of peace to him, representing that he was willing to give up to Humāyūn's representatives the whole country with the exception of Bangāla, and would have the *Khuṭbah* and *sikka* established in Humāyūn's name. This agreement was ratified between them by an oath on the Divine Word, and Humāyūn's mind was at peace with regard to Shir Khān.

A bridge was ordered to be thrown across: but Shir Khān was plotting treachery and deceit.

## Verse.

Make the camel leap from the room of the deceit of the world,  
because out of craft.

In that room where they speak of peace the camel is clad in armour.

I flee from the camel of the heavens and the room of the earth,  
Because there are maddened camels surrounding that room.

The following morning he surprised and attacked the army of Humāyūn, without giving them time to draw up in line. After a short skirmish Humāyūn's army was defeated, and the Afghāns

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) reads مُحَمَّد يَرْغَرِي Muhammad Yarghārī. MS. (B) reads مُحَمَّد پُر عَزِيز Muhammad pur 'Azīz.

<sup>2</sup> Read ایلچی گیری for ایلچی گری. MSS. (A) (B).

3 Omit ~~b~~, MSS. (A) (B).

شاميانا *Shāmiāna*, a kind of marquee consisting of a flat awning supported by four poles and having no side curtains.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. (A) (B) omit جنگ. See Elliot and Dowson IV, 371 and note 2.

arriving first<sup>1</sup> at the head of the bridge broke it down, while their artillerists and archers seated in boats kept the army under a perfect hail of fire, drowning<sup>2</sup> them in the ocean of destruction. Muhammād Zamān Mīrzā was overwhelmed by the tempest of death, and Hūmāyūn urged his horse into the water and was in dread of drowning, in fact was on the point of drowning, when a water carrier<sup>3</sup> came to his aid and rescued him from that whirlpool of destruction. Then he turned towards Agra. Shīr Khān wrote<sup>4</sup> this verse upon that event:—

Thou givest sovereignty to Farid the son of Hasan,<sup>5</sup>

Thou givest the army of Hūmāyūn to the fishes

Although the master (Ustād) has [this second verse]—<sup>6</sup>

One thou exaltest and givest him sovereignty,

Another thou castest down from his throne to the fishes<sup>7</sup>

This event occurred in the year 916 H., and to commemorate it the following chronogram was written

*Saldamat bāraad Pādshāh kāse.*<sup>8</sup>

And Shīr Khān after the victory turned back, and came to Bangāl, and after fighting several engagements<sup>9</sup> put to death Jahāngir Qull Bēg with all his following. In that country he read the *Khūqbah* in his own name, and assumed the title of Shīr Shāh,<sup>10</sup> and in the following year proceeded with a vast army

1 بیشتر *rīghtar* (Text) MSS. (A) (B) read بیشتر *bishtar*, in great numbers.

2 می ساختند *Mi sakhanda* MSS. (A) (B)

3 Named Nigām according to *Firdausi*, who says that as a reward Hūmāyūn permitted him to occupy the throne for half a day. Briggs II 87

4 لفظت *كفت* MSS. (A) (B)

5 Shīr Shāh was originally called Farid Khān, and his father's name was Hasan Khān.

6 MS. (A) omits these words. The text has a footnote saying that the above is the reading of two MSS., but that the correct reading is

اگرچہ مصرع نانی این دیت استار دارد

No authority exists for such a reading

The verses in question are by *Firdausi*.

7 Here the reading of MS. (A) is followed which reads

دکر را ز شاهی بمهی دهی

8 MS. (B) adds the date in figures (946)

9 MSS. (A) (B) omit لشکل. See Elliot and Dowson, IV, pp. 376-378

10 'Abbās Khān tells us he had assumed the title of *Hazrat-i-'Alī*

intending to capture Āgra. Kāmrān Mirzā, prior to the affair of Jausā, after hearing of the victory of Shīr Khān and the rebellion of Mīrzā Hindāl against Humāyūn, returned from Qandahār to Lāhor, and leaving there came to Āgra, which he reached in the year 946 II. Mīrzā Hindāl himself, before the arrival of Mīrzā Kāmrān, in the absence of Humāyūn, laid siege to Dihlī, in which Mīr Fakhr 'Alī and Mīrzā Yādgār Nāṣir had fortified themselves; but not meeting with any success joined hands with Mīrzā Kāmrān. Mīr Fakhr 'Alī also came in and had an interview with him, but Mīrzā Yādgār Nāṣir would not leave the fort. Eventually Mīrzā Hindāl separating from Mīrzā Kāmrān proceeded to Alwar. When Humāyūn heard these tidings, he became still more despondent,<sup>1</sup> till that eventful defeat took place:<sup>2</sup> after the defeat at Jansā<sup>3</sup> he proceeded by forced marches, accompanied by a few horsemen, and arrived unawares at the tent of Mīrzā Kāmrān in Āgra. The Mīrzā also knew nothing of his coming; both brothers upon recognising each other burst into tears.<sup>4</sup> Afterwards Hindāl Mīrzā and Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā and his sons, who had for a time shewn hostility, came in and offered their submission for certain considerations: Their faults were pardoned and they sat in consultation. Mīrzā Kāmrān ostensibly had this intention, that, inasmuch as the army of the Panjāb had gathered fresh force, Humāyūn should grant him leave to proceed against Shīr Khān and endeavour to take vengeance on him, while the King should remain in ease and tranquillity at the Capital. When Humāyūn declined to accede to this proposal, the Mīrzā put forward a claim to proceed to<sup>5</sup> the Panjāb, and urged an infinity of reasons, giving colour to the suggestion that a refusal would cause him insupportable annoyance. Accordingly Humāyūn acceded<sup>6</sup> to all his requests, saving only his return; and Khwāja Kalān Bēg was exerting his efforts to procure the return of Mīrzā Kāmrān to the Panjāb: so that this argument was carried on for six months and nothing was settled.<sup>7</sup> In the meantime Mīrzā Kāmrān was taken ill with a complication

<sup>1</sup> MSS. (A) (B) بیشتر.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (B) حادث گشت.

<sup>3</sup> Text چوسا Chausā.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) گورنڈ.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) & ب.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. (A) (B) اجابت نمودندہ.

<sup>7</sup> Omit the words دار گیری MSS. (A) (B).

of severe diseases,<sup>1</sup> and when the diagnosis was arrived at that the source of the disease was a poison, which had been poured into his life's cup by the hand of circumstance, he was led by the whisperings of interested advisers<sup>2</sup> to entertain suspicion against Humayun, and imagined that perhaps it was he who had administered<sup>3</sup> poison to him. Ill as he was he returned to Lahore, and in breach<sup>4</sup> of his former agreement that he would leave the whole of his army at Agra in the service of the king, took the whole of it<sup>5</sup> with him, with the exception of two thousand men whom he left under the command of Sikandar Muza Haidar the Mughal and Dughlat<sup>6</sup>. Kashmiri also remained at Agra, and were kindly treated. Shir Khan waxed bold at the success of these hypocrisies, and towards the close of the year<sup>7</sup> aforesaid reached the bank of the Ganges, and despatching a<sup>8</sup> force under his son Qutb Khan, sent him across [the Ganges]<sup>9</sup> against Kalpi and Itawa. Qasim Husain Sultan Usbeg, in concert with Yadgar Nasu Muza and Iskandar Sultan, after a fight in the vicinity of Kalpi put to death the son of Shir Khan with a large number<sup>10</sup> of his following, sending their heads to Agra.

Humayun started to oppose Shir Khan with a large force composed of some hundred thousand cavalry, and crossing the river of Qinauj encamped in face of his enemy for the space of one month. The army of Shir Khan did not comprise in all more than five thousand <sup>11</sup> cavalry. It was under such circumstances that Muhammad Sultan Mirza and his son fled a second time from the King, and the reinforcements of Mirza Kamian also took flight to Laloi, and the Mughuls of the King's army were scattered in

**امراض متصادة** *Amraz i mutazaddah* Lit Diseases of opposite tendencies : e. those diseases the treatment of one of which tends to aggravate the other

MSS (A) (B) نگفته های عرضه‌گران ۲

\* MS (B) ۵۱ ۸۵/۳      \* MS (B) for سخاوت

<sup>6</sup> Read here حود درد instead of حود درد را همراه.

**Text**

### 6 Read و دعالت MS (A)

در آخوندی for در حواسی

<sup>۸</sup> MSS (A) (B) ساختنی نامی <sup>۹</sup> MSS (A) (B) om t گنج

جمع كثیر (A) (B) 10 MSS

<sup>11</sup> MS (B) says پستانه هر او parjah 1 zar fifty thousands.

all directions. The rains now came on, and inasmuch as the camp of Humāyūn's army was on low lying ground, he desired to march from there and encamp on the high ground. At this very time<sup>1</sup> Shir Khān drew up his troops, and came out to give battle. This engagement took place on the day of the Āshūra, the 10th of Muharram 947 H., and a chronogram was found for it in the words *Kharābī-i-mulk-i-Dillī*.<sup>2</sup> The greater number of the Mughul soldiers refused to fight<sup>3</sup> and took to their heels, while a small body of them who engaged in fight, strove manfully in battle,<sup>4</sup> but things had gone beyond control, and it was of no avail. The king rode off with the intention of going to the high ground. This action of his in itself afforded an excuse to his men to flee, and a serious defeat ensued. Moreover the king while crossing the river Ganges became separated from his horse, and by the help of Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad of Ghaznī (who eventually became the foster-father of the prince's most excellent majesty, and was honoured in Hindūstān with the title of A'zam Khān),<sup>5</sup> escaped from the water and returned to Āgra; but seeing that<sup>6</sup> the enemy's army was coming up in pursuit, he could not remain there,<sup>7</sup> so made his way to the Pānjāb with all speed.

At the commencement of Rabi'n-l-awwal of this year all the Sultāns and Amīrs of the Chaghatai tribe<sup>8</sup> assembled for conference in Lāhor. Hypocrisy was still the order of the day, and Muḥammad Sultān and his sons fled from Lāhor to Multān, while Mīrzā Hindāl and Mīrzā Yādgār Nāṣir thought it advisable to proceed to Bhakkār and Tatta. Mīrzā Kāmrān

<sup>1</sup> MSS. (A) (B) حین ہمیں در.

<sup>2</sup> خوابی ملک دلی. These letters give the date 947 H.

<sup>3</sup> *Jang nā karda*. MS. (A) omits ترتیب.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (B) reads دادند کشش و کوشش وار.

<sup>5</sup> Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Atka Khān, son of Mīr Yār Muḥammad of Ghaznī. See Āīn-i-Akbarī (Blochmann) I, p. 321 (No. 15).

The word *Atka*, *Atikā*, or *Atākā* is a Turkī word, signifying précepteur instituteur, père de lait (Pavet de Courteilles).

The wife of Shamsu-d-Dīn was appointed *anakah* or wet-nurse to Prince Akbar at Amarkot.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) omits چون قوار نتوانستند گرفت.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read راشیدی. For a full account of the Line of Chaghatai, see Ney and Elias *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, pp. 28 et seqq. MS. (B) writes گذشت.

prayed that this conference might speedily be dissolved so that he might go to Kahnī. After long consultation Humāyūn sent Mirzā Haidar with a large party who had accepted service in Kashmīr, to that district. It was agreed<sup>1</sup> that Khwāja Kalān Bēg should follow Mirzā Haidar, and that Humāyūn himself also should proceed thither after the conquest of Kashmīr.

When Mirzā Haidar arrived at Nānshahā<sup>2</sup> which is a well-known place, he entered that country with the concurrence of certain Kashmīris and conquered it and on the 22nd of Rajab of this same year he gained possession of that country. Khwāja Kalān Bēg had gone to Sālkot. When tidings reached the king that Shāh Khān had crossed the river at Saltānpur and had arrived within thirty *krohs* of Lāhor, Humayun, on the first of the month of Rajab in the aforesaid year, crossed the river of Lāhor, and Mirza Kāmrān, after breaking his solemn vows, agreed for certain reasons to accompany Humāyūn as far as the neighbourhood of Bahira, and Khwāja Kalān Bēg made forced marches from Sālkot, and joined Humāyūn's camp. Mirzā Kāmrān together with Mirza 'Askārī, separating<sup>3</sup> from the king, proceeded in company with Khwāja Kalān Bēg towards Kabul, while Humāyūn proceeded towards Sind Muzā Hindal, and Mirza Yadgar Nasir also, after accompanying him for a few stages, left him, and after a few days returned, by the counsel of<sup>4</sup> Amir Abūl Baqā. On the banks of the Indus such great scarcity prevailed in the camp of Humayun, that one *sir*<sup>5</sup> of the smaller millet<sup>6</sup> could sometimes not be bought even for an *ashrafī*.<sup>7</sup> The greater part of the army perished owing to this scarcity, while others died from want of water, till at last Humāyūn with a small number passed on to the districts of Jaisalmīr,<sup>8</sup> and the country of Marwā, where strange<sup>9</sup> incidents

<sup>1</sup> MSS (A) (B) مقرر ملکتیہ

<sup>2</sup> Nowshera

<sup>3</sup> MSS (A) (B) supplying جل.

<sup>4</sup> MS (B) reads سبب & in company with <sup>5</sup> About two pounds

<sup>6</sup> حواری غلہ <sup>7</sup> Ghalla ; jawari This is the Hindustani, or rather, the Panjabī name. In Persian it is called علیجی arzan

<sup>8</sup> The proper average price of this gram being six *dam* per man of forty sirs, the above represents an enhancement of price represented by the ratio 1 6,000

<sup>9</sup> MS (A)

<sup>9</sup> Omit و غریب MSS (A) (B)

occurred. After undergoing great hardships and distress, which it is the invariable custom of the Heavens to inflict, he betook himself to 'Irāq and having obtained reinforcements, Shāh Tahmāsp gained possession of Qandahār and Kābul, and collecting a great army re-conquered Hindūstān. This exploit will be described in its proper place if the Most High God will it so.

### SHIR KHĀN IBN I HASAN SŪR

Whose name was Farīd and his title Shir Khān, ascended the throne of empire under the above title, which he assumed. The 357. chronogram Kharābī-i-Mulk-i-Dilli<sup>1</sup> was invented<sup>2</sup> to record that year.

Inasmuch as he, by favourable circumstances and his own cleverness and bravery, rose from the rank of Bēg<sup>3</sup> to royal dignity, it is essential to give a brief account of his career. The father of Hasan Sūr, Ibrāhīm by name,<sup>4</sup> in the time of Sultān Buhlūl, came to Hindūstān from<sup>5</sup> Roh, by which is meant Afḡhānistān, entered the service of Sultān Buhlūl, and was stationed in the vicinity of Hissār Firūza and Nārnūl. After his death (his son) Hasan became a servant of Jamāl Khān, one of the Amirs of Sultān Sikandar, and was granted the *jūegīr* of the *pargana* of Sahsarām and Khawāspūr, dependencies of the fortress of Eastern Rohtās.<sup>6</sup> He had five hundred cavalry under his command. In consequence of the unkindness of his father, and the jealous enmity of his brothers,<sup>7</sup> of whom there were seven, he left his

<sup>1</sup> These letters give the date 947 H. (1540 A.D.) MS. (B) adds the date in figures.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. (A) (B) with راوندہ for شد as in the text.

<sup>3</sup> The text reads از هک کی از بک کی MS. (B) MS. (A) از یک کی.

The first seems the only intelligible reading in the sense in which it is translated.

<sup>4</sup> Omit &<sup>5</sup> MSS. (A) (B).

<sup>5</sup> The text and both MSS. read رادہ Radah it should be روہ Roh. See Firishta Bo. text, p. 412, also Elliott and Dowson IV, 308.

<sup>6</sup> Rohtās Sharqī. Rohtāsgarh in the Shāhābād district of Bengal. The other Rohtās is in the Panjāb. See Hunter Imp. Gaz., XII, 78.

<sup>7</sup> The text reads بوداران اعیانی barādarān-i-a'yānī. Uterine brothers. MS. (A) reads اخیاؤنی Akhyānī brothers by the same mother, but a different father. From the context it is clear that Badāoni means all the sons of Hasan Khān by his four wives. (Steingass), see E and D IV, 310.

home and giving up the service of Jamal Khan spent some time in Jannpur in the acquisition of science, and in perfecting himself<sup>1</sup> in knowledge, until he had read the *Kasīyah*<sup>2</sup> with its commentary and other epitomes, besides acquiring by heart the *Gulistān*, *Bustān*, *Sikandarnama* and other works. He used to go the round of monasteries and colleges, associating with the learned doctors and *Shāikh*s of that country, and busied himself with the improvement of his character. After some time he was reconciled to his father, and was entrusted by him with the management of his *jāegers*. Thus he carried out with equity and impartiality, using clever devices<sup>3</sup> for the punishment of rebels, and kept them in check.<sup>4</sup> Later on circumstances again led to an estrangement between Farid and his father, and going to Agra with his own brother,<sup>5</sup> he elected to enter the service of Daulat Khan,<sup>6</sup> one of the chief commanders<sup>7</sup> of Sultan Ibrahim, and laid a complaint against his father and brothers<sup>8</sup> before the Sultan.<sup>9</sup> The Sultan however, was displeased at this and said, This is a disgraceful and inhuman state of things that a father should be displeased with his son and that the son should complain against him.<sup>10</sup> Upon the death of Hasen, Daulat Khan made a representation to the Sultan, and obtained his desire in securing those *parganas* for Shir Khan. There he remained for some time,<sup>11</sup> and eventually was led by the enmity of his brothers to enter the service of Bihār Khan, the son of Daryā Khan Lāhori,<sup>12</sup> who had read the *Khūnah* and issued the *sikka* in his own name in Bihar, and had assumed the title of

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<sup>1</sup> There is a little variation in the reading here. MS (B) reads  
عماں و کسب مسائل علم

<sup>2</sup> Al *Kasīyah fil nahw*. A celebrated work on Arabic grammar by Shāikh Jamain d Din (Ibn-i-Hajib), for an account of this work and its commentary see H. K. No. 9707.

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) *لطف ایجاد*

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) *مودہ بخوبی*

<sup>5</sup> Nizam Khan was the brother of Farid Khan by the same mother

<sup>6</sup> Daulat Khan the son of Bodhu was a commander of 12 000 horse and in great favour with Sultan Ibrahim (E. D. IV 321)

<sup>7</sup> MS (A) omits *کمار*

<sup>8</sup> MS (A) omits *دیگر*

<sup>9</sup> MSS (A) (B) supply ,

<sup>10</sup> Read here *انکھ پدر اور ناراصل فاشد* MS (B)-

<sup>11</sup> (MSS) (AB) سو و دو و

<sup>12</sup> MSS (A) (B) *بوجلی*

Sultān Muḥammad. This was at the time when Sultān Ibrāhīm had taken the field at Pānipath, and Bābar Pādshāh had conquered Hindūstān and planted<sup>1</sup> the banner of sovereignty. Here he was well received, and as one day, when on a hunting expedition, he killed a tiger in the presence of Sultān Muḥammad, the title of Shīr Khān was bestowed upon him by the Sultān, who also appointed him to be tutor<sup>2</sup> to his son Jalāl Khān. After some time Muḥammad Khān Sūr, governor of the country of Chaund, made an attempt to turn Sultān Muḥammad against Shīr Khān, with the object of advancing the interest of his brothers, and having succeeded in getting an order from Sultān Muḥammad that the brothers were to have a share in the management of the *parganas*, sent Suleimān, son of Hasan Sūr who has been mentioned, accompanied by one of his servants named Shādī to Khawāṣpūr, and Bhaka the servant of Shīr Khān who was known as the father of Khawāṣ Khān engaged in battle with Suleimān and was killed. The remainder fled, and came to Shīr Khān at Salisarām. Shīr Khān had no longer the power to cope with Muḥammad Khān, nor the inclination to serve Sultān Muḥammad, he accordingly abandoned his position and *jāegīr*, and having no other resource betook himself to Sultān Junaid Birlās, who was holding the Government of Karra and Mānikpūr on behalf of Bābar Padshāh.

359. He remained in his service, and after presenting many valuable offerings, obtained a fully equipped army as reinforcement from Sultān Junaid, and fought with Muḥammad Khān, wrested from him the *parganas* of Chaund and other *parganas*, and took possession of them. Muḥammad Khān fled, and took refuge in the fortress of Rohtās. Shīr Khān, having wreaked his vengeance on his brothers, made apologetic overtures to Muḥammad Khān, addressing him by the title of uncle; having thus earned his gratitude he handed over<sup>3</sup> the *parganas* he held as *jāegīr* to him on the same footing as formerly, and leaving Nizām his full brother in charge

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) reads آختند for اختند.

<sup>2</sup> Atālīgh Atālīgh, this word is Tūrkī. In its Arabicized it becomes طالقیق, but the other is the correct orthography. Atā līgh literally signifies the relationship of an *atā* or father.

According to M. Pavet de Courteille it signifies "Paternité : nom d'une dignité dans le Turkestān et le Kharisur, chef de tribu : qui élève une personne."

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) writes گذرانیده. MS. (B) omits گذاشته.

of the *jāegī*, went again to Sultan Junnid, whom he found just starting to pay his respects to Babar Padshah. Taking Shir Khan with him, Junaid enrolled him among the servants and well-wishers of the king's court. He accompanied Babar on the expedition to Chanderi. In accordance with Mughul habits and customs, and owing to the carelessness of the king in his management of the affairs of State, and the venality of the revenue-officers, and the utter disorder into which the affairs of the people had fallen, matters came to such a pass that if any person<sup>1</sup> had an object in view, he could quickly bring it to pass.<sup>2</sup> One day Babar on the occasion of a banquet, observed him behave in a way which deserved the royal censure,<sup>3</sup> and demanded the punishment of Shir Khan. Those who were present at the banquet related the particulars of his independence and arrogant assumption, not omitting to mention some of his double dealings. Shir Khan accordingly became apprehensive of danger, and fled from the king's camp to his *parganas*, whence he wrote a letter couched in apologetic terms and sent it to Sultan Junaid, advancing as a pretext to cover his return,<sup>4</sup> that since Muhammad Khan was led by feelings of hostility against him to induce Sultan Muhammad to send<sup>5</sup> an army against Shir Khan's *parganas* because of his being in service with the Mughuls, and as he could not easily and quickly<sup>6</sup> obtain leave of absence from Babar, he had accordingly taken this liberty and had at all hazards determined to rejoin those who wished well to the Sultan.

360.

Thence he proceeded to Sultan Muhammad, where he was honoured by increased confidence and by suitable rewards, and was once more installed as custodian of his younger son Jalal Khan, whose whole affairs he took under his own management. After the death of Sultan Muhammad, he obtained absolute control of the whole country of Bibar and its dependencies.

He entered into a compact of friendship with Makhdum Alam, the governor of Hajipur, one of the Amirs of the Wali

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) supplies *کسی*

<sup>2</sup> MSS (A) (B) supply *کرد و قرائت* after *کرد*

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) reads *عذرت* for *عمرت* text

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) has *لطف* with no dots

<sup>5</sup> Omit *می* before *نالد* MSS (A) (B)

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) *ترددی* The text is correct

of Bangāla, who despatched an Amīr named Qutb Khān to undertake the overthrow of Makhdūm 'Ālam. Shīr Khān marched to the aid of Makhdūm 'Ālam, and after a fierce battle put Qutb Khān to death, taking as spoil elephants and treasure and many followers. Jalāl Khān and his tribe, who are Lūhānis,<sup>2</sup> in spite of Shīr Khān, made over Bihār to the ruler of Bangāla and elected to serve under him, and leaving Shīr Khān to his fate, took care to secure their own safety.

The Bangālis in the first instance sent Ibrāhīm Khān, the son of the Qutb Khān above mentioned, against Shīr Khān to wreak vengeance upon him. Shīr Khān used daily to fight with them from within the fort, but since the Bangālis received large reinforcements, and no way of retreat remained open to him, he yielded to necessity and fought a battle with them in the open<sup>3</sup> in which he gained the day. Ibrāhīm Khān also seeing what had occurred went and joined his father, and Shīr Khān seized the whole of the camp of the Bangālis<sup>4</sup> with their elephants and artillery, acquiring thereby great renown, so that he established a lasting and undivided control over the country of Bihār and raised himself to the dignity of a Sultān. He next wrested the fortress of Chinār together with its vast treasures from the sons of [Jamāl Khān Sārang-Khāni<sup>5</sup>]<sup>6</sup> Tāj Khān, one of the Amīrs of 361. Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī, who some years before had regained possession of it, and took in marriage his wealthy and beautiful wife who had vast stores of treasure. This fact also enhanced his grandeur and dignity, so that the desire for sovereignty daily gained more ascendancy over his mind, till at last certain powerful Amīrs of the Afghān Lodī faction summoned from Chitor Sultān Maḥmūd, son of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, who, after raising Ḥasan Khān Miwātī and Rānā Sānkā to royal power, had induced him to fight with Bābar Pādshāh, and subsequently to his defeat<sup>7</sup> had remained in the fortress of Chitor, and seated him upon the throne in Patna.<sup>8</sup> He accordingly came with a vast army and invaded the country of Bihār, and wresting it from Shīr Khān took possession of it. Shīr Khān was perforce compelled to

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) supplies و.

<sup>2</sup> نوحانیان (A) (B).

<sup>3</sup> MS. (B) reads جنگ صعب، but the textual reading جنگ صاف is correct.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A). بندگاله.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (B). ساراحانی.

<sup>6</sup> Not in MS. (A).

<sup>7</sup> MS. (A). بعد از شکست.

<sup>8</sup> MS. (A) omits در ولایت پتنہ.

submit, and entered his service, and taking leave came to Sahsaram Sultān Mahmūd passing by Sahsaram, after writing and making over to Shir Khān an agreement relating to Bihār,<sup>1</sup> thereby raising his hopes, despatched him to attempt the conquest of Jaunpūr and to engage in war with the Amirs of Humayun Padshah He thus brought the whole of that province as far as Lūkhnau into his own<sup>2</sup> power The Amirs of Hmāyūn Padshāh could not stand against (Shir Khān), and proceeding to Kālmājī<sup>3</sup> gave in their allegiance to him Humayun marched to oppose Sultān Mahmūd, and Baban and Bayazid,<sup>4</sup> who were with him<sup>5</sup> When the two armies met Shir Khan, who had stood aloof from Sultān Mahmud for some days, again joined his force, and sent a message to Mīr Hindu Bēg Quchin, Commander in chief of the Mughul army, saying that on the day of the battle he would make a flank movement and stand on one side You and the Afghāns, said he, well know how utterly I abhor and detest the command of Sultān Mahmūd and Baban<sup>6</sup> and Bayazid

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Verse

If I committed a fault, I have at all events made my road clear

Eventually he did as he had arranged, and Sultān Mahmud and Bāhan<sup>7</sup> being defeated retired to the country of Patna, and made no further attempts to fight, till in the year 949 H (1542 A D) in the country of Orissa<sup>8</sup> he encamped on the frontier of the desert of non existence, and having gone to the appointed goal remained at rest Humayun Padshah [after this victory]<sup>9</sup> sent Mīr Hindu Bēg as his agent to Shir Khan with a demand to him to yield up the fort of Chunar He, however, made some lame excuse, so the king ordered several noted Amirs to precede him

<sup>1</sup> This agreement was to the effect that should Shir Khan render effectual assistance to Sultān Muhammad Lodi in recovering Jaunpur, the country of Bihar should be restored to him as a reward for his services (Firshāta)

<sup>2</sup> MSS (A) (B) omit حود کالیش (B)

<sup>4</sup> MSS (A) (B) read ویں و بایزید Firshāta says Baban and Bayazid

<sup>5</sup> MSS (A) (B) read متوحد کشند اور دریند متوحد ۲۵. The text is incorrect

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) سونو

<sup>7</sup> MS (1) اور دس سو

<sup>9</sup> Not in MSS (A) (B) which write also میر هندو بیگ

and lay siege to that fortress, himself also<sup>1</sup> preparing to follow them. In the meanwhile Shir Khān wrote a petition in which he pointed out his own sincerity and the favour shewn him by Baban, and recounted the deserving nature of his former services, more specially his opposition to Baban and Bāyazīd. This petition he sent by the hand of Quṭb Khān, his eldest son, together with a large force, to Humāyūn Pādshāh. He sent also with Quṭb Khān, 'Isā Khān Hajjāb, who was his *vakil* with the powers of a *vazīr*, and he fleeing from Gujrāt joined his father in Bangāla. When Humāyūn Pādshāh altered his course towards Gujrāt, Shir Khān himself had risen to great dignity and power, so that he engaged in open battle with Humāyūn on two occasions, and gained the day, as has already been mentioned. Shir Shāh in the early part of the year of his accession laid waste the ancient city of Qannauj, and moving it from its original site re-established it on the banks of the river Ganges; it is now known as Shirgaṛh. In the same manner he destroyed the fortress of Shamsābād and removed it to another place, calling it by the name of Rusūlpūr. Now, however, at the date of writing, it has been repopulated in its old position. And when he arrived at old Dihlī, which was founded by Sultān 'Alāud-Dīn, he destroyed that also, and established between the fortress of Dīnpānāh, which Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh constructed, and<sup>2</sup> Firozābād, an extensive city, and built round<sup>3</sup> that fort a rampart of stone and mortar, having an extent of three *krohs*. On his arrival at Sultānpūr by continuous marches, the brothers of Humāyūn Pādshāh and the Chaghatai Amirs quarrelled, and each took his own way as has been described, and Shir Shāh himself,<sup>4</sup> not giving them time to reassemble, came up in pursuit. In this year he issued a public proclamation that from the country of Bangāla as far as western Rohtās, which is a four months' journey, and also from Āgra to Mandū,<sup>5</sup> at every *kroh* a *sarāi* (rest-house) and a mosque, and a well built of burned bricks was to be established and a *Muazzin*<sup>6</sup> and an *Imām*.<sup>7</sup> A Musulmān

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) reads خود هم.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) supplies و.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) reads here قلعه را.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) supplies خود.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. (A) (B) مندو.

<sup>6</sup> The officer whose duty it is to call the *Azān* or call to prayer before each of the stated times of prayer. See Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*, *Azān*.

<sup>7</sup> The priest who leads the prayers.

and a Hindu were also appointed to superintend the supply of water for each. A refreshment house was also kept stocked for the use of strangers and poor wayfarers. On both sides of the road also, large and lofty trees were planted in avenues, so that all travellers might go along in the shade of them. Traces of these still remain in most places up to the present time, though fifty-two years have passed since then. In his reign justice was so widespread that if, for example, an old man holding a golden tray in his hand had lain down to sleep whenever he felt inclined, no thief or robber would have dared to take it away from him.

Thanks be to God that the writer of this *Muntakhab* was born in the reign of so just a King, to use the words of the Prophet, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him!*<sup>1</sup> I was born in the reign of the just King, on the seventeenth of Rabi'u'n sâni<sup>2</sup> in the year 947 H (1540 A.D.) but, in spite of this, would that the name of that hour and that day had been erased from the chronicles of years and months, so that I had not been obliged to leave the private chamber of non-existence, where I dwelt with the inhabitants of the world of dreams and fancies, and to place my foot into this world of imaginary existence, and to suffer<sup>3</sup> so many scars of various misfortunes, all of which are branded with the stamp, *He loses this world and the next, the context is well-known*

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### Verse

My body bears a robe, surpassing splendid  
My hopes for this world and the next are ended

### Rubâ'i

I came yesterday, and have accomplished nothing,  
To-day my efforts have availed me nothing,  
To-morrow I depart, having learned no single secret,  
Better had been non-existence than this vain superfluity

And when one looks into the matter carefully one becomes aware that seeing that the Lord, the repository of the seal of the prophetic office, upon him and his family *may the peace and blessing of God rest*, says<sup>4</sup> "Would that the Lord of Muhammad had not

<sup>1</sup> MSS (A) (B)

<sup>2</sup> 21st August, 1540

<sup>3</sup> MSS (A) (B) read دایستی کشیده کشیده for دایستی کشیده کشیده

<sup>4</sup> MSS (A) (B) omit *و* writing simple در

erected Muhammad," it is not in the power of a weak-minded mortal (like myself) to draw a single breath in this valley (of desolation), and one fears lest such an attempt should lead to audacity in the way of religion, and lest its fruit should be everlasting destruction. *I entreat pardon from God of all that is an abomination to Him.*

What power has the clay that it should say to the potter

Why dost thou make me and why dost thou break me!<sup>1</sup>

After that Shir Shāh reached the hill-country of Bālnāt. He built there the fortress of Rohtās as a protection for the army of Hindūstān against the Mughūl forces. Then he appointed Khwāss Khān to undertake the pursuit, and returned. While on the march he heard that a commander named Khizr Khān Sarak had become infatuated with rebellious notions and was behaving as though he were a Sultān. Shir Shāh<sup>2</sup> accordingly bent his course thither, and Khizr Khān hastening to encounter him was taken prisoner. Shir Shāh took possession of that country and conferred it by way of *jāegīr* upon several of his Amīrs, and appointed to the superintendence of the fort of Rohtās,<sup>3</sup> Qāzī Fażīlat the Qāzī of the army, who was popularly known by the more appropriate title of Qāzī Fażīhat.<sup>4</sup>

In the year 948 H. he came<sup>5</sup> to Āgra, and in the year 949 H. proceeded to Gwāliār with the intention of conquering Mālwa.<sup>6</sup> Abūl Qāsim Beg, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn Pādshāh who had entrenched himself in that fortress, came in and had an interview

1 Cf. Isaiah xlvi. 9; Romans ix. 21. So also Omar Khayyām

از آب و گلسم سرشنَّه من چکنَّم  
و بین پشم و قصب تو سرشنَّه من چکنَم  
هر نیزِ ک و بدی که آید از ما بوجود  
تو بر سر من نوشَّه من چکنَّم

Thou formedst me of clay. What help have I!  
Thou didst this garment weave. What help have I!  
Whate'er for good or ill from me proceeds  
Is thy prescription, Thine! What help have I!

2 MS. (A).

3 Omit شرقي MS. (A).

4 فضیلت *Fażīlat* means excellence. *Fażīhat* means ignominy.

5 MSS. (A) (B)

6 Omit قلعَه MSS. (A) (B).

with him, giving up the keys of the fort. Mallū Khān the governor of Mālwa, who<sup>1</sup> was one of the slaves of the Khilji Sultāns, and held absolute and unlimited power in that province, offered his services to Shir Shāh, and was honoured by splendid rewards. Shir Shāh also had tents pitched for him close to his own tent, and prepared a hundred and one horses and other apparatus of pomp and dignity in his honour. In the meantime a suspicion arose in Mallū Khān's mind, and one night he took his tent and escaped alone after the accustomed manner of slaves, and fled. Shir Khān wrote the following:—

*Verse.*

You see how the chickon-hearted slave Mallū has treated me  
It is a saying of Muṣṭafā "There can be no good in a slave."

Shir Khān then nominated Hāji Khān Sultān to the subjugation of the province of Mālwa, and Sazāwal Khān<sup>2</sup> to administer the affairs of the district of Sawās;<sup>3</sup> Mallū Khān fought with Hāji Khān and Sazāwal Khān, and suffered a defeat from which he never recovered.

Every weakling who fights with one stronger than he,  
Gets such a fall that he can never again rise.

And Khān-i-Khānān Sarwāni,<sup>4</sup> who was the permanent Governor of the fort of Ranthambhōr, yielded up that fortress to Shir Shāh and came with his family to the township of Basāwar. It is said that some one introduced some poison into his cap. His tomb is in the suburbs of that township, in a pleasant spot, and is well-known at this time:

*Quatrain.*

Death, thou hast desolated hundreds of homes,  
In the kingdom of existence thou makest life thy spoil.  
No jewel beyond price has come into the world,  
But thou has borne it away and hidden it beneath the dust.

In this year Shir Shāh<sup>5</sup> led an army against the fortress of Rāi Sen and besieged it, because Pūranmal the son of Silhadī, one of the Chiefs of Rāi Sen, had attacked the city of Chanderī, which

<sup>1</sup> Supply ~~as~~ MSS. (A) (B).

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) supplies ~~is~~.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. (A) (B).

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) *پرچار*.

<sup>5</sup> Omit ~~as~~ before حاکم MSS. (A) (B).

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A).

is one of the chief cities of Hindūstān, and had put its inhabitants to death, and was keeping two thousand<sup>1</sup> women, Hindus and Muslims, in his own *harīm*. The following couplet was found to record the date of this siege :

*Qiyām-i-bārgāh bāshad mubārak.*

May the stability of the court be fortunate.<sup>2</sup>

After prolonging the siege for some time Shīr Shāh entered into a compact, and succeeded in dislodging Pūraṇmal<sup>3</sup> by the intervention of Shāhzāda 'Ādil Khān and Qutb Khān Nāib,<sup>4</sup> and assigned him a place in his own camp, bestowing upon him a hundred horses, with a robe of honour and a sum of gold; and eventually by the advice of Mīr Saiyyid Rafi'u-n-Dīn Ṣafāwī of Ij,<sup>5</sup> which was given the title of *Mugaddasa* (Sacred) by Sikandar Lodi, broke his word, and caused Pūraṇmal together with his family and children to be trampled to death by elephants. Not a single man of those turbulent and rebellious Hindus, who were

367. near ten thousand souls, escaped in that battle. Their women and men either<sup>6</sup> became food for the edge (*janhar*) of the sword or fed the flames of the fire called *jūhar*, a well-known word in the Hindi language. This chronicle, from that day forward, remained as a record upon the pages of Time, *may God be merciful to its author*. This event occurred in the year 950 H., and<sup>7</sup> after some time he girded up his loins for a holy war to uproot the pestilent infidels of the country of Mārwār, and led a vast<sup>8</sup> army against Rāī Maldeo<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) omits دو.

<sup>2</sup> قیام بارگاہ باشہ مبارک. The letters give the date 949 H. MS. (B) gives this date in figures.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) reads دیور بیل Deorimal and omits اڑانجی.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. (A) (B) omit پاپین.

<sup>5</sup> Died at Āgra in 954 or 957, see *Ain-i-Akbarī* (B). I, 523.

The text reads erroneously ایلچی *Ilichī*-e. MS. (A) reads انجی *Injī*, and MS. (B) reads ایچی *Ichī*. We should read ایجی *Ijī*, in the sense given in the translation. Ij is stated by Yāqūt to be a city rich in gardens and other advantages. The Persians he says pronounce it ایک *I'k* (*Mu'jamu-l Buldān*, I, p. 415).

<sup>6</sup> MSS. (A) (B) ۶.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. (A) (B) ۷.

<sup>8</sup> Lit. exceeding in its numbers the ants and locusts.

<sup>9</sup> MS. (B) omits رای.

the leader of the Rājā of Hindūstan who hold sway over the country of Nāgor and Jānpur, and was a powerful opponent of the Muslims, and inasmuch he one of the maxims of Shir Shāh, from which he never departed,<sup>1</sup> was to throw up an entrenched position round his army, no matter how few the enemy might be, as soon as Māldeo arrived in the vicinity of Ājmīr with fifty thousand picked cavalry trained and experienced in war, intent upon slaying or being slain, and confronted Shir Shāh, he, finding it impossible to make trenches and ramparts because of the sandy soil, held a conference with his experienced and veteran Amirs. No one of them however could devise a way to effect that object. Suddenly Mahmud Khān, the son of 'Ādil Khān,<sup>2</sup> who was grideon to Shir Shāh, notwithstanding his youth said, "Let Shah 'Alam order the bāyāras (grain sellers) of the army to fill eache with sand and arrange them round<sup>3</sup> the army." This idea<sup>4</sup> highly commended itself to Shir Shāh, and he immediately placed the turban upon the lad's head, and bestowed upon him in perpetuity the treaty territories.

In the end Heaven did not favour his designs, and Islam Shah<sup>5</sup> after reaching kingly power, made this unfortunate boy the very first of his family, heire to the kingdom, to have his name blotted out from the page of existence, in accordance with the saying *Al mulku 'aqim*<sup>6</sup> (The kingdom has no heir), and that treatment which he meted out to them, vindictive Time measured again to his posterity.

#### Verse

If thou hast done evil remain not secure from calamity,  
For the nature of things brings about inequalit

In short Shir Shah, who<sup>7</sup> would not give the head of one of his soldiers for a kingdom, and to whom the Afghans were<sup>8</sup> far dearer than can be expressed, was by no means willing to involve

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) omits حلف

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) reads حاں (B) پسر عادل حاں

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) reads for برد و گرد

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) reads اس رای او سوار

<sup>5</sup> MSS (A) (B) read سلیم شاہ <sup>6</sup> الملک عقیم

<sup>7</sup> MS (A) omits حج

<sup>8</sup> MSS (A) (B) read بود

his army in calamity with the ignorant, boar-natured, enrish<sup>1</sup> Hindūs. Accordingly he devised an artifice, and wrote fictitious letters purporting to emanate from the generals of Māldeo's army, to himself, couched in enigmatical language,<sup>2</sup> the substance of them being that there would be no need for the king in person to superintend the fighting, when the armies were drawn up for battle, because they themselves would take Māldeo alive and deliver him up, upon the condition that such and such places should be given them as a reward. Having done this he so arranged that those letters fell into Māldeo's hands, with the result that Māldeo became utterly suspicious of all his generals,<sup>3</sup> and, in the dead of night<sup>4</sup> fled alone without looking behind him; and, notwithstanding that his generals denied their complicity with oath upon oath, saying that they never could have been guilty of such dastardly conduct,<sup>5</sup> and that this was all the handiwork of Shir Shāh in his desire to raise dissensions<sup>6</sup> between them, it was of no use, and had no effect upon Māldeo's mind. Kauhaiyā,<sup>7</sup> who was his minister and agent, abused Māldeo in violent terms, and taking four thousand resolute men devoted to death, or even more than this number, came down upon the army of Shir Shāh, with the intention of surprising them by night, but missed his way, and after marching the whole night, when morning broke became aware that he had left the camp far in rear.<sup>8</sup> After striving to the utmost of their powers, when they had abandoned all hope of life, at the very moment when the army of Shir Shāh came in sight, as a result of their own stupidity, by the good luck of Shir Shāh or by the superior good fortune of Islām, the infidels in a body dismounted from their horses, and renewing their vows of singleness of purpose and

<sup>1</sup> سگسوار بکسار with a footnote variant found in MS. (B) (A).

<sup>2</sup> MS. (B) omits نوشت. <sup>3</sup> خویش امرای MSS. (A) (B).

<sup>4</sup> شباشب واقع نشاد MSS. (A) (B). <sup>5</sup> MS. (A) omits واقع نشاد.

<sup>6</sup> Lit. to cast the stone of discord in our midst. MSS. (A) (B) read ما در میان دو. M S. (A) reads حیله و این حیله for (Text).

<sup>7</sup> This name is given on the authority of Firishta (Bo. text, p. 427). Our text and both MSS. (A) (B) read گوپا Goyā which does not appear to be possibly correct. Brigg's II, p. 122, calls him Koonbha. Kauhaiyā is a proper name among Hindūs, and is one of the names of Krishna.

<sup>8</sup> Firishta merely says they missed their way and reached the enemy's camp in daylight. (Bo. text, loc cit).

mutual assistance binding<sup>1</sup> their sashes together and joining hand to hand, attacked the army of the Afghans with their short spears, which they call *Barchha*,<sup>2</sup> and with their swords. Shir Shah had given orders saying that if any man ventured to fight with the sword with this swinish horde, his blood would be on his own head. He accordingly ordered the elephant troops to advance and trample them down. In rear of the elephants, the artillery and archers gave them a taste of the bowstring, and admitting them to the banquet of death, gave them the hospitality of the land of extinction. The bright surface of the world's page was polished, and freed from the dark lines of the land of infidels, and not one of the infidels got off with his life, nor was a single Muslim lost in that encounter.<sup>3</sup> A poet of Basawar, whose *tâkhallus*<sup>4</sup> is *Faizi*,<sup>5</sup> wrote this verse on that subject:

Suddenly check to the king happened to Maldeo  
It would have been checkmate had not the piece  
Kanya<sup>6</sup> protected him as 'Irâ<sup>7</sup>

It is said that after this victory Shir Shah on several occasions used to say, "I have sold the empire of the whole of Hindustan<sup>8</sup> for a handful of millet". Returning thence and making over the fortress of Raatnabur to his son 'Adil Khan, he gave him leave for a few days to visit the fort, and put the garrison in order, when he was to follow his father. The writer has heard from a trustworthy source, that one day while on that expedition Mu Sayyid Rafi'n d Din, the renowned and unique traditionalist now pardoned and absolved, who has been already mentioned, said to Shir Shah, "All my ancestors were<sup>9</sup> authors of authoritative compositions and used to give instructions in the two sacred

1 The text reads فوطة در ده بادند but we should read بادند *bâsta*

2 *Barchha* A Hindi word meaning a small spear

3 MSS (A) (B) read پامال کرده

4 MS (B) writes needless مک کس صلح شد

5 See Ain-i Akbari (B) I 490 for a full account of the poet Faizi

6 I read here کیا for گویی, see n 7 page 478

7 معری for عربی MSS (A) (B) 'Irâ is that piece at chess which is interposed between the King and a Rook to protect the King from check by the Rook see J R S A xiii p 49 (Bland on the Persian game of chess)

8 MS (A) supplies ب

9 MS (A) و دل و دل

370. cities.<sup>1</sup> I alone of all my family have become so helpless and powerless that in search of the gold and fame of Hindūstān I am blindly wandering. I beseech your Majesty to grant me permission to depart, so that at the end of my days I may be able to relight the lamp of those venerable ancestors of mine.

Seeing that I was not worthy to succeed those mighty intellects who have gone before me,

My hands have spoiled many books, my ignorance has wasted many parchments.<sup>2</sup>

Shir Shāh answered, I should have no objections to make on this score, were it not that I have kept you with me for a special object, which is this that I intend in a short time by the help of God, *He is blessed and exalted*,<sup>3</sup> to clear the heart-delighting plain of Hindūstān of the thorns of infidelity, and shortly to reduce the few forts which remain, with very little difficulty, and passing along the seashore to fight with<sup>4</sup> those Qizilbāshes who oppose the progress of the company of pilgrims<sup>5</sup> to the holy temple (of Makkah) and have given rise to bigoted interference with the established religion and the orthodox followers of Muḥammad, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*,<sup>6</sup> and to send you thence with a mission bearing letters to the Sultān of Rūm, in order that, having knitted the bonds of religious brotherhood between us, you may bear to him a request on my behalf to be entrusted with the service of one of the two sacred temples, *may God increase their dignity*. Then I coming up from one direction [and the *Khwandgār*<sup>7</sup> from the other], may clear out the Qizilbāsh from between us, because<sup>8</sup> as soon as the Sultān of Rūm attacks him, he will move with all rapidity in this direction, and when the Sultān of Rūm withdraws his forces, he will

<sup>1</sup> Makkah and Madīnah. دفاتر <sup>2</sup> Dafātir.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read بعون ایزدی تبارک و تعالیٰ.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. (A) (B) با.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (B) reads حجاج و جوار. Regarding the Hajj or pilgrimage to Makkah, see Hughes Dict. of Islam, art. Hajj.

<sup>6</sup> A footnote variant لله انزله المقعد المقرب بالقيمة is evidently the interpolation of some devout copyist.

<sup>7</sup> MS. (B) omits the words in square brackets.

<sup>8</sup> MS. (A) هج.

ngain return to the place he came from, whereas if we surround him from both directions with this army and the large following we have in Hindūstan, together with that powerful force and its artillery,<sup>1</sup> his resisting power will be nil,<sup>2</sup> and on carefully considering over this matter I can think of no person more fitted to carry<sup>3</sup> this message than yourself, and simply in view of the attainment of this object<sup>4</sup> I cannot entertain the idea of your leave

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It must not be forgotten that it is by no means improbable that this same good intention may be the cause of the salvation of that faithful king from the fire (of hell) although he fell into the fire,<sup>5</sup> in the Day of Reckoning, for the Almighty, *may He be glorified and exalted*, is satisfied with little and very bonifical, and the story of 'Amr ibn La'ī<sup>6</sup> [who for all his vast army and equipment, which gave him the pre-eminence over all kings of Iraq in the four quarters of the globe, was always regretful because he had not been present at the slaughter of Imam Husain, *may God Most High be pleased with him*, so that he might have smitten and destroyed the<sup>7</sup> followers of Yazid,<sup>8</sup> and of his having a vision in which he was walking in the gardens of Paradise] is well known say, *every man acts after his own manner*,<sup>9</sup> that is after his own desire

#### Verse

My brother thou art all desire naught else  
 All the rest of thee is but bone and fibre  
 If a rose is thy desire, then art a rose garden,  
 If a furnace is thy desire thou art its fuel<sup>10</sup>

آتش ناری<sup>1</sup> MS (A)

<sup>2</sup> We should probably read here مَذْهَبٌ for مَذْهَبٍ

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) reads او for او

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) reads عَرَفَ

<sup>5</sup> See next page for the account of Shir Shah's accident at the siege of Kalinjar

<sup>6</sup> See Ibn Khalliqan (De Slane) IV pp 301 et seqq

<sup>7</sup> MSS (A) (B) omit بِلَدَنْ

<sup>8</sup> Yazid the son of Mu'awiyah the second Khalifah of the house of Ummayyah. He is celebrated in Muslim history as the opponent of Hussain who was killed at Karbala A H 61, see Hughes Dict of Islam

<sup>9</sup> See Qur'an XVII 86

<sup>10</sup> MS (A) reads دَهَمَ for دَهَمَ MS (B) reads دَهَمَ

And in the year 952 H. (1545 A.D.) Shir Shāh invested the fortress of Kālinjar, which is one of the strongest and most famous of the forts of Hindūstān, and with great energy and skill in a short time prepared galleries, and used to make daily attacks upon the bastions;<sup>1</sup> and by the time that the galleries had advanced near to the walls of the fort, and the mines were ready, attacking on all four sides he made the condition of the garrison very precarious. Shir Shāh from the position where he was standing, gave orders to hurl grenades filled with gunpowder into the fort. This they did, and by chance one of those grenades struck the wall of the fort, and recoiling with great force exploded. Its fragments fell among the other grenades, which exploded, burning Shir Shāh severely from head to foot. And inasmuch as he was badly scorched,<sup>2</sup> and Shaikh Khalil the son of his spiritual guide, and the learned Maulānā Nāzimū-d-Dīn<sup>3</sup> also were fellow-sufferers with Shir Shāh in this explosion,<sup>4</sup> Shir Shāh as he ran using his hands to cover his nakedness,<sup>5</sup> took refuge in a tent which they had pitched for him in (front of) a bastion,<sup>6</sup> where he lay unconscious. Whenever he recovered consciousness a little<sup>7</sup> he shouted to his men encouraging them<sup>8</sup> to seize the fort, and if any one came to see him he signed to him to go and fight, so that in his absence the Amīrs<sup>9</sup> in command in the trenches worked harder than if he had been present, and

<sup>1</sup> The text reads here مورچہ with a footnote variant مورچھا. MS. (B) reads ملخارہ. MS. (A) however has a totally different reading مرحلا for which I can see no meaning, but we should probably read "bastions" which would be consonant with both the text and MSS. (A) and (B). This supposition is the more probable as some lines further on we have MS. (B) reading مرحلا, MS. (A) مورچل, and the text مورچل. See note 6.

<sup>2</sup> يلمع *Yulma*. The meaning of this word is given in Fazlu-llāh Khān's Turkish Persian Dictionary as *Clüze ki müye ān kanda bāshad*, that which has lost its hair.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) reads مولانا نظام.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (B) reads درین سوزش و شورش.

<sup>5</sup> Both MSS. (A) (B) read هودو دست پس و پیش گرفته. This is a common expression to denote utter wretchedness and poverty.

<sup>6</sup> The text reads مرحلا (MS. (A)). MS. (B), see ante n. 1. مورچل

<sup>7</sup> MS. (A) آید.

<sup>8</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read here فریاد زده مودم را الخ

<sup>9</sup> MS. (A) امرای مورچل.

behaved with the utmost gallantry, and coming to close quarters with the garrison, brought matters to a fight with knife and dagger and did full justice to the demands of endeavour and manliness. The writer heard a story from a most trustworthy source, that on that eventful day of assault, in which the deeds of every individual assailant were conspicuous, and the standards and faces could be easily distinguished one from another,<sup>1</sup> I saw, said he, a soldier named *cip a pie*, who had not previously been seen nor was ever after seen, clothed from head to foot in black, wearing a plume<sup>2</sup> of the same colour upon his head,<sup>3</sup> and riding and encouraging our men in the battle. Then he entered one of the galleries and made his way into the fort. I searched for him everywhere after the battle, but in vain, I could find no trace of him.<sup>4</sup> The men in the other trenches also gave the same account saying, we saw several horsemen wearing these clothes who kept advancing in front of us till they entered the fort and vanished.

*Verse*

If thou hadst not been on the side of religious law, Heaven 373  
itself would have girt its loins,

If thou hadst<sup>5</sup> been on the side of the faith, the Gemini  
would have ungirt their sword

A report became current that, in that battle, certain men from the invisible world had come to the aid of the Muslims. And Shir Shah suffering and distressed as he was from time to time enquired for tidings of victory. The air was terribly hot, and although they sprinkled him constantly with sandal and rose water, it was utterly useless<sup>6</sup> to relieve the scorching heat whose intensity increased hour by hour.

<sup>1</sup> The text reads و عالمات و صورها از مک دیگر صدارت بود MS (A) reads for مک دیگر صدارت بود MS (B) reads صوره. The reading of the text is adopted.

<sup>2</sup> Fazl Nabi Khan gives a word مالوں *Yalaq* in the meaning of علم *alam* a standard or ensign.

<sup>3</sup> MSS (A) (B) agree with the footnote variant بلونہاں رنگ with the words مالوس و عالمون found in the text

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) جایا دیدم

<sup>5</sup> In the first line MSS (A) (B) read دا for در (Text). In the second line MS (A) reads دا for در (Text).

<sup>6</sup> The text reads فاده از الدناب احلا نداشت MS (B) reads آف از الدناب احلا نداشت but the correct reading appears to be آصل نداشت MS (A)

## Verse.

A breast which is consumed by the fire of separation  
Sandal<sup>1</sup> can afford it no relief.

At the very moment of hearing, the good tidings of victory he yielded up his life<sup>2</sup> to the Lord, the Giver of life, the Receiver of life. The following stanza was written to record the date of his death :—

Shir Shāh, he in dread of whom  
The lion and the goat drank at the same source  
Left the world ; the wise sage pronounced  
The date of his death. *Zi ātash murd*<sup>3</sup> (he died from the effects of fire).

His corpse was taken to Sahsarām where was the burial-place of his fathers, and there buried. The period of his military command was fifteen years, and of his Sultānate five years.

It is said that on one occasion when he was looking in a mirror, he exclaimed, “ Alas ! that I obtained my kingdom at the time of evening prayer.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> سندل *Santalum album*. Useful in headache, Sontheimer II, 138. There are three kinds according to the *Makhranu-l-adwīyah*. The white sandal called in Hindī *Chandan* ; the yellow sandal called in Hindī *Mulāgīr* ; the red sandal called in Hindī *Rakat Chandan*. This latter is the wood of *Pterocarpus santalinus* (Red sanders). It is generally called *Debī Chandan*, it is used, not for headache, but after being offered at the shrine of Kālī is used to mark the forehead of the worshipper. The others both *Chandan* and *Malayāgīr* (so called because it comes from Malayālam or Malabar) are used as a powder mixed into a paste with water to apply to the forehead as a cure for headache. They are also used in *pījā* or worship by the Hindūs, who have a saying

*Chandan, dhūp, dīp, malayāgīr*  
*Prem sahit Thākur nahalwāñi.*

With (gifts of) Chandan, frankincense, lamps, and malayāgīr  
I will lovingly bathe the Thākur (Lord).

<sup>2</sup> Omit عاریتی MS. (A).

<sup>3</sup> ز آتش مرد. These letters give the date 952 H. This date is given in figures in both MSS. (A) (B).

<sup>4</sup> That is to say so late in life. Firishta says : Whenever he looked in the glass and saw his white beard, he used to say, “ It was near evening before I attained to empire.”

MSS. (A) (B) writes دریخ کے پادشاہی الخ

## Verses.

My heart! like Khiṣr<sup>1</sup> take and drink the water of life,  
 Like Sīlāndar come and conquer land and sea  
 If thou entertainest any longing for the cup-bearer and wine,  
 Take the cup of Kausar<sup>2</sup> from the hand of the Hūrī<sup>3</sup> and  
 drink.

The fame of thy greatness and glory and majesty  
 Has reached the Koh-i-qāf, go thither and hear its tale. 374.  
 If thou art sitting, for instance, on the throne of Soloān,  
 One day like the ant creep into the recess of a cave and hide  
 there;  
 Two or three days like the spider, spin in the deserted corner  
 of the world the strands of desire and take thy place there.  
 Every beautiful-faced one,<sup>4</sup> whose beauty is unapproachable  
 With that one, to thy heart's content,<sup>5</sup> take thy delight.  
 This world is a dream in the opinion of the wise,  
 Do thou at last see this dream and take it  
 Thy life, O Qādir, is as a fairy-tale of enchantment,  
 Thou hast heard the tale, take the spell of enchantment  
 When the hand of Death tears<sup>6</sup> the sleeve of thy existence  
 Raise thy hand, and seize the skirt of the true Friend (God)

ISLEM KHĀN IBNI SHIR SHĀH SŪR,<sup>7</sup>

Who is Islem Khān, on the fifteenth of the month Rabi'a-l-Awwal in the year 952 H. (1545 A.D.), acting upon the summons of the Amīrs<sup>8</sup> of Bhatta came by forced marches from the neighbourhood of Pataā,<sup>9</sup> and by the co-operation of Isā Khān Hajjāb and the other men of influence and power,<sup>10</sup> succeeded<sup>11</sup> to the imperial throne in room of his father, with the title of Islem

<sup>1</sup> Al Khiṣr. See Hughes, Dict. of Islam, p 272

<sup>2</sup> Qur'an xviii. 1-3. See Hughes, op. cit., p 262.

<sup>3</sup> The women of Paradise. Qur'an iv. 56-78

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) reads سرخون برو for سرخون برو

<sup>5</sup> دل دوازدی دل MS (B)

<sup>6</sup> درد (Text) MS (A); MS (B) reads درد

<sup>7</sup> MS (A) omits سور

<sup>8</sup> A footnote variant نہجہ نا بلغار. MS (B)

<sup>9</sup> MS (A) دیپ Bhatta

<sup>10</sup> اهل حل و عقد

<sup>11</sup> MSS (A) (B) read گشت for نشست (Text)

375. Shāh, and the son of Mulla Alīmad Junaid,<sup>1</sup> who is well known,<sup>2</sup> found this verse of the sacred word:<sup>3</sup> "And already we have written in the Psalms, after the admonition that 'the earth shall my righteous servants inherit,'"<sup>4</sup> to give the date of his accession. He wrote a despatch to his elder brother 'Ādil Khān and sent it to him in Ranthanbūr, of which the following is the substance. "Although the succession was really your right, still as you were at so great a distance there was a danger, nay a certainty of the occurrence of disturbances here before you could arrive. Accordingly with a view to keep down insurrections, I will take charge of the army for a few days as your deputy, and after you arrive I shall have no alternative but to submit to and obey you." Leaving Kālinjar he made for<sup>5</sup> Āgra and in the vicinity of the township of Kūra Khātampūr,<sup>6</sup> Khawāss Khān arrived from Sihriṇd which was his jāegīr, and yielded a forced allegiance, because he was more inclined to favour the accession of 'Ādil Khān as compared with Islem Shāh; a splendid banquet was held and he was anew placed on the throne. Afterwards when fresh despatches from Islem Shāh reached 'Ādil Khān, he referred the question of his coming to the following four persons upon whose advice and opinion as to its expediency he made his action dependent: Qutb Khān Nāib, 'Isā Khān Niyāzī, Khawāss Khān, and Jalāl Khān Jilwānī,<sup>7</sup> all of whom were great Amīrs, men of eminence belonging to his family. Islem Shāh sent this body of men to him bearing an agreement by which he undertook to allow 'Ādil Khān to depart to his jāegīr after the first interview, and to deliver to his control any place in Hindūstān which he might select. 'Ādil Khān acting upon the advice of these Amīrs proceeded from the neighbourhood of Ranthanbūr to Fathpūr,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. (A) (B) جند *Jund.*

<sup>2</sup> MS. (B) omits مشهور.

<sup>3</sup> Supply بـ MS. (A). See Qur'ān xxi, 105.

<sup>4</sup> Psalm xxxvii, 29. 'The righteous shall inherit the land and dwell therein for ever.'

The date is given by the words من بعد الذكر i.e., that which follows الذكر. The value of الذكر being 951, that which follows is 952 H.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. (A) (B) عازم آگرہ شہ.

<sup>6</sup> Kora (*Corah*) Town in Fathpur district, N.-W. P., on the old Mughul Road from Agra to Allahabad. See Tieff, Vol. I, p. 235 and map, Vol. III. See also Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* viii, p. 295.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. (A) (B) جلو (Jalā).

otherwise called Sikri, and Islem Shah<sup>1</sup> left Agra and came to Sankarpur,<sup>2</sup> where the royal palace is at present, to receive him, and when they met they first fulfilled the duties of condolence, and evinced great cordiality, and after a short time set out together for Agira. Islem Shah had plotted treachery against 'Adil Khan, and had consequently made a stipulation that not more than two or three persons should be left in the fort with 'Adil Khan. This however was not carried out, and a large body of followers accompanied him, accordingly Islem Shah was constituted, in order to avoid suspicion, to treat 'Adil Khan with extraordinary<sup>3</sup> fawning and flattery, saying 'I have taken care of these unruly<sup>4</sup> Afghans so far by artful means,<sup>5</sup> now I make them over to you.'

### Verse

Sinjict the intoxicated and riotous one to the warning glance  
of the cup bearer.<sup>6</sup>

Having placed him upon the throne he himself assumed an attitude of submission and obedience, and from motives of worldly wisdom was most punctilious in the observance of courtesy.<sup>7</sup> Although 'Adil Khan was in the flower of his youth, and of great bodily strength (many well known tales of his strength no told), nevertheless, since he was fond of ease and was well aware of the craft and subtlety of Islem Shah and his<sup>8</sup> ways of dealing, would not agree to that procedure, rose to his feet and setting Islem Shah on the throne again with all honour and ceremony,<sup>9</sup> swore allegiance to him, and offered him congratulations upon his accession, with the customary offerings<sup>10</sup> and oblations. Islem Shah, in accordance with the compact which had been made<sup>11</sup> sent 'Isa Khan and Khawass Khan to accompany 'Adil Khan, and having confirmed Bishara to him as a *mazir*, permitted him to proceed thither. Two months later he appointed Ghazi Mahalli, who was one of his confidential attendants, to go and arrest 'Adil Khan.

<sup>1</sup> Omit لی MS (B)

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) reads سنکارپور Sankarpur

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) reads فرق الحق

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) reads سر حوشیم

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) reads لے

<sup>6</sup> From Hafiz. See ole commencing Diwani Hafiz Nawa Kishore Press p 303

<sup>7</sup> MS (A) reads ملائمت او

<sup>8</sup> MS (B) supplies اور وشارکرد و اینوار واقع شدہ MSS (A)(B)

<sup>9</sup> MS (B) omits دو

<sup>10</sup> MS (A)

‘Adil Khān, however, heard of this, and fled from Baiān taking refuge with Khawāṣṣ Khān in Miwāt. Khawāṣṣ Khān then summoned Ghāzī Muḥalli, and bound him with that same golden chain which he had brought for ‘Adil Khān, and having gained over to his side all<sup>1</sup> the Amīrs, set out for Āgra with a large army. Qutb Khān and Isā Khān also, who were two of the chief nobles of the State,<sup>2</sup> with whose concurrence the compact<sup>3</sup> had been made, were annoyed at this breach of faith on the part of Islem Shāh,<sup>4</sup> and with great management summoned ‘Adil Khān at a time agreed upon, namely at day break after the Shab-i-barāt,<sup>5</sup> so that they might own allegiance to him. It so chanced that ‘Adil Khān and Khawāṣṣ Khān, having arrived at Sikri on the Shab-i-barāt,<sup>6</sup> spent that night as a vigil in the service of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī, in voluntary prayers<sup>7</sup> and benedictions, so that their departure for Āgra was delayed long past the time agreed upon, and it was breakfast time<sup>8</sup> when they reached the outskirts of Āgra. Islem Shāh who was alarmed,<sup>9</sup> spoke very courteously to Qutb Khān and the rest of the Amīrs, and permitted them to go and present themselves before ‘Adil Khān. His<sup>10</sup> object was to get rid of his opponents, and that very instant to start alone<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read امسرا عاصلا.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. (A) (B) omit امسرا و قرار (A) (B).

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) (B).

<sup>4</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read ..... و محبته ..... instead of بتوسيط الخ

<sup>5</sup> The fifteenth day of Shābūn. A day of great rejoicing among Muhammadians. Muhammad ordered his followers to keep vigil during this night, to repeat a hundred prayers and keep the next day as a fast day. See Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*.

Briggs in his translation of Firishta says, "as it was the night of the Koorban festival," and in a footnote says, "this fast is kept in commemoration of the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham." The translator however is at fault here, as the original says و چون شب برآ بود (Bo. Text, p. 431) and inasmuch as it was the Shab-i-barāt.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) in error شب برآ ب.

<sup>7</sup> نوافل و ادعیة. *Nawāfiẓ wa ad’iyah.* *Nawāfiẓ* are voluntary prayers which may be omitted without sin, as distinguished from *Farz* which are prayers enjoined by God, and from *Sunnah*, prayers founded on the practice of the Prophet.

See Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, art. Prayer.

<sup>8</sup> چاشنگاهی Chāshṭgāhe. مضریب گشندگی MSS. (A) (B).

<sup>9</sup> MS. (A) omits او and also لی after مخالفان.

<sup>10</sup> Insert تنهٰ after ساعت. MSS. (A) (B) instead of as in the text.

for the fortress of Chunār, seize the treasure which was there, and after collecting the necessary equipment for an army to return and again engage in war. 'Isā Khan Hajjāb warned him of the folly and absurdity of this project, and prevented him from sending his Amirs to his enemy and from starting for Chunār. Eventually Islem Shāh, accompanied by a party of his own bodyguard, and two or three thousand old and trusty retainers, left Āgra with all haste and came out in force to fight, first recalling those Amirs whom he had sent,<sup>2</sup> saying "I am by no means confident that 'Ādil Khan will not deal treacherously with you; you had better return quickly and rejoin me, because the question between<sup>3</sup> him and me can only be settled by the sword."

### Verso

In this case messengers and despatchers can avail nothing,  
The two edged sword will make this matter clear.<sup>4</sup>

The Amirs, however, who were friendly to 'Ādil Khan, on seeing Islem Shāh take the field, refused<sup>5</sup> to return to his side and entered the ranks of the more powerful army, a severe battle ensued before Āgra, and 'Ādil Khan was defeated<sup>6</sup> and fled alone toward Bhātā.<sup>7</sup> Khawāṣṣ Khan and 'Isā Khan Niyazi, who had a strong regard and unbounded loyalty for each other, took the road to Mīwāt and the township of Iñāzpur, engaged the force which had been sent in pursuit of them, and overcame it, but eventually, not having power to resist the army of Islem Shāh, proceeded to the hills to the north of Hindustan, which<sup>8</sup> are called (the) Kumaon (hills), and took refuge with the Rājas of that district. Qutb Khan Naib, having been appointed to attack them, kept continually ravaging the country at the foot of the hills. In the meantime Islem Shāh proceeded to Chunār, and sent the treasure which was there to Gwalior, and on his return, when he reached the township of Kūrah Khatampur, while engaged in playing *chaugān* with Jānl Khan Jilwani,<sup>9</sup> who was one of the married Amirs of the Afghans, and had been<sup>10</sup> an adherent

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) امرای <sup>2</sup> Omit در سعاد و MS (B) <sup>3</sup> MS (B) omits عساکر

<sup>4</sup> This order of the hemistiches is given in MS (A)

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) خار ماندند

<sup>6</sup> MSS (A) (B) شکست (و) نیز

<sup>7</sup> MSS (A) (B) omit درت و

<sup>8</sup> MS (A) omits ب (ج)

<sup>9</sup> MSS (A) (B) حلو

<sup>10</sup> MS (1) در

of 'Adil Khān, and a great object of suspicion to Islem Shāh, by some treacherous device persuaded him to come to his camp, and cast him into chains together with his brother Khudādād, making them over to an Afghān who had a blood feud with them, and having put them to death under the cloke of vengeance, proceeded to Āgra, [and from thence to Gwāliār which he had made his capital],<sup>1</sup> and setting himself to slay and eradicate a party who were favourable to 'Adil Khān, girded up his loins in enmity against them, and swept them one by one from the board of the world like so many pieces in the game of draughts or chess. Qutb Khān also took fright, and fled from the foot of the Kūmāon hills to Lahore, taking refuge with Haibat Khān, to whom Shīr Shāh had given the title of A'zam Humāyūn. Haibat Khān in obedience to a summons from<sup>2</sup> Islem Shāh, sent Qutb Khān in chains to him. Islem Shāh sent him together with Shāhbāz Khān Lūhāni,<sup>3</sup> who was brother-in-law to Shīr Shāh,<sup>4</sup> and Barmazid Kor who was the *Dajjāl*<sup>5</sup> of that sect, and the Hajjāj<sup>6</sup> of his age, and thirteen or fourteen other Amīrs<sup>7</sup> and Amīrs' sons, to the fortress of Gwāliār, where most of them quitted the body in imprisonment.<sup>8</sup>

[Among them was Mahmūd Khān, son of 'Adil Khān, who in his seventh year had counselled Shīr Shāh to throw up a rampart of sand, in consequence of which Shīr Shāh had made him his heir-apparent, as has been related. Another was Kawāl Khān Ghakkar who will be mentioned shortly].<sup>9</sup>

And in this year Salim Shāh summoned A'zam Humāyūn from

<sup>1</sup> Not in MSS. (A) (B).

بِمُوجَب طَلْب

<sup>2</sup> MS. (B).

<sup>4</sup> شوہر خواہ سلیم شاہ بود و بر مزید کور و چند کسی دیگر فریشتا says who was sister's husband to Salim Shah, with Barmazid Kor and some others. Bo. Text, 432.

Briggs translates this, "the king's brother-in-law, who was deprived of his sight," mistaking *Barmazid Kor*. (Briggs II, 182.)

<sup>5</sup> دجال *Dajjāl*. The *Masīhu-d-dajjāl* or lying Christ, the last of the impostors whose appearance was predicted by Muhammad.

<sup>6</sup> See ante, p. 12 n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. (A) (B) omit نامی.

<sup>8</sup> The text reads بداروی تفنگ by gunpowder. MSS. (A) (B) omit these words.

<sup>9</sup> This portion enclosed in square brackets is not in MSS. (A) (B) a foot-note to the text states that it is found in one MS.

Lahor, but he advanced some excuse<sup>1</sup> for not coming in person, and sent Sa'id Khan his brother, who was renowned for courage and sound judgment<sup>2</sup>. Islem Shah received him with the utmost show of favour, and made much of him, advancing him to the highest place of intimacy, but inwardly cherished the intention of putting an end to him, at last one day, having summoned him to a private interview within the palace, he shewed him the heads of the Amirs who had been immured alive in the walls, for instance Zain Khan Nizārī<sup>3</sup> and the others, saying Do you recognize these persons, who they are? He mentioned the names of some whom he recognized Previously to this he had thrown<sup>4</sup> the abovementioned Amirs, men of ability, into a chamber in Gwalior, and setting fire to it with gunpowder had burned them all except Kawāl Khan Ghakkai, who remained under the protection of the All cherisher safe in a corner of the room<sup>5</sup> [It is said that the following was the reason of his escaping, the sister of Kawāl Khan, who had been married by marriage to Islem Shah, being aware of the conference and sent word to her brother, saying This very night they intend to blow up the prisoners with gunpowder She also sent from inside (the palace) four quilts stuffed with cotton, and several skins of water Kawāl Khan poured quantities of water upon the quilts, and under pretence of taking a bath betook himself into a corner, apart from his friends, and rolling himself up in the quilts had gone to sleep when they set fire to the room, and all were burned to ashes, but he alone remained alive beneath the quilt In the morning Islem Shah came to inspect that prison house, and seeing Kawāl Khan alive said It is right for me to release you seeing that fire had no power over you]<sup>6</sup> Then Islem Shah having made him<sup>7</sup> take an oath that he would never again oppose him, released him, and appointed him to assist the Governor of the Panjab to conquer the country of the Ghakars [where he arrived with all his our]<sup>8</sup> In short Sa'id Khan, who had been a witness of this sudden death, gave orders in obedience

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) جو

<sup>2</sup> مولت MS (B) reads مولی

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) omits ساری

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) omits ای

<sup>5</sup> MSS (A) (B) read simply در گوشش داده

<sup>6</sup> This portion enclosed in square brackets is not in MSS. (A) (B) a foot note to the text states that it is found in one MS

<sup>7</sup> MSS (A) (B) omit اور

<sup>8</sup> Not in MSS (A) (B)

to which post horses were tied up along the road to Lāhor, so that he travelled the distance between Āgra and Lāhor within three nights. Day by day the scale turned more and more in favour of the Niyāzī faction, and Ā'zam Humāyūn read the *Khufbah* in his own name in Lāhor. Islem Shāh returned from that same camp and came to Āgra, and summoning a vast army from all sides marched for the Panjāb. Sazāwal Khān came from Mālwa to join this movement, and was received very graciously, and after bringing forward certain important matters took leave, while Islem Shāh, after halting for a few days in Dihlī and ordering his army, set out

381. for Lāhor.<sup>1</sup> Ā'zam Humāyūn and Khawāss Khān, and 'Isā Khān<sup>2</sup> Niyāzī as well, (who had come down from the hill country to join him), came from the Panjāb with armies strong as the hills to receive Islem Shāh. In the early part of the<sup>3</sup> winter time a fierce battle was fought in front of<sup>4</sup> the township of Ambāla, and on the evening preceding the day on which the battle was to be fought, Ā'zam Khān had asked Khawāss Khān: After the victory who will be selected as the successor to the throne? He answered: It may be that it will be 'Ādil Khān who is the eldest son of Shir Shāh<sup>5</sup> and is really fit to rule. It appears that the Niyāzī faction said,<sup>6</sup> The kingdom is not by inheritance, but *He who conquers, takes the booty.*<sup>7</sup> It is a foregone conclusion, what sense is there in this that we should strike with the sword and the kingdom should come to others.

Khawāss Khān, who was heart and soul attached to the cause of Shir Shāh, was displeased at this claim of theirs, consequently when the battle began to rage, he refused to fight,<sup>8</sup> and standing aloof left the battle field together with 'Isā Khān Niyāzī. The Niyāzī faction fought right manfully, without yielding a foot of ground, and were near carrying away the centre<sup>9</sup> of Islem Shāh's

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) reads و.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. (A) (B) omit عیسیٰ خان a footnote to the text states that the words are in one MS.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read only در ایام زمستان In the winter time.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A).

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) supplies پا شد.

<sup>6</sup> نیازیان گفتند باشد.

<sup>7</sup> من غلب سائب من *ghalaba salaba.*

<sup>8</sup> The text reads جنگ ها کرده but this is manifestly wrong, and the reading should be جنگ نا کرده as in MS. (A) (B).

<sup>9</sup> MS. (A) omits قلب.

army, but in the end<sup>1</sup> pluck told,<sup>2</sup> and then efforts were of no avail

*Verse*

Thy wound which utters presage of thy death  
 When it feels thy salt closes its lips

And Sa'id Khān, the older brother of Ā'zam Humayun, attended by a body of men fully armed and equipped, disguised in such a way that no one would know him, came in under the pretext of offering congratulations, with the intention of putting an end to Islom Shah, and with that object asked repeatedly, where is the Padshāh that I may offer him my congratulations on his victory? An elephant driver of one of those elephants which had surrounded Islom Shah recognised the voice of Sa'id Khān, and struck a blow at him with his spear, but he<sup>3</sup> made his way in safety through the crowd of elephants, great as it was,<sup>4</sup> and failed in his purpose made his escape, tho Niyazi faction fled and came to Dhankot,<sup>5</sup> which is near Roh,<sup>6</sup> and the remainder were plundered by the Kawars, while some were drowned in the nullahs of Ambala. Islem Shah pursued as far as Western Rehtās, and despatched Khwaja Wais<sup>7</sup> Sirwanī with a large army to oppose the Niyazis, and returned towards Agra. Leaving Agra he went<sup>8</sup> to Gwalior, and made it his capital.<sup>9</sup> When Khawāss Khan and Isa Khan Niyāzi, who had made common cause, left the battle field Isa Khān went to the hill country,<sup>10</sup> [while Khawāss Khan with five or six hundred cavalry<sup>11</sup> fled to Lahore], [and (Islam Khan)<sup>12</sup> Islem Shah appointed Shams Khan

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<sup>1</sup> MS (B) reads اُخْر for عَانِش

<sup>2</sup> نَمَكْ كَارْحُودْ كَوْد The word 'pluck' seems the best equivalent for the Persian *nimak* which means literally *salt* and secondarily spirit courage. It may also mean however that Islem Shah's men were 'true to their salt'.

<sup>3</sup> The text reads و here which quite loses the sense. Read او MS (B)

<sup>4</sup> Omit حلقة ملاں MSS (A) (B) <sup>5</sup> MS (A) دھنکوب Dhankot

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) رَدَاح Radah <sup>7</sup> MS (A) آواز Anais

<sup>8</sup> MS (A) وَقَتْ MS (B) وقت وَقَتْ MS (A) (B)

<sup>9</sup> We should follow the text here. MS (A) omits the words خان نیاضن and goes on داہم کوہ در گردند omitting the passage in square brackets which follows

<sup>10</sup> MS (B) کس <sup>11</sup> اسلام شاہ MS (A)

Lūhānī as Governor of Lāhor; and at a time when Shams Khān had come out for some undertaking<sup>1</sup> to a distance of thirty *krohs* from Lāhor, Khawāss Khān,<sup>2</sup> with three<sup>3</sup> or four hundred cavalry, each individual man of whom could have withstood an army, advanced with the idea of taking Lāhor, and encamped<sup>4</sup> in the grove of Kāmrān Mīrza. The inhabitants of Lāhor shutting themselves up in the fort held the city till the arrival of Shams Khān, and Khawāss Khān, having cut down the lofty trees<sup>5</sup> of Safidār and Chinār<sup>6</sup> of that grove, had set about making *Sātūr*<sup>7</sup> and ladders, when<sup>8</sup> his cavalry brought news that Rāi Husain Jilwānī and other Amīrs of Salim Shāh's party with an army of thirty thousand cavalry had arrived in the neighbourhood of Lāhor. Khawāss Khān, after a conference with 'Isā Khān, abandoned the siege, and went out some five or six *krohs* to meet (his enemy), and with five hundred veteran cavalry well tried in war hurled himself against that wall of steel. Rāi Husain said to his men, leave the way open so<sup>9</sup> that this black calamity may pass through our midst. Accordingly<sup>10</sup> he made a breach in the line of Salim Shāh's army, and attacked them again from the rear and threw them into confusion. At this juncture he received a wound in the knee which bore him from his horse to the ground, but his opponents had not sufficient enterprise to come up to him and take him prisoner, and he was openly borne off the field upon a *charpoy*.<sup>11</sup>

1 MS. (A) بیہت مہمی.

2 MS. (A) مردو سردار. 3 MS. (A) سیصد. 4 MS. (A) فروند آنندہ.

5 MS. (A) درختهای.

6 The *Safedār* سفیدار is the white Poplar or Abele. The *Chinār* has been already mentioned.

7 MS. (A) ساطور. This word is not given in any of the dictionaries. The only word I can conjecture it may possibly be meant for is the Turkī ساتو *Sātū*, which means the roof of a house (P. de C.) in which case it would have a meaning of a shelter under which to approach the walls, like the Roman *Vineae*, which consisted of a roof resting upon posts eight feet in height, made sufficiently light to admit of its being carried by the soldiers. The roof was formed of planks and wicker work.

8 MS. (A) سواران ۸۵. 9 MS. (A) reads دھنہ رلا ۸۵.

10 MS. (A) reads از میدان بدروود و.

11 I have retained this word in its English dress as being one so familiar to all who know India. The *chahār pāī* is simply an oblong wooden frame on four legs (as its name implies) fitted with a bottom of string, matting

Rāī Ilusain forbade his men to give pursuit, and Khawāss Khan went off in safety towards Nagarkot<sup>1</sup>; whence he proceeded to the foot of the Kumaon hills. The final issue of his affairs will be related shortly<sup>2</sup> in its own place if God, *He is exalted*, so will it. The Niyazi faction set their hearts upon the government of Kashmir, but by the craft of the Kashmirs were enticed into bye ways, and eventually reached their rest in the corner of destruction, as will be mentioned, if God, *He is exalted*, so will it.

And in the year 904 H (1547 A.D.) an Afghan named Usmān, whose hand Sazawal Khan had cut off for some reason, one day laid an ambush in Agia, and at the entrance to a road aimed a blow at Sazawal Khan and wounded him. Sazawal Khan went to the camp, and represented that this attack had been made at the instance of Salim Shah, he then took his way to Malwa. Islem Shah pursued him as far as Banswala, but seeing that Sazawal Khan was hidden among the Zamindārs of Surui,<sup>3</sup> Salim Shah left Iān Khan Sui with twenty thousand cavalry in Ujjain, and reached the capital. In the early part of his reign Islem Shah detailed five thousand cavalry for the chief *sardars* of Hindūstān. Among them Minbariz Khan, the son of Nizam Khan<sup>4</sup> Sur, who was the cousin and wife's brother of Islem Shah, and eventually received the title of Muhammad 'Adil, was appointed as a commander of twenty thousand to the vicinity of Ajawan in the Sarkār of Sanbil, in order that Khawāss Khan and the other Amirs might not be able to raise disturbances in that province, and he appointed as his deputy Pibandh Kharzak.<sup>5</sup> He had also given orders at the beginning of his reign that between every two resthouses built by Shāh Shah which were at intervals of one *kroh*, another rest house of the same pattern should be built, with a temple, and a dwelling place, and a *co-dart* for water, and that a buttery and kitchen containing food both cooked and uncooked, for the use of travellers,<sup>6</sup> both Hindu and Musulman, should be

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or a broad tape called *nīwar* in common use as a bedstead and everywhere known as a *charpoy*. See Hale and Batrell Glossary, s.v.

<sup>1</sup> The portion included in double square brackets is omitted from MS. (B)

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) مذکور کرد حوالہ دش مسند سرود سارو  
نظام حاں سور

<sup>3</sup> Footnote variant سرود سارو

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) writes سرور

<sup>5</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read حرك Kharzak as in footnote variant. The text reads حرك Khabrak

<sup>6</sup> MSS. (A) (B) supply مسافر

always open. Among other commands of his was this, that the *madad-i-ma'ash*<sup>1</sup> and *aimah* grants of the whole of the protected<sup>2</sup> provinces of Hindūstān which *Shir Shāh* had given, and the rest-houses which he had furnished, and the pleasure-gardens he had laid out,<sup>3</sup> should remain just as they were, and should not be altered in the slightest degree. Another order was, that all the *Pātars*<sup>4</sup> should be taken by force from those Amīrs who kept *Akhāras* (these are well known in Hindūstān). He also seized<sup>5</sup> the elephants in the same manner, and did not leave in the possession of any one any but a wretched female elephant fit only for carrying baggage, and gave<sup>6</sup> orders that the red tent was confined solely to his own use. Another order was this, that he brought the whole country under his own personal control,<sup>7</sup> and in accordance with the regulations and custom of the *dāghī* system<sup>8</sup> which *Shir Shāh* had instituted, the soldiery were paid in cash. A further step was to send written orders to all the *Sarkārs* containing comprehensive instructions on all important points of religion, and all political and civil questions,<sup>9</sup> entering into the minutest essential detail,<sup>10</sup> and dealing with all regulations  
385. which might be of service to the soldiery and civil population, to the merchants and other various classes, and which the authorities were bound to follow in their jurisdiction.

All these points were written in these documents whether agreeable to the religious law or not,<sup>11</sup> so that there was no necessity to refer any such matters<sup>12</sup> to the *Qāzī* or *Muftī*, nor was it proper to do so.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Aīn-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann) I, 268, 272, regarding the tenures of land called respectively *madad-i-ma'ash* and *aimah*.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. (A) (B) omit **مَالِك**.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. (A) (B) ساخته بودند. <sup>4</sup> Dancing girls, see ante, p. 250 (Text) n. 4.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. (A) (B) omit **گرفت**.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) **کرد**.

<sup>7</sup> MS. (A). خاصه خود ساخت

<sup>8</sup> See *Aīn-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann) I, 242. Under the *dāghī* system every Amīr began as a commander of twenty, and when he brought his full complement of twenty horses to be branded (خاک دار *dāgh* signifies a brand), he was to be promoted to the next higher grade, and so on.

<sup>9</sup> MS. (A) omits the words **مَعْلَمَات و مَعْلَمَات**. MS. (B) omits **مَعْلَمَات**.

<sup>10</sup> نَقِير و قَطْمَيْر ضَرْبَوْرِي *Naqīr o qīlmīr-i-zarūrī*. *Naqīr* means the small groove on the date stone, *qīlmīr* is the thin pellicle which covers the datestone.

<sup>11</sup> MS. (A) **بِإِيمَانٍ موافِقٍ**. <sup>12</sup> MS. (A) **ابُوا بَاب**: <sup>13</sup> MS. (A) **بِإِيمَانٍ كَرِيد**.

Also the Amirs of five thousand, ten thousand, and twenty thousand, used every Friday to pitch a lofty tent supported by eight poles,<sup>1</sup> and bring the shoes of Salim Shāh together with a quiver which he had given to the *sardārs*<sup>2</sup> in front of the throne, and first of all the commander of the troops, and after him the *Munsif*, that is to say, the Chief Commissioner (*Amin*) followed by the others in due precedence, with bowed heads and every expression of respect would take their seats in their appointed places. Then a Secretary would come and read aloud that order, chapter and verse, which occupied eighty sheets of paper more or less. Any question which presented any difficulty was referred by them in conclave to the various provisions and rulings of that document, by which it was finally decided, and if it should so happen that any Amir acted in contravention of that order, the Secretary used to write a report of that action and despatch it to the Conrt, and the Disobedient Amir would forthwith be visited with punishment together with his family and relations. This procedure remained in force to the end of the reign of Islem Shāh. The writer of this *Muntaħhab*, in the year 955 H (1548 A.D.), when he was of tender age, went to the country of Būjwara, one of the dependencies of Bairānā, with the army of Farid Taran, Commander of five thousand, in the company of his maternal grandfather, on him be the mercy of God, and witnessed these customs and rules of practice. And in the year 954 H or in 955 H, God knows which, Khwāja Wais Sirwāni, who had been commissioned to proceed against A'zam Humāyūn<sup>3</sup> [fought a battle with the Niyazis in the

1 This is a conjecture. I have failed to find the word سرخہ *Surgah* in any dictionary. It sounds like a Turki word. There is a word in the Turki language سوچہ *Sugha* or سوچہ *Saqma* (Faqlu llahe *Khun*) meaning pillar colonne (P do G) and it is quite possible that in copying the word, has been written for , and the omitted by oversight. We should then have سرخہ as in the text and MSS. The meaning is reasonable eight poled shamanas being very commonly used.

2 MS (A) has a different reading to the text here. It reads  
لور کشتی کے سردار ادا بود  
upon a tray which he had given to the Sardar instead of ترکشی کے سردار ادا بود

3 MS (B) omits the words from نامہ to ماحر، the copyist having mis taken his place after the first occurrence of the name A'zam Humayun

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vicinity of Dhankot,<sup>1</sup> and was defeated. A'zam Humāyūn] having taken a strong force pursued him as far as Sihrind.. Islem Shāh sent a large army against the rebels, and at last they fought another battle in the same country, and on this occasion also the  
386. Niyāzīs suffered defeat, and some of their women were captured and sent to Gwāliār. Islem Shāh dishonoured them, and made over to the harlots in his camp the banners and tents and all the tokens of dignity of the Niyāzīs who had fallen into his hands, and naming one Sa'id Khān, and another Ā'zam<sup>2</sup> Humāyūn, and a third Shalbāz Khān, in this way he distributed titles. Moreover he gave them drums which they used to play at their doors at the time of the *naubat*,<sup>3</sup> and the prostitutes used to give themselves airs<sup>4</sup> and used to say *Sag-i-falakam*.<sup>5</sup> This class used to come every Thursday evening, in accordance with the custom of the harlots of Hindūstān, to pay their respects to Islem Shāh, and the heralds and chamberlains used to call out with a loud voice, O King cast a gracious glance hither, for a certain Khān Niyāzi, and Bahmān Khān are here to invoke blessings on thee. This used to annoy the Afghāns who were all of one tribe and of one mind, so that an intense disgust for him had sprung up in their hearts. Some assert that his conferring the titles of the Niyāzīs and giving the ensigns and drums was on the first occasion.<sup>6</sup> God knows the truth. And Ā'zam Humāyūn, who on the second occasion was defeated, was not able to gird himself again to war, and the Niyāzī party being scattered asunder grew daily weaker, and at first took refuge with the Ghakkars in the neighbourhood of Rohtās, making the hill country adjoining the Kashmīr territory their asylum. Islem Shāh, in order to remove the cause of the mischief, marched with a large army, and reaching the Panjāb took up a strong position in the northern hill range, and by way of guarding his head-quarter post built five  
387. forts: *viz.*, Mānkot and Rashidkot and the others. For a space of

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) دھنکوب Dhankob.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. (A) (B) omit خان.

<sup>3</sup> نوبت *Naubat*. Music which is played daily by the band appointed for the purpose at stated hours. See Āin-i-Akbarī (B) I. 51.

<sup>4</sup> طبل عالاً Footnote variant, also MSS. (A) (B) Text reads طبل عالاً *Tabl-i-ulā* (*nawākhtan*). To beat the drum of self-conceit.

<sup>5</sup> سگ فلکم *Sag-i-Falakam*. "I am the dog of the sky," a parodied expression taken from the astronomical *Shir-i-falak*, the constellation Leo.

<sup>6</sup> On the occasion of their first defeat.

two years he kept the Afghans<sup>1</sup> employed in carrying stone and lime, and had such a hatred of the whole tribe that he heaped<sup>2</sup> the dust of infamy and oppression on their heads. At this time he did not give them even the smallest coin<sup>3</sup> by way of recompense. A party of them, however, who had obtained exemption from this labour,<sup>4</sup> he detailed to oppose the Ghakkars, and they engaged in continuous warfare with them.

The Ghakkars in appearance like the tribe of 'Ad,<sup>5</sup> daily fought with the Afghans, and by night entered their camp like thieves, and used to carry off whomsoever they might find, woman or man, freed man or slave, and keep them in bonds with the utmost rigour, and sell them. The Afghans<sup>6</sup> disgraced them in the dirt, and gave them the nickname of Roswāī (disgraced), but no one had the power to represent this state of things to Islem Shah till at last one day Shah Muhammad Farmali,<sup>7</sup> who was one of the most noted Amirs for wit and good humour in Hindustao, and was also a specially favoured and forward boon companion said, "My Lord the King! Last night I saw in a dream three bags descend from heaven, in one of which was dust, in another gold, and in the third<sup>8</sup> paper. The dust fell upon the head of a soldier, the gold went to the house of the Hindu *daftari*,<sup>9</sup> and the paper remained in the royal treasury." Islem Shah was pleased with this speech, and promised that after his return to Gwalior he would make his accountants draw up an account of the soldiers' pay, and pay them in gold. As it happened that order was never carried out, for in those same days death seized him by the collar.

### Verse

Attend to my wants to day for that draught is of no avail  
Which is given to Sohrāb after his death.

In the end, the affairs of the Niyazis came to this, that when 388

<sup>1</sup> MSS (A) (B) omit دو بزند

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) ریخت

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) مکھ فلسی و حینل ساد ادا Tak fals o jital na dad. The text reads *fulus*. The *jital* is an imaginary division of the dam used only for purposes of calculation. Its fictitious value is only the thousandth part of a rupee. *Ain-i Akbari* (B) I 31

<sup>4</sup> Read باغزد کرد MS (A) MS (B) باغزد کرد The text is wrong

<sup>5</sup> See Sale's Koran p 4

<sup>6</sup> MSS (A) (B) بیدی کشیده ده

<sup>7</sup> MS A قرتابی

<sup>8</sup> MS (A) در دنگری

<sup>9</sup> A scribe, clerk

their strength<sup>1</sup> was broken, and they came into Kashmîr, the Kashmîris, who are<sup>2</sup> born traitors and deceivers, first of all invited the Niyâzîs from Rûjûrî after inflaming them with spurious ambition for kingdom, and in the end their guides leading them astray<sup>3</sup> brought the tribes of Kashmîr to oppose them, and at a hint from Islem Shâh held the head of the pass against them. The women even of the Niyâzîs in defence of their honour girded on quivers, (among them were the mother and wife of Ā'zam Humâyûn),<sup>4</sup> and fighting with the Kashmîris were attacked by a hail of stones which literally covered them, and not a soul escaped. It is said that in the reign of Shir Shâh a body of the Afghâns of the tribe of Sanbal invited the Niyâzîs to Dhankot under treaty, and put two thousand of them to death in obedience to the orders of Shir Shâh, putting their wives and children to the sword. Five years later the same thing happened to them,<sup>5</sup> and in this house of retribution they received the reward of their deeds, hand for hand. And<sup>6</sup> in these narrow passes they put all three brothers to the sword, sending their heads as an offering to Salim Shâh. They also sent for him a girl from there. A part of this story has been elegantly told in the *Târikh-i-Kashmîr*,<sup>7</sup> the composition of which is ancient though its arrangement is modern; and at the time when Islem Shâh, had sent troops against the Ghakkars and the Jânoha party who were strongly entrenched on the banks of the river Behat, he himself was occupied in building the fortress of Mângârî;<sup>8</sup> and Kâmrân Mirzâ, after fighting many battles with<sup>9</sup>

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Muhammad Humâyûn Padshâh, fled from Kâbul and took refuge with Salim Shâh, in the hopes that he would give him reinforcements which would enable him to capture Kâbul, in the (vain) expectation that the water which had flowed away would return<sup>10</sup> to its source. When Islem Shâh heard this tidings, he selected from his army the notorious Humûn<sup>11</sup> Baqqâl, who in those

پس خم. ۱ Footnote variant صورت. ۲ MS. (A) ای گدھوئی. ۳ MSS. (A) (B) مان گرہا۔

۴ Omit & MSS. (A) (B).

۵ همان آش در کاسه ایشان بود. ۶ *Hamân âsh dar Kâsa-i-shân bûd:* Lit. The same broth was in their cup.

۷ MS. (A) supplies و.

۸ Text مال گرہا. MSS. (A) (B) مان گرہا. ۹ MS. (A) با.

۱۰ MS. (A) omits باز.

۱۱ Footnote variant هیموون *Haimûn*. The text reads هیموی *Haimûn*.

days, in virtue of his capacity for extorting taxes, had been promoted from being overseer of the market to a post of confidence, and sent him with another body of Afghans to the neighbourhood of Ruhpas to meet Mirzā, and although Islem Shāh in his own mind thought thus a reason for increased confidence in Mirzā, being led to this by the want of confidence<sup>1</sup> he had in the Afghans as a tribe, and the entire trust he reposed in Humān, still Mirzā himself made light of this, and<sup>2</sup> recognizing that there were dregs in the very best draught of the cup was unwilling to come in person.

### Verse

Now indeed thou repentest but thy repentance profiteth thee nothing

Nevertheless, in spite of this Mirzā still believed that possibly Islem Shāh would overlook everything, and would treat him with honour and respect when the time of meeting arrived. However, on the day of public audience, he himself entered with arrogant assurance, and sitting on the seat of a Farvān or a Shaddad,<sup>3</sup> gave orders to Sarimāt Khān<sup>4</sup> the Afghan, a Da'ud Zā'i,<sup>5</sup> who held the office of *Mālik*,<sup>6</sup> in accordance with which he directed Mirzā to perform the customary salutations like the servants of the ordinary public. He accordingly performed the *Kornish*,<sup>7</sup> and those diabolical men<sup>8</sup> out of sheer inhumanity seized Mirzā roughly by the nape of the neck, and shouted aloud several times saying, Your Majesty!<sup>9</sup> Be pleased to cast a glance hither, for Kāmrān the Muqaddam zāda of Kabul invokes blessings. Islem Shāh after ignoring him for some considerable time, cast a hasty glance in the direction of Mirzā,<sup>10</sup> and uttered a hypocritical 390. "Welcome" He then ordered a tent and canopy to be erected

<sup>1</sup> Footnote variant and MS (A) *اعتمیدی*

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) *و لز قبیل اول خم و دردی*

<sup>3</sup> Shaddad the son of 'Ad *see ante*, p 203 n 6

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) omits *خان* <sup>5</sup> MS (A) omits *دارد زئی*

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) *تاریک* *Bārbak* The chief attendant of the darbar or public audience

<sup>7</sup> *Kornish* A mode of salutation in which the palm of the right hand is placed on the forehead and the head bowed. It signifies that the saluter has placed his head (which is the seat of the senses and the mind) into the hand of humility. *See Āīn-i Akbari (B)* I 158

<sup>8</sup> MS (A) *دو مردم* (B) *پادشاھا* <sup>9</sup> MS (A) *دو مردم* (B) *کردو* <sup>10</sup> MS (A) *حاب میرزا کردو*

for Mirzā near to his own tent, and bestowed upon him a horse and a robe of honour, and a slave girl and a eunuch so that they might spy into his affairs. He used also to summon the Mirzā from time to time, and hold converse with him regarding poetry, but their intercourse was always disagreeable, and the Mirzā was worried by those incessant ceremonial visits and shew of politeness, till he grew sick of his life, and was watching a favourable opportunity to make his escape. Moreover the Afghāns used to make jibes<sup>1</sup> at him in the Hindī tongue, and when he appeared in *darbār* used to say<sup>2</sup> *Moro mī āyad*<sup>3</sup> (Here comes the peacock). The Mirzā enquired from one of the attendants, in the presence of Islem Shāh, "What do they mean by *Moro*?" He answered, "It is the name they give<sup>4</sup> to a man of great dignity." The Mirzā replied,<sup>5</sup> "At that rate Salim Shāh is a first rate *Moro* and *Shir Shāh* was a still finer." Salim Shāh consequently gave orders that no one was ever to use that word again,<sup>6</sup> nor to indulge in pleasantries at the Mirzā's expense. At last one day Islem Shāh called upon the Mirzā for a verse of poetry, when the Mirzā recited this *matla'* off hand :

*Gardish-i-gardān-i-gardān gardanānrā gard kard  
Bar sar-i-śāhib-tamīzān nāqışān rū mard kard.*<sup>7</sup>

The revolutions of the circling heaven have brought low the mighty,  
And have made worthless men to lord it over men of intelligence.

Islem Shāh fully caught the meaning of this verse, and gave secret orders to his attendants to keep the Mirzā under open arrest. The Mirzā, however, by the help of the *zamīndārs*,<sup>8</sup> made an arrangement with one of the hill Rājas, and persuaded him, by holding out inducements of various kinds, to station post-

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) (B) هزل.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) ۲۵.

<sup>3</sup> مُوره *Moro* is the Prākrit form of the modern Hindī *मोर* *Mor*, a peacock.

MS. (B) reads صور و مرغ یعنی. Moro, that is to say, a bird.

MS. (A) reads صور و یعنی مرغ, so also footnote variant to text.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) omits میگویند.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (B) omits گفت.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (B) reads نگویند for بگویند.

<sup>7</sup> Read اهل تمیزان for صاحب تمیزان MSS. (A) (B). <sup>8</sup> MS. (B) زمینداری.

horses along the banks of the river Chinen. One night he emerged from his tent with a woman's *châlîr*<sup>1</sup> drawn over his head. The guards imagined that it was one of the women of his harem and offered no interference.

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The Mirza crossed the river with his horse and saddle and succeeded in reaching the Rājā. From thence he proceeded alone clothed in a *burga'*,<sup>2</sup> and taking a *jilnadar*<sup>3</sup> with him, was escorted by some of the Rājā's subjects till he arrived in the vicinity of the village of Ghari Khū,<sup>4</sup> on the bank of the river Belat, and rested there one night. Inasmuch as that village is near Sultānpur the residence of Sultan Ādam Ginkkar, at a distance of three krohs from the fortress of Rohītās, some one went to Sultan Ādam and informed him that a Mughal woman was encamped at such and such a place, attended only by one *jilnadar* and that her intention was to proceed on the following morning. Sultan Ādam sent messengers to make enquiries, and then proceeded<sup>5</sup> in person, and had an interview with the Mirzā, who by persistent entreaty prevailed upon him to give a promise that he would send him in safety to a place of refuge. Sultan Ādam accordingly wrote a letter to Muhammad Humayun Pādshāh, who had recently arrived in that neighbourhood, begging him to spare the Mirzā's life.<sup>6</sup>

The Padshah wrote an order in accordance with this request of his, and sent it to him, but eventually, two years later, he again seized the Mirza, and<sup>7</sup> after blinding him with a lancet

<sup>1</sup> خادار chadar A garment worn by women over the head and body

<sup>2</sup> برق Burqa' Here the author probably means the garment covering the head and body completely and having only a small latticed opening for the mouth and similar openings for the eyes worn by Afghan women when out of doors. See Lane Modern Egyptians for a description of the burqa' proper, which is a kind of veil.

<sup>3</sup> جلودار Jilnadar An attendant whose duty it is to run beside the horse. Abul Fażl says some of them will run from 50 to 100 kroh (100 to 200 miles') a day. See Āmī Akbarī (B) I 139.

<sup>4</sup> Text مدرقی With a footnote saying that this is the reading of all three MSS. However MS (A) reads مدرگی correctly.

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) MS (B) reads گھری جو Ghari Ju      <sup>6</sup> MSS (A) (B) ۳ ۲۶۷

<sup>7</sup> Real with MS (A) میرزا for میرزا (text)      <sup>8</sup> MSS (A) (B) ۱۵۰

<sup>9</sup> MS (A) supplies و

proposal, and folk began to entertain increased suspicion against him, and both small and great talked openly about him. Shāh Muḥammad summoned these two holy men into his own private dwelling for safe custody, and took great pains to entertain them. One night, not long afterwards, an armed band entered his<sup>1</sup> house by the upper story and martyred both father and son who were engaged in their night's devotions. They then left the house, and in the morning the governor of the city came and enquired of Shāh Muḥammad how this had occurred. He absolutely denied any knowledge of the circumstances, and stated that he had no idea who the murderers were; then he prepared a report of the affair under the Great Seal, and sent it together with a despatch to Islem Shāh at his camp. Islem Shāh thereupon sent to Dihli Makhdūmu-l-Mulk Mullā 'Abdu'l-Lāh of Sultānpūr,<sup>2</sup> who was *Shaikhn-l-Islām* and *Sadru-s-sudūr*, to investigate this matter, and also despatched circular letters summoning the Chief 'Ulamā of the time, for example Miyān Hātim Saubalī, Miyān Jamāl Khān Muftī, and others. This conflict lasted two months after this time, and after great argument and enquiry it was with tolerable certainty conjectured<sup>3</sup> that the murderers were agents of Shāh Muḥammad.<sup>4</sup> This result was reported to

394. Islem Shāh, but before any reply could be received Shāh Muḥammad, who had sunk from so high dignity to the depths of disgrace, could not endure the anxiety, underwent venesection and took sour milk in addition, and endured voluntarily humiliating penance. Report also says even more than this, but, every one knew perfectly well that all these austerities and self-inflections, were the outcome of hypocrisy and deceit, and not inspired by religious motives.

*Thou hast forsaken the world for the sake of the world.*

*Quatrain.*

This long time thou hast made thy tongue like a sword,  
So that thou givest the attributes of a lion to one who is but  
a dog.

Thou turnest upside down the storhouse of falsehood  
In order to satisfy thy own hungry belly.

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) omits *وَلِ*.

<sup>2</sup> See Āīn-i-Akbarī (Blockmann) I, Biography VII.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (B) reads *وَمُوْهَنْدِ*.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (B) *وَلَّهُ دَهْنَهُ*.

This event took place in the year 956 H. Another important incident was the affair of Shaykh 'Alai Mahdi of Barāna,<sup>1</sup> which closely resembles the affair of Sidi Manla,<sup>2</sup> which took place during the reign of Sultan Jalāl ad-Dīn Ibrāhīm Shāh, in fact the proverb, *One shoe is like its fellow*,<sup>3</sup> is exactly applicable here.

The following is a brief exposition of this affair. The father of the aforesaid Shaykh 'Alai was called Hasan, and was one of the great Shaykhs of the country of Brugsla, and on his arrival from Bangala on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the holy city of Makkah with his younger brother Shaykh Nasru llah, who was one of the most eminent of the 'Ulamā, came from there to Hindustan and took up his abode in the province of Barāna. The words *Ja'a nassru llahi ual fath*,<sup>4</sup> were found to give the date of that event. The elder brother gave his attention to *Irshād*<sup>5</sup> and *Hidāyat*, and the younger<sup>6</sup> to *fatiq*<sup>7</sup> and instruction in religious knowledge.<sup>8</sup>

Shaykh 'Alai, who was the most orthodox of the sons of the Shaykh, the tablet of whose forehead was from early boyhood distinguished by the marks of nobility and uprightness, and the evidences of a youth to be spent in the worship of God and in following the ordinances of the prophet of God, *may the peace and blessing of God rest upon him*, in the service of his venerable father devoted himself to the acquirement of exoteric and esoteric sciences, and to the improvement of his character disposition and behaviour, and in a short time<sup>9</sup> having read all the routine works by the aid of his natural quickness of apprehension and clear intellect, engaged in tuition and instruction.

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<sup>1</sup> See Āin-i Akbari (Blochmann) I, Biography V, seqq.

<sup>2</sup> See Beale (Oriental Biog. Diet.), p 240

<sup>3</sup> حدو ایکوں جو کوہلیں مانے جائیں They also say حادل حادل، i.e. one feather of the arrow is like another. See Freytag Prog. Arab I 345. As we say As like as two peas.

<sup>4</sup> حادل نصرالله والفتح The letters give the date 930 H. The words mean

*The victory of God and conquest has come to pass*

<sup>5</sup> ارشاد Irshād Orthodoxy <sup>۶</sup> هدایت Hidāyat Guidance direction

<sup>6</sup> MSS (A) (B) both omit حورود but the text seems probably correct

<sup>7</sup> فتنی fatiq Religious or judicial rulings

<sup>8</sup> MS (A) omits the words دین علوم <sup>9</sup> MSS (A) (B) درست

## Verse.

Continual learning is requisite with application and exertion,  
 Always by day argument and by night repetition.  
 Piety, asceticism, worship and reverence,  
 Without these, all acquisitions are wondrous vain.

After the death of his revered father, having abandoned the ordinary conversation and giving up all connection with the delusive phantoms of the world, he set himself to follow consistently the paths of obedience and austerity, firmly occupying the prayer carpet of the Shaikhs, and used to engage in the direction and instruction<sup>1</sup> of seekers of the right way. Nevertheless he still retained a residue of evidences of worldly desires, and in accordance with the saying, "The last thing to leave the head of the just is the love of glory,"<sup>2</sup> seeking as he did to claim superiority over his fellow-men, he was unwilling that any other Shaikh in that city should share his dignity; this he carried so far that on the day of the festivals, from his excessive jealousy<sup>3</sup> and envy, he caused one of the leaders of the contemplative<sup>4</sup> and ascetic<sup>5</sup> Shaikhs of the Sūfi party to descend from his litter, thus inflicting a grievous blow to his dignity. He used to arrogate to himself alone the dignity of Shaikhdom. His other brothers, who in respect of years and experience were his superiors, used also to yield submission to him and pride themselves upon it.<sup>6</sup>

In the meanwhile Miyān 'Abdu-llah, a Niyāzī<sup>7</sup> Afghān, who was at first one of the most noted lieutenants of Shaikh Salim Chishtī of Fathpūr, and who eventually with his permission proceeded on a pilgrimage to the sacred city of Makka, and performed various kind offices and favours for him, taking part with Mir Saiyyid Muhammad of Jaunpūr,<sup>8</sup> *may God sanctify his holy resting-place*, who had claimed to be the promised Mahdī, and adopting the manners of a Mahdī, on his return from the Hijāz took up his

<sup>1</sup> MSS. (A) (B) write تلقين و ارشاد.

<sup>2</sup> "That last infirmity of noble minds."

<sup>3</sup> Badāoni here uses غبطة *ghibbat* in a sense opposed to its classical meaning which is emulation unmixed with envy.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) reads میتھوسم for مترسم in the text.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read منقش for منشق in the text.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read میکردنہ.

<sup>7</sup> See Āin-i-Akbarī (B) I, v.

<sup>8</sup> See Āin-i-Akbarī (B) I, iv.

abode in Biānah, and making his dwelling in the corner of a grove far from the haunts of men on the borders of a tank, used to cast water upon his head, and when the times of prayer came round, used to gather together certain of the labourers, hewers of wood and drawers of water who had to pass by that way, and compel them to form an assembly for prayer,<sup>1</sup> with such a degree of enthusiasm, that if he met any man disinclined for the meeting he would give him a few coins<sup>2</sup> and encourage him, thus not allowing the reward of the assembly<sup>3</sup> to escape him.

When Shaikh ‘Alsī saw his conduct he was greatly pleased,<sup>4</sup> and said to his own followers, This is religion and true faith which Mīyān ‘Ahdu-llah Niyāzī has, whereas the path in which we are held is nought but idolatry and infidelity<sup>5</sup>

So long as a hair's breadth of existence remains to thee<sup>6</sup>  
 The danger of idol-worship still remains for thee,  
 Thou sayest I have broken my idols and my Zunnār, I am free,  
 This idol however, thy slavery to self conceit, remains to thee

Abandoning the customs of his forefathers, and giving up his claims as a Shaikh and a leader of religion, trampling under foot his self esteem and conceit, he devoted himself to the care of the poor of his own neighbourhood, and with the utmost self mortification and humility gave himself up to the service of those whom he had formerly<sup>7</sup> vexed, and abandoning his *madad* : *malesh*<sup>8</sup> and his alms house and monastery,<sup>9</sup> entering the valley of self-renunciation and abnegation, bestowed<sup>10</sup> all his worldly possessions

<sup>1</sup> MSS (A) (B) omit سعاز

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) پولی چند

<sup>3</sup> Concerning this it is said "The prayers which are said in multitudes increase the rewards of those said alone by twenty seven degrees" See *Mishkatu'l Masābih* (Mathew) xxiv 1

<sup>4</sup> MS (B) سیار حوش گردید

<sup>5</sup> حزب پرسنی و ردار داری ندست <sup>6</sup> جس but parash o zunnardan nist The term Zunnar [Gk. *ξωρδην* (Golus) or *ξωρδηρ* (Freytag)] is applied to the belt or girdle worn by the Christian or Magian. It also applies to the Brahminical thread and thus the wearer of any of these is to Muslims an infidel

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) reads تیاک سر صوری توار مهانی یافی است <sup>7</sup> MS (A) مانقا

<sup>8</sup> Lands given for benevolent purposes see *Ām* : *Akbari* (B) I, 270

<sup>9</sup> MSS (A) (B) omit لکر

<sup>10</sup> MSS (A) (B) read شار و ایثار کرد

even to his books upon the poor, and said to his wife,<sup>1</sup> "The pains of the search after God have gotten hold of me, if thou canst endure poverty and hunger come with me in God's name, but if not take<sup>2</sup> thy portion of these goods; and take the reins of choice into thine own hands, and go thy way."

Follow my fortunes, or else depart far from me

She of her own accord was highly pleased with this determination of his.<sup>3</sup>

397.

There are some women who perform perhaps even better than men the duties of religion,  
Just as in boldness the lioness surpasses the lion.

Then approaching Miyān 'Abdu-llah, with all respectful submission to him, he took instruction in the ceremonial observance of *Zikr*<sup>4</sup> in the manner which obtains among that sect.

The interpretations of the Qur'ān, and the delicate points and minutiae and true meanings of that sacred book were easily revealed to him, and a large number of the friends and companions who were in accord with him, and believed in him, some of them unmarried and some with families, chose companionship with him even at the risk of their lives, and following the path of his guidance with the foot of reliance in God, three hundred householders, abandoning all other source of gain and traffic, agriculture and skilled labour, spent their time with him. And whenever anything was given by Providence they used to divide it justly, apportioning to each individual an equal share. If nothing came,<sup>5</sup> comforting themselves with the sacred word, "Men whom neither merchandise nor selling divert from the remembrance of God,"<sup>6</sup> even had they died of hunger, they would not have uttered a sound, and if any person abandoning his vow made according to their mutual compact engaged in any lucrative occupation, of a surety he would expend a tithe of it in the

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) reads جليلة.      <sup>2</sup> MSS. (A) (B) بودار The text reads wrongly برأور.      <sup>3</sup> This line is omitted from MS. (B).

<sup>4</sup> ذکر. *Zikr*. The religious ceremony practised by the various religious orders of Faqirs. See Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, art. *Zikr*.

<sup>5</sup> I read here علی و علیا MSS. (A) (B).

<sup>6</sup> Qur'ān xxiv. 37. رِجَالٌ لَا تُلْهِيهِمْ تِجَارَةٌ وَلَا بَيْعٌ عَنْ ذِكْرِ اللَّهِ

service of Almighty God. Twice daily after the morning prayer and another prayer, great and small would gather in that assembly, and listen to an exposition of the Qur'aan. Shaikh 'Alai had such a marvellous power of attraction that when he was exponing the Qur'aan almost every one who heard him, of his own accord withheld his hand from all worldly occupation, and elected to join that assembly,<sup>1</sup> abandoning his family and relations and children, enduring the hardships of poverty, hunger and religious warfare never troubled himself again about his work or gains, and if he had not that degree of fortitude, his penitence and repentance of his sins and iniquities would certainly have availed nothing, while many a one thought it his duty to empty his cooking vessels at nightfall of all the necessities of life even to salt and flour and water, and let them remain upside down, and they kept nothing in the way of means of existence by them, from their extreme faith in the providence of Almighty God, and the saying "Each now day brings a new provision" was the basis of their practice.

A short account of this sect is given in the *Najatu r-rashid*<sup>2</sup> which should be consulted<sup>3</sup>.

In spite of this they were in the habit of keeping arms and implements of war always with them<sup>4</sup> as a protection against their enemies, so that anyone who was unacquainted with the tenth of the matter would be apt to think they were wealthy. The ignorant think them to be rich because of their modesty<sup>5</sup>. And whenever they saw any irreligious or forbidden action either in the city or the market, they went and called the offenders to account by main force,<sup>6</sup> and admitted no investigation by the governor, and on most occasions they got the best of it, they aided every magistrate of the city who acted in conformity with their religious tenets and principles<sup>7</sup> in carrying out his

<sup>1</sup> MSS (A) (B) insert ب after سعید

<sup>2</sup> سات الرشید *Najatu r-rashid* A MS of this work is in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No E 204. Its author is Badaoni.

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) reads داود <sup>4</sup> MS (A) reads طاو

<sup>5</sup> قدرهم <sup>6</sup> ملائكة ابناء من العطف

<sup>7</sup> قرفة for دراءه او می کوشید

measures, while no one who was opposed to their views could [stand against them. Matters came to such a pass that fathers left their sons, brother left brother, and wife left husband]<sup>1</sup> and entered the charmed circle of the Mahdi, voluntarily submitting to poverty and extinction. Miyān ‘Abdu-llah when he saw that Shaikh ‘Alā’i had lost his influence with rich and poor alike, and that his day was over, was much vexed, and speaking with gentleness and moderation, said by way of advice, The time cannot away with affairs of this kind, and truth nowadays has become more bitter than colocynth. It were wiser for you to quit this vale (of iniquity) and either retire into obscurity or determine upon a journey to the Ḥijāz.

*Verse.*

Alas ! for him who escapes not from public turmoil,  
 Alas ! for him who sets his heart upon the men of this world.  
 The hand of the faqir holds no other coin but that of leisure,  
 Alas ! for him if he abandons that also.

399.

Shaikh ‘Alā’i,<sup>2</sup> retaining that selfsame habit and conduct<sup>3</sup> which he always had, accompanied by six or seven hundred families, set out for Gujrāt in the hope that in the companionship of the chiefs<sup>4</sup> and leaders of this sect he might learn the customs of the inmates of cloisters.<sup>5</sup> At the time of his arrival at the township of Basāwar from Baiāna, my late father took me, the writer of these pages, to do homage to him. In consequence of my tender years, his form remained fixed in my memory as a dream or a vision. On his arrival at Khawāṣpūr which is near Jodhpūr, Khawāṣṣ Khān who had been appointed to that district, at first came out to receive him and joined the circle of his adherents : but in consequence of his devotion to musical entertainments and pastimes,<sup>6</sup> whereas now every Thursday night Sūfis used to assemble in his house, and Shaikh ‘Alā’i forbade music and other prohibited<sup>7</sup> pastimes, and enjoined<sup>8</sup> that which

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A). The words in brackets are omitted in MS. (B).

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) omits عالئي . <sup>3</sup> MS. (B) omits و حالت .

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) reads wrongly باغدان .

<sup>5</sup> Insert in the text را after MSS. (A) (B).

<sup>6</sup> MSS. (A) (B) بسماع و صفائی مقید بود . <sup>7</sup> MSS. (A) (B) مناهی و ملنهی .

<sup>8</sup> MS. (B) reads wrongly اوسو for آسمو .

was lawful and opposed that which was forbidden by law, accordingly their association was not agreeable, besides which opposition and disagreement arose with regard to the upholding of the rights of the soldiery. The saying—

*Verily speaking the truth will not leave me a single friend*<sup>1</sup>

is a well known proverb Shaikh 'Alā'i in consequence of certain opposition which arose, turned back in the middle of the journey and returned to Bajāna, and at the time when Islem Shāh had taken firm possession of the throne of power in Āgra, and the rumours regarding Shaikh 'Alā'i reached his ears he sent for Mir Sayyid Rafi'u d Dīn the traditionist, and Miyan<sup>2</sup> Abul Fath of Thanesar and other learned doctors of Āgra, and summoned Shaikh 'Alā'i from Buana, at the instigation of Makhdūm-n-l-mulk Maulāna 'Abdu llah of Saltanpur. He accordingly, accompanied by a party of select<sup>3</sup> companions, all of whom wore mail and were fully armed, came to the Court, and paying no heed to the customary observances of kingly assemblies,<sup>4</sup> greeted the whole assembly in the manner appointed by the laws of Islam.<sup>5</sup> Islem Shāh acknowledged his salutation with indignation, as the appearance of the Shaikh greatly displeased<sup>6</sup> him and his courtiers.

Makhdūm-n-l-Mulk had fully persuaded Islem Shāh that 400 Shaikh 'Alā'i was a revolutionary who laid claim to being the Mahdi, and that the Mahdi himself would be king of the whole world consequently as he presumed to revolt he was deserving of death. Isa Khan<sup>7</sup> Hajjāb who held a very confidential post, and the other Amirs, when they saw Shaikh 'Alā'i in this displeasing attire, with ragged clothes and worn out shoes said to Islem Shāh "This fellow, in this condition and with this miserable appearance, wishes to take away the kingdom from us does he imagine that we Afghāns are all corpses!"

Prior to the convening of the assembly for discussion, Shaikh 'Alā'i in accordance with his invariable custom, had expounded a

اَنْ قُولَ الْحَقِّ لَمْ يُرِكْ لِي مَدْعَى ۝

میاب (A) (B)

<sup>3</sup> MS (B) omits مخصوص

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) reads می نامند for می نامند and omits سلام.

<sup>5</sup> Omit و MSS (A) (B) نبود (A) (B)

<sup>7</sup> MSS (A) (B) supply حاضر

few verses of the Qur'ān, and delivered such a profitable discourse, in most elegant language, comprising a criticism of the world, and a description of the last judgment, and contemptuous remarks regarding the learned men of the time, and all their faults and failings,<sup>1</sup> that it had the most profound effect<sup>2</sup> upon Islem Shāh and the Amirs who were present in the assembly, notwithstanding their hardness of heart, so that it brought tears to their eyes and left them amazed and confounded. Islem Shāh then rose from the assembly, and giving the matter his own attention sent refreshments from inside the palace for the Shaikh and his companions.<sup>3</sup> The Shaikh, however, refused to touch<sup>4</sup> the food himself, and moreover when Islem Shāh entered<sup>5</sup> he did not pay him any respect, and merely said to his friends: Any one who chooses may eat of it. When they enquired of him the reason of his abstaining from eating the food he replied: "Your food is due to Muslims because you have possessed more than was yours by right, contrary to the dictates<sup>6</sup> of the law of Islām." Islem Shāh notwithstanding this repressed his anger, and referred the enquiry into the truth of that dispute,<sup>7</sup> and the decision of that contention to the 'ulamā.

**Shaikh 'Alā'i** vanquished every one of them in argument by virtue of his quickness of intellect and clearness of apprehension, and whenever Mīr Saiyyid Rafiū-d-Dīn (who died in the year 954 H.) was engaged<sup>8</sup> in citing the traditions which existed relating to the appearance of the promised Mahdī, and the signs by which he would be known, Shaikh 'Alā'i used to say, "you are a Shāfi'iite by religion<sup>9</sup> and we<sup>10</sup> are Hanifites, the fundamentals of your traditions are different from those of our's;" How can we accept<sup>11</sup> your explanations and interpretations on this question? Nor did he spare<sup>12</sup> even Mulla 'Abdu-l-lah himself in his criticism of a single point, saying to him, "you are one of the learned men of the world and a thief of religion, and you engage in so many

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) خطائیات.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) بسیار مؤثر اقتدار دو.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (B) همراهیانش.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) تناول کردن.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) هنگام درآمدن.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. (A) (B) بخلاف حکم شرع.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. (A) (B) آن مبحث.

<sup>8</sup> MS. (B) writes عالیات آن وارد شده شیخ ommitting.

<sup>9</sup> MS. (A) (B) مذهب.

<sup>10</sup> MS. (B) ویا.

<sup>11</sup> MS. (B) reads قبول داریم.

<sup>12</sup> MS. (B) reads و میگذاشت.

illegal practices that you have put yourself outside the pale of equity, so that even to this time the sound of pipe and fabor may be plainly heard issuing from your house, and in accordance with the true traditions of the prophet, *upon him be peace and blessing*, a fly which settles upon filth is by degrees better than learned men who have made kings and emperors the object of their ambition and gad from door to door.

### Verse

Learning which exists for the sake of palace and garden  
Is like a lamp to the night loving thief

In accordance with these premisses he uttered so many scathing satires [on those who preach but do not practise, citing in support of his<sup>1</sup> arguments examples from the Quran and Traditions] that Mulla 'Abdu'llah was not able to say a single word in defence. One day in the midst of the argument it happened that the learned Mulla Jalal Bihim<sup>2</sup> of Agra having turned up that tradition which relates to the description and evidences of the promised Mahdi,<sup>3</sup> read as follows,<sup>4</sup> *Ajalla l-jalilah*<sup>5</sup> on the form of the *asfalu-t tafsīl* derived from *jalil*. Shāfi'ī 'Alī<sup>6</sup> smiled, and said, "Good Heaven!<sup>7</sup> You have given yourself out to the world as a marvel of learning, and yet you cannot read with a proper pronunciation, you have no knowledge of the deficiencies,

<sup>1</sup> Omits ۲۵ MS (A)      <sup>2</sup> Not in MS (B) which reads آورد

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) reads نعمت

<sup>4</sup> Regarding the Ma'di, see Blochman *Arūj i Akbar* I, iii

<sup>5</sup> MSS (A) (B) كَوْنَدَكَ

<sup>6</sup> The text here runs:

كَمْ أَحَلَّ الْجَهَةَ بِقُلْبِ حَمْ وَتَشَدَّدَ لَامْ صَيْغَتْ تَعَدِّلَ مُشْتَقَ بِرَحْلَانْ -

MS (A) reads more correctly - *أَحَلَّ الْجَهَةَ بِلِلْجَاهِيَّاتِ*

*Ajalla l-jalilah* would have no accurate meaning. *Jalil* meaning greatness.

The superlative form with the article is applied to God *الْأَحَلُّ* Al Ajalla

The form *أَفْعُلُ* *af'lu* is called the *مُعَدَّلٌ* مُعَدَّل or form of superiority, i.e., the comparative, or, combined with the article the superlative

۷ *سُبْحَانَ اللهِ* *Subbhan Allah* (lit.) *I praise be to God!* A common mode of expressing surprise or astonishment

and subtleties and minutiæ of the science of tradition.<sup>1</sup> The real reading is *Ajlāu-l-jabħah*<sup>2</sup> which is the form *Afa'alu-t-tafzil* from *jalā*, not from *jalāl* which is your own name."

402. He was abashed and said not another word.<sup>3</sup> They likewise relate concerning Shaikh Mubārak<sup>4</sup> that he was an ally<sup>5</sup> of Shaikh 'Alā'i in this assembly, and from that day<sup>6</sup> he became known<sup>7</sup> as Mahdawi, and Islem Shāh being deceived<sup>8</sup> by his speech and explanations used to say "You must have been in the habit of expounding the meaning of the Qur'ān," he also gave a message to the Shaikh in these words "Give up this claim of yours to be the promised Mahdī,<sup>9</sup> and renounce this pretension secretly<sup>10</sup> in my hearing, and I will make you chief overseer of religion in the whole of my dominions, and whatever lawful orders you have been in the habit of issuing without my authority, continue henceforth to issue these same commands with my permission. Otherwise, the 'Ulamā of this time have given their decision that you should be killed and gibbeted, but I will revise their sentence, for I am not willing that your blood should be shed. The Shaikh, however, who had been successful at every step, and in this easy pretension and partial object of attainment had got beyond the power of even Islem Shāh,<sup>11</sup> cared nought for.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. (A) (B) omit حذف.

<sup>2</sup> اجلی اجنبة *Ajlāu-l-jabħah*. Most wide of forehead. That is to say having that degree of baldness which is termed *Jalā* *jalā*, i.e., baldness of the fore part of the head. See Lane. Lex. s. v. اجلی.

<sup>3</sup> و دیگر مردم نزد دیگر دم نزد MS. (A) reads incorrectly

<sup>4</sup> MSS. (A) (B) have ، before the word شهور.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. (A) (B) correctly read معمد Mumidd. The text has محمد Muhammed mad.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. (A) (B) omit روز reading باز ازان.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. (A) (B) مشهور شد.

<sup>8</sup> MSS. (A) (B) omit بیان فریغندہ بیان.

<sup>9</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read گذشت آی باز.

<sup>10</sup> MS. (A) reads آینه for آینہ.

<sup>11</sup> MS. (B) reads بودیم for بوده.

any ruler and addressed<sup>1</sup> him in these words, "why should I change<sup>2</sup> my own belief at your bidding"

If thou desirest safety, reproach is right  
If safety is lost, reproach is a mistake

In the meantime tidings reached Islem Shah<sup>3</sup> daily "To day such and such an Afghan<sup>4</sup> general has gone over to the following of the Shaikh and sided with him, giving up all worldly considerations"

The following day Bahman and Mulla 'Abdu'llah spent every moment in urging Islem Shah to put the Shaikh to death. At last Islem Shah gave orders for his expulsion,<sup>5</sup> and forbade him to remain in his kingdom, and ordered him to go to the Dakkan Shaikh 'Ala'i who had for years<sup>6</sup> desired to travel in the Dakkan and to see how the Maldawi idens were progressing there, hearing this good tidings recited<sup>7</sup> the text *Verily God's earth is wide*<sup>8</sup>

Then he arose and started without delay for that country

Qāsim, curtail thy speech, arise, and take thy way,  
Cast the sugar to the parrots, cast the encenso to the vultures

403

On his arrival at Handiya,<sup>9</sup> which is the frontier of the Dakkan, Bihār Khān, who was entitled Āzām Hamāyun Suwānt, the governor of that place, kept him for some time in his own family, and having embraced his tenets used to go daily to hear his preaching, and half<sup>10</sup> his army, nay more than half, sided with him, this news was brought to Islem Shah by runners, and roused his indignation. Maḥdumu'l Mulk took great pains to paint the event in glowing colours, and misrepresented it to Islem Shah so that orders were issued summoning Shaikh 'Ala'i. Just at this

<sup>1</sup> Omit می MS (A)

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) دھم تبریزی

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) سلیم

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) ایعلان

<sup>5</sup> MS (B) اخراج او کرد

<sup>6</sup> MS (B) omits باز

<sup>7</sup> MS (A) حواند و

<sup>8</sup> Qur'ān iv 99 قالوا ألم ذكى أرض الله واسعة فتهاجروا فيها They said

was not God's earth wide enough for you to flee away therein?

<sup>9</sup> See *Imp Gaz* V 309 Handiya is on the Narbada in the Hoshangabad District of the Central Provinces MS (A) reads هندوودہ Handuciya and وسدہ for هندوودہ

<sup>10</sup> MS (B) آفہ

juncture Islem Shāh had left Agra for the Panjāb<sup>1</sup> with the intention of quelling the disaffection of the Niyāzī faction ; when he arrived opposite to Baiāna at the halting-place of Bahrsūr, Makhdūmu-l-Mulk said to Islem Shāh " we have earned a few days respite<sup>2</sup> from the lesser evil " by which he meant Shaikh 'Alā'i, " but the great evil, that is Shaikh 'Abdu-llah Niyāzī, who is the instructor of Shaikh 'Alā'i and the spiritual guide of the Niyāzī faction, and always remains in the hill country of Baiāna accompanied by three or four hundred men fully armed and equipped, and raises disturbances there, is still flourishing." The fire of the anger of Islem Shāh, who was thirsting for the blood of the Niyāzīs, was fanned into flame by this breath<sup>3</sup> of suggestion, and he ordered Miyān Bahwa Līhāmī<sup>4</sup> the Governor of Baiāna, who was one of the special adherents<sup>5</sup> of Shaikh 'Abdu-llah, to produce the Shaikh. Miyān Bahwa went to the Shaikh and said : It seems to me to be the best course for you to hide yourself for a few days in accordance with the saying " one should avoid misfortune " and migrate from this city to some other place, then perchance the king will forget<sup>6</sup> all about you and never make an attempt of this kind again,<sup>7</sup> and you will have met the emergency,<sup>8</sup> while I for my part shall have a good excuse.

*Verse.*

404.

Fear not a misfortune when the night intervenes between it and you.

Shaikh 'Abdu-llah would not agree to this suggestion<sup>9</sup> of his, and said, " this is an arrogant monarch and Makhdūmu-l-Mulk is always watching for an opportunity. If they go still further away and then send for me it will cause me great annoyance ; for this reason, seeing that he is only ten *krohs* distant, I had better interview him now, and as for the question of mastery here and there, it will be all one whether it is to be now or in the future, since whatever is predestined will come to pass."

*Man proposes and God disposes.*

<sup>1</sup> MS. (B) omits پنجاب بجانب.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read ياقتمن خلاص.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (B) reads نفیش.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) نو خانی. <sup>5</sup> MS. (A) گرو بدگان.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (B) reads باشند.

<sup>7</sup> MS. (B) reads حروف for سخن.

<sup>8</sup> MS. (A) سخن.

<sup>9</sup> MS. (B) omits سخن.

## Verse

The reins of affairs are not in the hands of one who looks to  
advisability,

Yield the reins into the hands of Fate, this is the advisable  
course

Accordingly he set out by night from Buana, and had an interview with Islem Shah in the morning as he was mounted ready to march, and greeted him with 'Peace be to you.' On the instant Miyan Bahwa seized him by the nape of the neck and bent his head down saying <sup>1</sup> "My friend the Shaikh this is the way they salute <sup>2</sup> kings" The Shaikh looked savagely in his direction <sup>3</sup> and replied "The salutation which is in accordance with the sunnat, <sup>4</sup> and which is that which the friends of the Prophet, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him and his family, used to make, <sup>5</sup> and which he, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him and his family, used to give them in response, is this very form of salutation, I know no other." Islem Shah, with evident aversion asked <sup>6</sup> "Is this the master of Shaikh 'Alâ'i?" Mulla 'Abdu'llah who was lying in wait for him said The very man By order of Islem Shah he was at once seized and most unmercifully beaten with sticks and kicked and cursed, the Shaikh as long as he retained consciousness kept repeating this text of the sacred word "Lord forgive us our sins, and our extravagance in our affairs, and make firm our footing, and help us against the misbelieving folk!" <sup>7</sup> Islem Shah enquired what he was saying Mulla <sup>8</sup> 'Abdu'llah said He is calling you and the rest of us unbelievers, Islem Shah becoming exceeding wroth would still sorer in his efforts to punish and torture him, <sup>9</sup> and kept his victim standing <sup>10</sup> an hour longer while they cudgelled him, and when he thought that the breath had left <sup>11</sup> his body—

<sup>1</sup> MS (B) omits **گردد** and **کف** after **کفت**

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) **سیلہ سالم**

<sup>3</sup> MSS (A) (B) **کلت**

<sup>4</sup> The **سنن** sunnat is the traditional law of Muhammad

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) omits **گردد** MS (B) reads **کی گردد**

<sup>6</sup> MSS (A) (B) insert **کاف**

<sup>7</sup> Quran in 141 See Palmer's Translation

<sup>8</sup> MS (B) omits **کو** <sup>9</sup> MSS (A) (B) read **تعدیت و عقدیت**

<sup>10</sup> MSS (A) (B) omit **او را** MS (B) reads **سواری**

<sup>11</sup> MS (A) **میخان**

One single breath was left as a mediator (between Life and Death),  
 That mediator also rose and departed.  
 he desisted, and went on his way.

A spark of life however remained<sup>1</sup> in the Shaikh, so they wrapped him in a raw hide, and kept him warm for a night and a day before a fire, till he recovered. This occurrence took place in the year nine hundred and fifty-five. When he had regained his health he left Baiāna, and commenced travelling, and spent some time in Afghānistān (Rūh), and some time among the Afḡhāns of Pattan in the Panjāb,<sup>2</sup> on the confines of Bajwāra between Ambér and Amritsar,<sup>3</sup> and was in the habit of saying:<sup>4</sup> This was the fruit of consorting with argumentative people.

Oh ye lords of contemplation, all my trust is in you,  
 But ye masters of discussion. I'll have none of you.

Finally he came to Sirhind,<sup>5</sup> and giving up all connection with the manners and customs of the Mahdawī party (moreover he turned all the Mahdawī party from that faith) began to deal with all the followers of Islām according to the tenets of the orthodox school, till eventually in the year 993 H., at the time when the Emperor was on his way to Benares, he summoned Shaikh 'Abdullāh and granted him a portion of *madad-i-maāsh*<sup>6</sup> land in Sirhind with remainder to his children. And in the year 1000 H., he bade farewell to this transitory world at the age of ninety or thereabout.

### *Rubā'ī.*

If the courser of the sky give the reins into your hand,  
 And if the world gives you wealth as the dust under your feet  
 If your wisdom surpasses the wisdom of Aflātūn,<sup>7</sup>  
 These are all as nought, at last you must die.

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After that Islem Shāh had overcome the Niyāzī faction, and had

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) omits ماند.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) پنجاب در سوحد. Pāk Pattan or Ajūdhan.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read here مابین انیسر و اندرسون. MS. (A) adds before میتوں تین.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (B) می گفت همین می.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (B) omits ہندوستان.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. (A) (B).

<sup>7</sup> Plato.

returned to Agra, Mulla 'Abdn-llāh set about inciting him,<sup>1</sup> and giving him a song which reminded him of former intoxications, again induced him to summon Shaikh 'Alā'i from Hindiya, and to order punishment to be executed upon him, and spared no pains to remind him in the vilest possible way, that Shaikh 'Alā'i had been condemned to banishment, whereas now Bahār Khan had become his disciple and follower, and the whole army had shewn their leaning towards him. Seeing that his own relations had sought absolution from him and had adopted his faith, there was great probability of disturbance in the kingdom. Accordingly Islam Shāh summoned Shaikh 'Alā'i thence, and used still more strenuous exertions than before<sup>2</sup> in bringing matters to a satisfactory settlement, and knowing as he did the ambitious nature of Shaikh 'Alā'i, and recognising that there was no other man among the learned men<sup>3</sup> of Delhi and Agra capable of settling this dispute, he therefore directed Shaikh 'Alā'i to be sent to Bihār to Shaikh Budh<sup>4</sup> the learned physician, in whom Sher Khan had the very utmost confidence, and who is renowned for the authoritative commentary which he wrote upon the *Ishād-i-Qāzī*,<sup>5</sup> and bade him act in accordance with his directions.<sup>6</sup> When Shaikh 'Alā'i went thither, he heard the sound of singing and musical instruments proceeding from the rooms occupied by Shaikh Budh the physician, and saw in his assembly certain other things repugnant both to the natural feelings and<sup>7</sup> to religious law<sup>8</sup> also, the very mention of which is disgraceful, so felt constrained to enjoin<sup>9</sup> what was lawful and to forbid what was prohibited. Since Shaikh Budh was very infirm<sup>10</sup> and aged, and was not strong enough to speak, his family answered for him that certain customs and observances which have obtained vogue in Hindustān are of

<sup>1</sup> MSS. (A) (B) میری شد. <sup>2</sup> Omit خود. MS. (A).

<sup>3</sup> MS. (B) omits ل after دیگر and inserts it after آنکه.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) reads شیخ شیخ Shaikh Hadah (?)

<sup>5</sup> See Hāji Khalīfah, 522. *Ishād*.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) reads نہایت فتوی او. MS. (B) reads عمل میں نہایت فتوی.

<sup>7</sup> MS. (B) شریعتی. <sup>8</sup> MS. (B) دینہ.

<sup>9</sup> MS. (A) reads امور معرف و نبی منکرنے کرد which is the exact opposite of the reading in the text.

<sup>10</sup> MS. (B) omits قانی and reads قدرت for احتمالی and reads احفادش for

such a nature that if one should forbid them in any way whatever, worldly injury, and loss both bodily and spiritual<sup>1</sup> would inevitably result to the prohibitor, also that the women of Hindustān who as a class are worthless, consider that loss  
 407. as the result of restrictive measures, and for that reason become infidels. In any case legalising incontinence was probably a less sin than legalising infidelity.<sup>2</sup> Shaikh 'Alā'i said that this is an iniquitous conjecture,<sup>3</sup> as is proved by the fact that, whenever worldly loss according to their belief is the result of the interference<sup>4</sup> with some prohibited pleasure, and the injunction to obedience is held by them to be the cause of personal death and injury to their property and position, they have not even the fundamental properties of Muslims, so that their conformity to Islām need not even be considered. Seeing that the argument concerns the validity of Nikāh,<sup>5</sup> why should one regret<sup>6</sup> the fact of their not being Muslims? for it is said, *That which is based upon iniquity is most iniquitous of all.*<sup>7</sup> That class therefore stand condemned. Shaikh Budh the physician however,<sup>8</sup> having regard to equity became their apologist and entered a plea for them, praising<sup>9</sup> Shaikh 'Alā'i and treating him with the utmost courtesy and respect.

First of all he wrote a letter to Islem Shāh in the following terms, "Seeing that the Mahdawī question is not indissolubly bound up with the faith of Islām, and very great difference of opinion exists as<sup>10</sup> to the veritable signs by which the Mahdi is to be distin-

<sup>1</sup> The text varies from the MSS. (A) and (B) which read بمانی و جانی while MS. (B) omit دنیوی و بدنه.

<sup>2</sup> We should read here

MSS. (A) (B). بہر حال در تجویز فسق شاید از تجویز کفر بزه کمتر باشد

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) قیاس فامد.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (B) reads wrongly تغیر for تغیر.

<sup>5</sup> نکاح *Nikāh*. The marriage contract. A marriage contracted between a Muslim man and a Hindu woman is invalid in accordance with the injunction of the Qur'ān. The issue of such a marriage is however held to be legitimate. Under no circumstances can a Muslim woman marry any but a Muslim. For fuller discussion of this subject, see Hinghes, *Dict. of Islām*, art. Marriage.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (B) reads کرد for خورد. <sup>7</sup> البنا على القاسم افسد.

<sup>8</sup> MS. (B) reads و for اما and omits در مقام انصاف.

<sup>9</sup> MS. (B) reads کرده for نموده. <sup>10</sup> MS. (B) omits باب.

guished, it is accordingly impossible to convict Shaikh<sup>1</sup> 'Alā'i of infidelity and impiety. At any rate, all doubts regarding him should be removed. Here books<sup>2</sup> are very scarce, whereas there are sure to be many<sup>3</sup> books in the library of the learned men of your country, let them settle the truth of the matter."

The sons of the Shaikh impressed upon him that Makhdūmu l-Mulk<sup>4</sup> was the Sadr's sudur,<sup>5</sup> and said, "This opposition of theirs to him has undoubtedly been the cause of your being summoned. At your great age it is far from wise for you to undertake so long a journey, and to undergo the severe fatigue incidental to it." They accordingly cancelled his first letter<sup>6</sup> and, whether he would or not, secretly wrote another letter<sup>7</sup> as if from Shaikh Budh, couched in terms of flattery of Malla 'Abdu llah, and sent it to Islem Shāh, saying, "Makhdūmu l-Mulk is one of the most discriminating of the learned doctors of the day. What he says is the truth and his decision is the sound decision."

At the time when Islem Shāh was encamped in the Panjab 408 Shaikh 'Alā'i arrived at the camp of Bin Bau when Islem Shāh read the sealed letter of Shaikh Badh the physician, he called Shaikh 'Alā'i to come close to him and said to him in a low tone of voice, "Do you only<sup>8</sup> say to me in my own ear that you are penitent for having made this claim, you shall then be accorded complete liberty to go where you will<sup>9</sup> and do as you please." Shaikh 'Alā'i however refused to give ear to his proposals and paid no heed to him, Islem Shāh in despair<sup>10</sup> said to Mullu 'Abdu llah, I leave him in your hands!<sup>11</sup> Thus he said and gave orders for him to receive a certain number of stripes in his own presence.<sup>12</sup> Shaikh 'Alā'i

١ MS (B) omits سق

٢ MS (A) reads كمدل است

٣ MS (B) omits سعيار

٤ MS (B) reads مقدم

٥ The Sadr-sandur is the chief judge of all religious questions among Muhammadans. He was also known as Sadr i kul or Sadr i jahan. See Ain-i-Akbari (B) I 271.

٦ MS (A) reads دروا پسخ کردن

٧ Insert بعراهمی after حطی MS (B)

٨ MS (A) reads در گوش من نگو

٩ MS (A), (B) insert و before طارع الال

١٠ MS (B) reads مادوس شد

١١ Let You know and this fellow, i.e. the matter is one between you and him

١٢ MS (B) inserts حضور خود after فرمان, not as in the text

himself had a wound in his neck, the result of an operation for the pestilence which raged in that year throughout the whole of Hindustān, and had destroyed the greater part of the people.<sup>1</sup> This wound had to be kept open by a tent,<sup>2</sup> in addition to which he was suffering from the fatigue of his journey, and had hardly a breath of life left in him, so that at the third lash his lofty soul quitted its humble frame and took its flight to the abode promised in the words "In the seat of truth, in the presence of the powerful king"<sup>3</sup> and rested in the pleasant places of which it is said "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard neither hath it entered into the heart of man."<sup>4</sup> And after his death they tied his delicate body<sup>5</sup> to the feet of an elephant, and trampled him to pieces<sup>6</sup> in the street of the camp, and issued orders forbidding the burial of his corpse,<sup>7</sup> and appointed agents (to see to this). At that very time a vehement whirlwind arose and blew with so great violence, that people thought that the last day had arrived,<sup>8</sup> and great lamentation and mourning<sup>9</sup> was heard throughout the whole camp, and men were in expectation of the early<sup>10</sup> downfall of the power of Islem Shāh.

And they say that in the course of the night such a wealth of flowers was scattered over the body of the Shaikh that he was completely hidden beneath them and was so to speak entombed in flowers.

After this event<sup>10</sup> the power of Islem Shāh lasted barely two

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) اکثر خلائق. The bubonic plague appears to have been the epidemic here referred to.

<sup>2</sup> قبیله MS. (A) reads بَدْن.

<sup>3</sup> Qur'ān lviv. 55. The full quotation is

إِنَّ الْمُتَّقِينَ فِي جَنَّاتٍ وَنَهَرٍ فِي مَقْعِدٍ صَدِيقٍ عِنْدَ مَلِيكٍ مُقْتَدِيرٍ

Verily, the pious shall be amid gardens and rivers, in the seat of truth, with the powerful king.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (B) reads بَدْن.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (B) reads پارا پارا.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) reads دُفْنٌ تَكْنَنَد.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read قیامت.

<sup>8</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read غَلَغَلَةٌ وَمَانَمٌ.

<sup>9</sup> MS. (B) omits عنقریب.

<sup>10</sup> A footnote to the text reads شاهی الخ MS. (A) omits

وَبَعْدَ ازْبَنْ دُولَتِ اسْلَيمِ شَاهِي.

The textual reading appears to be wrong.

years. It was in fact an exact counterpart of the affair of Sultān 409. Jalālū-d-Dīn Firoz Shāh Khiljī after the execution of Sidi Maṇla,<sup>1</sup> save that the decay of the kingdom of Salim Shāh was even more rapid than that of Jalālū-d-Dīn. People considered Mulla 'Ahdullāh, who was always vexations to the holy men, to be the cause of all this heart-burdening, and this was really the case.

This event took place in the year 957 H. (1550 A.D.) the writer of these pages was at that time ten years of age, and invented the two following chronograms: The first is Zākiru-lلāh, the second Saqāhūm rabbuhum shārābān.<sup>2</sup>

Among the events which happened in the reign of Islam Shāh was the murder of Khawāss Khān, of which the following is a brief account. When Khawāss Khān, after the battle with the Niyāzis fled to the foot of the hills, Islem Shāh appointed to that district Tāj Khān Karrānī who was the brother of Sulaimān Karrānī, and the most learned and able of the whole Afghān line, and wrote a command from his camp at Bin Bāū, that they were to induce Khawāss Khān, even if it were by means of treaty oaths, to come down from the hills, and put an end to him. However Tāj Khān was unable to effect<sup>3</sup> anything owing to the impregnability of that mountain retreat, and accordingly sent Khawāss Khān the message of Islem Shāh promising him safety.<sup>4</sup> He, relying upon the word of a Muslim, came<sup>5</sup> and had an interview with Tāj Khān, who instantly<sup>6</sup> had him put to death and sent his head<sup>7</sup> to Salim Shāh at the township<sup>8</sup> of Bin (Bāū), and after burying his body<sup>9</sup> at the township of Sarasta, in the neighbourhood of Samhal, transferred it thence to Dihli. This event happened in the year 959 H. (A.D. 1551). As a chrono-

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) reads كشتن.

<sup>2</sup> ذاکر اللہ زکیر اللہ ساقہم ربهم شربا ساقہم ربهم شربا  
The mindful of God. May their Lord give them to drink a draught of wine.

Each of these gives the date 957. H.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. (A) (B) ساخت توازن کاری.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. (A) (B) insert و.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. (A) (B) و مدد.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (B) omits خان و ج.

<sup>7</sup> MS. (B) omits ب and reads سالمان for سالم.

<sup>8</sup> MSS. (A) (B) omits مکتب.

<sup>9</sup> MS. (A) وجنة.

graphical record they invented the words *Musībat ba'ālam shud*,<sup>1</sup> that is to say, A calamity for the world.

One of his magnanimous acts was the following. On his arrival at Kalpi in the company of Shir Shāh he gave two *laks* of rupees to the sweetmeat sellers of that city so that they might send sugarcane to Rantambhor without intermission. In the same way also he gave money to all the mango gardens of Baiāna, so that they might send mangoes day after day<sup>2</sup> to the halting-places for the poor and necessitous.

In the meantime Shir Shāh died, and Salim Shāh appointed persons who recovered the sum of twenty-four thousand rupees<sup>3</sup> which remained of that money, and on receiving it put it into the treasury.

In this same year Shaikh 'Abdu'l-haiyy, the son of Shaikh Jamāli Kanbāwi of Dihli,<sup>4</sup> who was adorned with excellencies of science and poetry,<sup>5</sup> and was a devout man,<sup>6</sup> and the boon companion and specially favoured intimate of Islem Shāh, delivered up the life entrusted to his keeping, and Saiyyid Shāh Mir of Āgra invented the following chronogram:—

He said —

My name in itself would furnish the *tārīkh*

At such time as 'abd (the slave) was not in the midst of it.<sup>7</sup>

Among the events which happened during the time that Islem Shāh was encamped at Biu was the following. One day in the

<sup>1</sup> A footnote to the text says that these words give the date 989 and that therefore there is some mistake.

It appears that the real reading should be مسیبت عام شد *musībat ba 'ām shud*, which would give the correct date, and this is in fact the reading in MS. (A). The text should accordingly be corrected in accordance with this, and we should translate, A general calamity.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. (A) (B) بورز بورز.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (B) omits هزار and reads را after روپیده instead of او as in the text.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) مغلی.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) reads شعرای for شعری.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (B) reads صاحب سخاوت صاحب سجادہ.

<sup>7</sup> The lines run thus: ناصم همی شود تاریخ بندہ وقتی کہ درمیان نیوں.

If we take the name شیخ عبدالحسی and remove from it the centre word عبد 'abd which means a slave we find the remaining words give the date 959 H.

interval between two times of prayer Islem Shâh was sitting at ease upon his roadster,<sup>1</sup> and was proceeding with a small escort from the camp to visit the fort of Mân Gash,<sup>2</sup> which lies at a distance of five or six krohs or thererabouts, in accordance with his usual custom, when suddenly a man sprung up in front of him and blocking the road, holding a sword concealed in his armpit like the proverbial Tarbiqa Shâtan,<sup>3</sup> under pretence of seeking redress (for some grievance) came forward and aimed<sup>4</sup> a blow at him. Salim Shâh, however, with great adroitness caught the blow upon the head of his whip. The handle of the whip was cut through and a slight wound was inflicted upon his face. When the man raised his arm to strike a second blow Salim Shâh sprang forward and hurled himself upon that ruffian, and wrested the sword from his hand. At this instant Daulat Khan Ajyûr, the son of Sigîrat Khân, who was the chosen intimate and bosom friend of Islem Shâh, galloped up and dealt a blow at that miscreant. Others also came up and enquired from him the reason for his action. Salim Shâh did not approve of this<sup>5</sup> and said: 'This wretch will destroy the houses of numberless people, lose no time in taking due vengeance on him.' However he recognised that sword as the one he had given to Iqbâl Khân. This Iqbâl Khân was one of the scum and off-scourings of Hindustan who had rendered Shâh Shâh several services. He was so exceedingly ill-favoured,<sup>6</sup> mean-looking, and odious in appearance that they used to call him Rahmatu-l-lâhi, which in Hindustan is the term

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<sup>1</sup> Read راہوار for راہوار

<sup>2</sup> MSS (A) (B) مان گاش

<sup>3</sup> قبیل شریع. The surname of Hâbit bin Jâbir bin Sâfiyan al-Fâhmi, a famous Arab athlete and warrior, who was so called according to some because the sword never quitted him, or because he put beneath his arm pit (*bat*) a quiver of arrows, and took a bow, or put beneath his arm pit a knife and came to an assembly of Arabs and smote some of them, see Lane s.v. *bat*. According to the account in the *Aqâ'îd*, he acquired his name from having slain a lion in a dark night in the midst of a violent storm of thunder and lightning; when morning came he brought the lion to his companions under his arm, and they said, *Laqad l-tâtabâ'a gharran*; "Verily he has put destruction under his arm."

<sup>4</sup> MSS (A) (B) شدہ گفت (جھوپ، نر اداحت) <sup>5</sup> MSS (A) (B) راضی و شدہ گفت

<sup>6</sup> MS (B) omits آسیار. Us (A) omits آسیار inserting it after جھوپ

applied to a weaver.<sup>1</sup> Islem Shāh himself<sup>2</sup> had raised him from the very lowest of the low, and had given him a position of intimacy with the highest, so that he made him the envy of the noble Amirs,<sup>3</sup> and would not permit him to be out of his sight for one moment. From that day forward, when he recognised that sword, he deprived him of his rank, so that<sup>4</sup> he made him an example<sup>5</sup> of the saying : *Everything returns to its original state*; but in spite of the incitation of the Amirs of the Afghāns that he should put him to death, he replied, "I am heartily ashamed to destroy the man of my own training."<sup>6</sup>

*Verse.*

Water cannot swallow down wood, knowest thou why ?  
It is ashamed<sup>7</sup> to destroy that which it has reared.

Islem Shāh, who had for this same reason become distrustful of Afghāns, now became afflicted with complications of his disease, and increased the opium in his wine,<sup>8</sup> and the snake-bitten one drank a draught of poison,<sup>9</sup> and thirsting for the blood of the Afghāns, became more than ever<sup>10</sup> set upon eradicating them. The crisis was as though it was saying to him :

*Verse.*

Thou hast laid a foundation, which will destroy thy family,  
Oh, thou whose family is destroyed, what a foundation thou  
hast laid !

1 جو لا ها *jūlāha*. MS. (A) reads جو لا اسا. Either reading may be accepted. If we read جو لا ها as in the text the translation will be as above, with the implied meaning of that stupidity for which weavers are proverbially noted. See Fallon's Dictionary s.v. جلاها.

If we read جو لا اسا the meaning will be dull, apathetic, stupid.

2 MS. (A) inserts خود and omits اورا inserting this after گرددہ.

3 MS. (A) omits خود here. 4 MS. (A) تا (ta).

5 MS. (A) omits مظہر. 6 MS. (B) تربیت for تربیت for قربت.

7 MS. (A) reads شرمش for شرمٹ. MS. (B) omit ڙ.

8 MS. (A) سراب.

9 MSS. (A) (B) مارنڈا. The meaning appears to be that the opium he took as an anodyne acted as a poison, and increased the effects of the disease from which he was already suffering.

10 MS. (B) بیشتر از بیشتر.

After these events Islem Shah returned<sup>1</sup> towards Gwaliar, which he had made his metropolis, and had arrived at Dihli<sup>2</sup> when tidings arrived that Muhammad Humayun Padshah had reached the banks of the Indus, with the aim of conquering Hindustan. Islem Shah just at the<sup>3</sup> very moment when this tidings arrived, had applied a leech<sup>4</sup> to his throat, but instantly took it off, dashed some water upon his head,<sup>5</sup> and binding up his throat with linen rags<sup>6</sup> ordered his army to proceed, and<sup>7</sup> the first day covering three krohs, encamped, and the rank and file of his army who were at the last gasp from drunkenness, involuntarily followed him as though led by a halter round their necks. Certain of the Vazirs who were well-disposed to him<sup>8</sup> represented that inasmuch as a powerful foe had come against him, and his soldiery were worthless, it would be just as well if orders were given for their pay to be issued to them. Islem Shah replied that if<sup>9</sup> he were to give them money at that particular time they would attribute it to his being weak and in straits, so I will wait, said he, till my return after this victory,<sup>10</sup> when I will give them, with one stroke of the pen, two years pay. The soldiers had patience and without a murmur awaited what fortune Providence would bring them, at the same time expecting some sudden calamity,<sup>11</sup> and in spite of their state of unpreparedness arrived at the encampment. When it was reported to Islem Shah that the artillery was ready, but that, as the hullocks<sup>12</sup> for the gun carriages had been left at Gwaliar, they awaited his orders, he replied, 'What possible uses are such a crowd of thousands of infantry and cavalry, are they to get their monthly pay for nothing?' accordingly he made them all do

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<sup>1</sup> MS (A) omits نہودہ here and inserts it after بود in the next line

<sup>2</sup> MSS (A) (B) omit توحید نہودہ چون MS (A) (B) read  
ندھلی وسیدہ بود کے خلر

<sup>3</sup> Read در آن ساعت کہ اس حدود سید

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) reads probably a copyist's error for رکوئر گلوچسپا یہدہ بود رکورا رکورا

<sup>5</sup> Omits ب MS (A)

<sup>6</sup> لاتا latta MS (A) reads ملیند (?)

<sup>7</sup> Insert و MS (A) (B)

<sup>8</sup> MS (A) insert دع before بعض

<sup>9</sup> MS (A) put اگر before دریں وقت

<sup>10</sup> MS (B) omit بارگشہ

<sup>11</sup> MS (A) reads دو دن for واقعہ آت MSS (A) (B) read دو دن for واقعہ آت

<sup>12</sup> Text گواراں اڑاگ MS (A) reads گواراں اڑاگ MS (B) عربان

the work of bullocks,<sup>1</sup> and ordered them to drag the gun carriages, thus proving the truth of the following:—

Ferse

These whom you see are not all human beings,  
Most of them are tailless oxen and asses.

Some of the large mortars were of such a size that it took one or two thousand men, more or less, to drag each one.<sup>2</sup> At this rate of speed they reached the Panjāb in the course of seven days. Humāyūn Pādshāh in person, in accordance with certain advantageous plans he had formed, advanced as far as Banbhar,<sup>3</sup> at the skirt of the mountain range to the north of the Kashmir frontier,<sup>4</sup> and then returned towards<sup>5</sup> Kabul. A short resumé of these events will be given in its proper place if the Most High God so will it.<sup>6</sup>

Islem Shāh also upon hearing this tidings<sup>7</sup> fled<sup>8</sup> with all haste from Lāhor to Gwāliār. In the course of his retreat arriving in the neighbourhood of the township of Anberī,<sup>9</sup> he was occupied in hunting, when a band of ruslans,<sup>10</sup> at the instigation of certain of the Amīrs, blocked his path, and meditated doing him harm, but a messenger arrived who informed Islem Shāh of this design, and he consequently entered the city by another road,<sup>11</sup> and after putting to death<sup>12</sup> a number of men, among whom were Bahāu-d-Din and Maḥmūd and Maḍā,<sup>13</sup> who were<sup>14</sup> the fountain heads of the rebellion attempted by the

<sup>1</sup> Omit دختر. MSS. (A) (B). MS. (A) reads اعتبر کرده.

<sup>۲</sup> The text reads بکه هر کدام را هزار هزار کس دو دو هزار کس کمتر و بیشتر MS. (A) inserts after کس and omit the second کس replacing it by و.

<sup>8</sup> At the foot of the Alidek range. See Reunnell's map, Tieff., Vol. III: Behnbur. MSS. (A) (B) read بانبار Banbar. The text reads بانهار Banhar.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) omits از حد کشمیر. <sup>5</sup> MS. (B) reads بے کابل to Kābul.

<sup>٦</sup> MS. (A) inserts between خود and مذکور إنشاء الله تعالى.

<sup>7</sup> MS. (A) omits خبر. <sup>8</sup> MS. (A) فرار.

<sup>9</sup> This is the reading of the text: but MSS. (A) (B) read **النَّرِي** *Antari*.

<sup>10</sup> لوندان <sup>11</sup> MS. (A) دیگر <sup>11</sup> MS. (B) reads لوانید.

١٢ MSS. (A) (B) وَسَانِيَدَة.

<sup>18</sup> MS. (B) omits these last names and reads وغیره and others.

بودند بوه (A) for MS. (A).

ministers, imprisoned all persons against whom he entertained suspicion, afterwards putting them to death. Then he threw open the doors of the treasury and issued a public order directing the issue of two years pay to the soldiery,<sup>1</sup> and sent written despatches to the Amirs of five thousand and ten thousand to this effect. Some of the troops received the pay, others did not. At this very time the army of Fate, who is the most powerful of all powerful foes, made an onslaught upon him<sup>2</sup>.

### Verse.

That man owned a single ass, but had no pack saddle,  
He found a pack saddle, but in the meantime the wolf had  
made off with the ass<sup>3</sup>

\* Among the forces which overthrew him was, it is said, a carbuncle which appeared in the neighbourhood of his seat, others assert that it was cancer.

He was beside himself with pain and<sup>4</sup> bled himself bled, but without relief. Whilst in this state of distress and prostration, he used from time to time to say, 'I had no idea that God was so extremely powerful,'<sup>5</sup> and while in this condition, as long as he retained consciousness he ordered Daulat Khao to sit facing him, and would not cast a glance in any other direction save on his face alone<sup>6</sup> 414.

### Verse

Mahmud gives not a soul to the Angel (of Death)  
Until he sees him in the form of Ayāz

Notwithstanding the fact that he had lapsed into unconsciousness, he would now and then open his eyes, and these words would

<sup>1</sup> MS (B) سپاهیاں

<sup>2</sup> A footnote directs attention to a suggested variation in the text by placing **کے** after سپاہیاں instead of before those words. This is the reading found in MS (A) and is obviously correct.

<sup>3</sup> A proverbial saying of this kind is—

حَتْرُونَهُ تَبْدِيلَتْ دَلَاتْ مَنْتَهَى حَتْ دَلَاتْ هُولَى تَبْدِيلَتْ دَلَاتْ.

When I had peace I had no teeth, now my teeth have come I have no peace.

<sup>4</sup> Omit **وَمَوْلَانَ**, MS (A)

<sup>5</sup> Insert **وَ**

<sup>6</sup> MSS (A) (B)

<sup>1</sup> MS (B) omits **در** before حَلَسْ MS (A) reads حَلَسْ for جَاسْ

come<sup>1</sup> to his lips 'Where is Ajyāra.'<sup>2</sup> They say also that although he found it excessively difficult to turn from one side to the other, yet he would not consent to their giving Daulat Khān the trouble of coming in front of him, but he would say, 'Please turn my face in his direction.'

One day he saw that Daulat Khān was absent and asked 'where can he be?' They replied he has probably gone to the house of one of his relatives. Then he knew that to all appearance he was playing a time-serving part with others. At that moment Daulat Khān arrived and Islem Shāh quoted this verse:—

Thou knowest my value, how faithful I am<sup>3</sup>

Stay! before thou seekest the companionship of other friends.

It is reported on excellent authority also that Islem Shāh had ordered<sup>4</sup> the treasury-officer that he should give Daulat Khān every day for his personal expenses as much as a *lak* of tankas, as a matter of course and unasked,<sup>5</sup> but that if asked for a larger sum he should produce it for his use. At last seeing that his condition became more grave day by day, nay, hour by hour, his physicians despaired of relieving him.

#### Verse.

In one small detail the whole of the philosophers have been found wanting,

For what can man do against the Eternal decree.<sup>6</sup>

When the natural causes of the pulse depart from the fundamental movement,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. (B) میگذشت.

<sup>2</sup> Daulat Khān Ajyāra, who has been before mentioned. MSS. (A) (B) read Ajyāra اجیارہ, but the text reads (۴) Haiyāra حیارہ with a note of interrogation. Ajyāra is the right reading.

<sup>3</sup> For حکم کردا بود (MS. (A) read جانم). <sup>4</sup> MSS. (A) (B) حکم.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read ڈپرسد ؟ for ڈپرسد.

<sup>6</sup> کن فیکون. Qur'an II, iii.

<sup>7</sup> بَدِيعُ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَإِذَا قَضَى أَمْرًا فَإِنَّمَا يَقُولُ لَهُ كَنْ فِي كُونْ

The originator of the heavens and the earth, when he decrees a matter he doth but say unto it, BE, and it is.

<sup>7</sup> The modifying causes of the pulse are classified by Sadīdī thus: (1) ماسک *māsik* or constant such as animal force in the heart and vessels, (2)

The foot of Aflatūn himself becomes fixed in the mire of helplessness.

When the conduct of nature turns towards disorder,  
The Qānūn<sup>1</sup> of Bu 'Alī lies useless in the hand.

At last he left this world of regrets, wounded by countless sorrows, and abandoned his kingdom to the desire of his enemies. The duration of his reign was nine years. His body was taken to Sahsarām and buried by the side of his father. This event occurred in the year 961 H.,<sup>2</sup> and by a coincidence it happened that in the course of this (self same) year<sup>3</sup> Sultān Maḥmud of Gujrāt, who had adorned the throne with justice<sup>4</sup> and equity and the fear of God, drank the cup of martyrdom at the hands of his servant Bu'han<sup>5</sup> Nizāmu-l Mulk Bahri,<sup>6</sup> the King of the Dakhan, also took his way to the ocean of non existence, and Mīr Sa'iyyid Na'matn-Hāh, whose poetical name was Rnsuli,<sup>7</sup> who was one of the incomparable learned men and a close companion of Islem Shāh, wrote this chronogram :—

#### Verse

At one time came the decline of three emperors,  
Whose justice made Hindustān the abode of safety

**مُغَایِّر** *mughaīyir* or variable, such as age sex, sleeping or waking, exercise, bathing—others of this class are external or accidental, such as, feverishness, and inflammations. The pulse says, he is necessary for the quieting of the natural heat, and for dispelling vapours. It is opposed by rigidity of the vessels and weakness of the animal powers. See *Sadīd*, p 54, et seqq.

**قانون فی الطب** قانون دوعلی<sup>1</sup> *Qanun fi t-tibb*, canon medicine by the celebrated Shaikh Abu 'Alī Hussain bin 'Abdu'llah commonly known as *Ibn Sina* (Avicenna). See Hajj *Khalifah*, No 9354

Abu Sina was a famous Muhammadan physician who was born in Bukhara, and died at Hamadan in July 1037 A D 427 A H

(H K says 428 A H) See Beale, Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p 20

<sup>2</sup> MSS (A) (B) both write **دو مرد** و دو دو و **ویک** which is added in the text

<sup>3</sup> **در مردمت تک مال** MSS (A) (B)      <sup>4</sup> MS (B) reads **دین**

<sup>5</sup> The text reads **ویک** در هنار **ی** a punning comment on the servant's name, which will not admit of translation

<sup>6</sup> See Beale O B D for an account of the Nizam Shāhī dynasty

<sup>7</sup> MSS (A) (B) the text reads **رشوی** Rishwati

One was Mahmûd the Emperor of Gujerât,  
 Who, like his empire, was still in the pride of youth;  
 The second was Islem Shâh, that mite of beneficence,  
 Whose beloved son<sup>1</sup> was Sher Khân;  
 The third was Nizâmûl-Mulk Bahri  
 Who as Emperor was seated on the throne of the Dakhan.  
 If you ask of me a *târikh* for the death<sup>2</sup> of these three<sup>3</sup>  
 Emperors?  
 I answer *Zawâl-i-khusrân*.<sup>4</sup>

416. Islem Shâh notwithstanding his not having read poetry had many apt quotations in his memory, and being a clever critic, used constantly to practise the art of versification with Amir Sa'iyid Na'mît Rusûlî,<sup>5</sup> and used to compose many elegant verses and to enjoy listening to those of his fellow poet. Moreover he was highly esteemed by the learned and religious men<sup>6</sup> of his time; They say that when he reached Alwar on his way to the Panjab, he one day caught sight of Mulla 'Abdu-l-lâh of Sultânpur<sup>7</sup> who was at some distance coming towards him; addressing his attendants he said: "Have you any idea who this is who is approaching?" They replied: "Who is it, please inform us."<sup>8</sup> He said: "Bâbar Padshâh had five sons, of whom four<sup>9</sup> left Hindustân and one remained." They said "and who is that one?" He replied: "This Mulla who is approaching." Sarmast Khân said: "What is the use of keeping up connection with such a vicious person?"<sup>10</sup> He replied to "What can I do, when I can find<sup>11</sup> no better than he?" And when Mulla 'Abdu-l-lâh came up he ordered him to sit upon his own throne, and bestowed upon him a bead-roll of pearls, valued at twenty thousand rupees,<sup>12</sup> which had at that moment arrived as

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) reads عزیزش.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) این در موسسه.

<sup>3</sup> Zawâl خسروان. The decline of the Emperors. The letters of *Zawâl-i-khusrân* give the date 961 H. See note 2 supra.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. (A) (B). The text as before reads *Rishwati*.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) omits و سلحا.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) omits ب.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. (A) (B) فرمای.

<sup>8</sup> MSS. (A) (B) چهار.

<sup>9</sup> Text reads متغیر. [MS. (A) reads مفتون seditions. MS. (B) reads متغیر parasitic.]

<sup>10</sup> MSS. (A) (B) گفت.

<sup>11</sup> MSS. (A) (B) نمی یابم.

<sup>12</sup> Omit ب before بیت. MSS. (A) (B).





aimed at securing<sup>1</sup> the goodwill of great and small; and he had made arrows tipped with<sup>2</sup> gold of a money value of five hundred tankahs and used to throw them. Whatever<sup>3</sup> poor person's house they used to fall at, he then bestowed that amount in money upon him and used to take back the *katiba-bâsh*, this fitful habit however quickly<sup>4</sup> came to an end after a few days.

## Verse

Inorganic matter is one thing: spontaneous growth is another.

## Verse.

If the tears flow down upon the cheeks,

True weeping is easily distinguished from false .

The rank of *Fâzir* and *Fâkil* was bestowed upon one Shamsher Khân, a slave who was the younger brother of Khawâss Khân and Danlat Khân, the "new-Muslim," a protégé of the Lubâhîn<sup>5</sup> faction. He also gave uncontrolled authority to Hîmûn the greengrocer, of the township of Rowârî in Mîwît, whom Islem Shah had gradually elevated from the position of police superintendent of the bâzârs and conserver of punishments, and had by degrees made into a trusted confidant<sup>6</sup>. He now gave him the superintendence of all important affairs both military and civil.

Inasmuch as 'Adil had originally been unaccustomed to the profession<sup>7</sup> of music and dancing, and was fond of a life of ease and luxury, and was otiose in his habits, he was by no means fitted for the conduct of military affairs, or the duties of civil administration; superadded to this was the murder of Firuz Khân and his unbounded confidence in Hîmûn. Accordingly these Amîrs who were of true Afgân descent, evinced a great repugnance to obey him, and roused such widespread feelings of

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) ساخت

<sup>2</sup> Text کتہ باش (A) MS. (B) کتہ باش

The reading of the text is unintelligible. We should read کتہ داس in the meaning of a bamboo shaft. Firuzta's reading is quite clear he says

کتہ داسی کے پیکان آن یک تولہ طلہ بود

Bo. Text, p. 430 That is, Katah, a bamboo shaft, whose head was one tola of gold

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) reads بخانہ هر فردی زرد بروطوف شد

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) نوحان

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) ماحب اعتبار

<sup>7</sup> MS. (A) reads پیشگی پیش for

shame, that hardly had a month passed since his accession, when on all sides rebellions arose, and they became rulers of their several clans. Sedition awoko from its heavy slumber, the bonds of kinship with Sher Shāh and of orders passed by Islem Shāh

419. snapped asunder, and disorder reigned supreme :

*Verse.*

When the heart of the times writhes, the bond of fellowship  
snaps,

When a flaw appears<sup>1</sup> in the string, the pearls are scattered.

One day when, having summoned the most renowned Amirs to the durbār hall of the fort of Gwāliār, 'Adli was engaged in distributing *jāgīrs*, he ordered that the Sarkār of Qauauj should be transferred from Shāh Muhammād Farnālī, and given in perpetuity to Sarmast Khān Sarbānī, [Shāh Muhammād was ill];<sup>2</sup> whereupon his son Sikandar, who was a brave, handsome, and well-built youth spoke fiercely with regard to this *jāgīr*. Shāh Muhammād however admonished<sup>3</sup> him in gentle terms and forbade him to speak thus, but he answered his father "Once Sher Shāh placed you in an iron cage and kept you a prisoner for some years, while Islem Shāh made you the captive of his kindness and by intercession and influence obtained your release. Now the Sūr faction are attempting to destroy us, and you do not understand their infamous design; "<sup>4</sup> thereupon he began to abuse Sarmast Khān with all the petulance of youth and the arrogant pride of race and said: "Now our affairs have come to such a pass<sup>5</sup> that this dog-seller<sup>6</sup> is to enjoy our *jāgīr*." Sarmast Khān, who was a tall, powerful man full of energy, placed his hand upon the shoulder of Sikandar intending to make him prisoner by underhand means, and said: "My boy, why are you saying all these bitter things," Sikandar however perceived his intention, clapped his hand to his dagger, and struck Sarmast Khān such a deadly blow over the shoulder blade, that he fell on the spot unconscious and died. Sikandar Khān also made some others of those<sup>7</sup> hell-dogs so heavy of head

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) reads پر پردیده.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) adds the words in brackets داشت و شاہ مکده بیماری.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) مینه ود نصیحت.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) omits را.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) رسیده بجای.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) از این سگ فروش.

<sup>7</sup> Text دوزخیان. MSS. (A) (B) read دور چنان.

and sleep stricken<sup>1</sup> that they will never wako<sup>2</sup> till the morn of the great assembly, and certain others remained so intoxicated that they spent the remainder of their lives in recovering from it<sup>3</sup>

## Verse

420

Thine eye which was wonderful in slaying thy lovers  
Would slay one and cast its glance upon another

It was currently reported that from the time when<sup>4</sup> the dagger was first invented in Hindustan no person can have ever used it in the way that Sikandar Khan did. A tumult arose among the people, and 'Adli fled and entered the women's quarters and put up the chain on the inside. Sikandar after that he had killed some and wounded<sup>5</sup> others, at last made towards 'Adli and<sup>6</sup> aimed a blow at him with a sword which however struck a plank of the door. Had he attacked him in the first instance he would have despatched him. The Amirs of 'Adli's party showed themselves in their true colours that day as most of them cast away their swords<sup>7</sup> and took to flight, and were going about distractedly, till at last, after Sikandar had done as much mischief as salt in the yeast<sup>8</sup> they attacked him simultaneously from all sides. This contest went on for three or four hours when<sup>9</sup> Sikandar fell to a blow from the sword of Ibrahim Khan<sup>10</sup> Sūt sister's husband to 'Adli, and Shah Muhammad was struck down by the sword of Daulat Khan Lubani,<sup>11</sup> both of them taking their way to the city of non existence. It so happened that on that day before the assembly of that meeting Taj Khan Kairum, the

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) سرگردان و حدواب آلوچه MS (B) read صرگردان

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) سدر و شورد

<sup>3</sup> Read here نصی دنگر شیر گیر ملاده This is the reading of MSS (A) (B) and is far preferable to the reading in the text

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) reads اردن و عاصی MS (A) ساحب سخراج.

<sup>5</sup> MSS (A) (B) دهود و

<sup>6</sup> MS (B) reads اکثری او سرددوار های حودرا اندھلئا Most of them throw themselves from the walls. This is also the reading given in a foot note variant to the text

<sup>7</sup> The addition of salt to yeast is said to check its fermentative powers

<sup>8</sup> MSS (A) (B) د

<sup>10</sup> MS (A) omits املا

<sup>11</sup> MS (A) دوحائی

brother of 'Amād and Suleimān, who eventually became the autocratic<sup>1</sup> ruler of the province of Bengal, and gave himself the title<sup>2</sup> of Ḥazrat Ā'älā, having left the audience hall of 'Adli was going outside the fort, when on his way he met with Shāhī Muhammad Farmali. They asked<sup>3</sup> after each other's affairs, and Tāj Khān said: "I see signs of mischief, and consequently I am removing my manly footsteps outside this circle,<sup>4</sup> and am 421. going outside. Do you too come with me and follow my lead,<sup>5</sup> for the scale has turned.

*Verse.*

When you see that your friends are no longer friendly,  
Consider that flight is an opportunity to be seized.

But inasmuch as the hand of death had seized the skirt of Shāh Muhammad and was dragging him to the grave,<sup>6</sup> he would not consent to this advice and went to 'Adli.

*Verse.*

When the appointed time of the quarry comes it goes towards  
the huntsman.

And that which was written in his fate befel him; Tāj Khān in full daylight fled from Gwāliār towards Bengāl and 'Adli sent an armed party in pursuit of him, and<sup>7</sup> himself also started to follow him, in front of the township of Chhapramau<sup>8</sup> in the district of Qanauj an engagement took place between the two parties. The stars in their courses fought for 'Adli, and his army

<sup>1</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read صاحب استقلال and MS. (A) reads بیگانه for صورۃ بنگال.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. (A) (B) و خطاب داد و should be omitted.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read پرسند which is better than the textual reading پرسیدند.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read (B) میروم { and (A) میروم { ازین دایرہ بدر نہاده بیرون.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) reads مکن for بکن.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) reads شاه محمد را and MSS. (A) (B) read کشان کشان.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. (A) (B) و خود نیز.

<sup>8</sup> MS. (B) چھپرا موئی. The text is without dots. MS. (A) reads چھپرا موئی Chherāman.

was victorious,<sup>1</sup> and Tūj Khān turning in flight made the best of his wny to Chhinār,<sup>2</sup> wherever he found the authorities favourable to 'Adlī he made prisoners<sup>3</sup> of them, and laid hands on whatever cash and valuables he could find. A hundred head of elephants also fell into his hands. Thus he proceeded till he joined hands with Salemūn and 'Imād and Khwāja Ilyās who held sway over certain parganas on the banks of the Ganges and other places. Then he openly sounded the note of rebellion. 'Adlī arrived at Cbunār,<sup>4</sup> and the Karrānis on the banks of the river<sup>5</sup> Ganges came out to fight with him. Ilmūn asked for a harka of elephants, that is to say, a hundred elephants, and fought a desperate battle with them gaining a victory. And 'Adlī who in Chhūnār intended to seize<sup>6</sup> Ibrāhīm Khān, the son of Ghari Khān Sur, one of the cousins of Sher Khān, but the sister of 'Adlī, who was married to him, became aware of this intention, and brought him down by a secret passage<sup>7</sup> from the fort. Ibrāhīm Khān made his way towards Baiāna and Ilmūn which was his father's jāgir 422 'Adlī despatched 'Isa Khān Niyārī after Ibrāhīm Khān, and they fought a battle<sup>8</sup> in the vicinity of Kalpi, the breeze of victory fanned the standards of Ibrāhīm Khān, and he gained the day. Then having assembled a large following, and entering that country, he proclaimed himself sovereign.<sup>9</sup> 'Adlī theronpon disengaged himself from the Karrānis, and came against Ibrāhīm Khān to attack him, and when he arrived near the river Jon, Ibrāhīm Khān made overtures,<sup>10</sup> and sent a message saying "If Rāj Husain Jilwān,<sup>11</sup> and Bihār Khān Sāwān,<sup>12</sup> to whom Islem Shāh gave the title of Ā'zam Ilmāyān, with some others<sup>13</sup> of the Amirs noble and renowned, will come and reassure me,<sup>14</sup> then will I in reliance upon their assurances agree to make

<sup>1</sup> The textual reading is wrong, omit **م** reading with MSS (A) (B)  
فوج ار عالیب مهد

<sup>2</sup> MS حنار (A) (B) چنار

<sup>8</sup> دستگیر ساخته MSS (A) (B)

<sup>4</sup> MSS (A) (B) در بیان

<sup>6</sup> در بیان گنگ MSS (A) (B)

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) مقتدی سارہ.

<sup>7</sup> مقتدی سارہ.

<sup>7</sup> MS (A) reads اور اوصوب میتوں کی از نالای قلعہ which is better than the text

<sup>8</sup> MS (A) (B) حنگ کردہ.

<sup>9</sup> MSS (A) (B) دم از استقلال رد

<sup>10</sup> MS (A) omits در میان

<sup>11</sup> MS (A) reads حلواوی

<sup>11</sup> MS (A) omits دیگر.

<sup>12</sup> MS (B) reads ددهدہ

submission to you." 'Adlī<sup>1</sup> accordingly sent them, and no sooner had they arrived than they gave in their allegiance to Ibrāhīm Khān, giving him the title of Sultān Ibrāhīm, and thus putting<sup>2</sup> a different complexion upon the dispute, raised the standard of insurrection against 'Adlī.

The *Khutbah* was read in the name of Ibrāhīm Khān in Āgra and certain other districts, while 'Adlī, realising that he was not able to cope with him, left Gwāliar for Bhatta, and thence returned towards Chunār<sup>3</sup> taking with him<sup>4</sup> large amounts of treasure, many elephants and a large following.

After the death of Islem Shāh, at the time when the kings of clans arose,<sup>5</sup> Ahmad Khān Sūr, one of the cousins of Sher Shāh, who had to wife the second sister of 'Adlī, a man of distinguished bravery and endurance, sat in conference with<sup>6</sup> the Amirs of the Panjāb, and implanted in their minds all sorts of evil notions regarding 'Adlī and of his unfitness, (they being already ill-disposed towards him) and with the aid and assistance of Tātār Khān Kāsī,<sup>7</sup> and Ḥabīb Khān, and Nasīb Khān Tughūjī, who had attained this title from Sher Shāh,<sup>8</sup> declared open war against 'Adlī, and<sup>9</sup> assuming the title of Sultān Sikandar and reading the *Khutbah*, and entertaining hopes of still further increase of power<sup>10</sup> proceeded to Dihlī and Āgra.<sup>11</sup>

On the other hand, Ibrāhīm having collected a large army confronted Sikandar at Farah,<sup>12</sup> which is situated at a distance of ten *krohs* from Āgra.

Most of the noted Amirs, such as Hāji Khān Sultānī, Governor of Alwar, who was virtually a king, and Rāī Hussain Jilwānī<sup>13</sup> and Mas'aūd Khān and Husain Khān Ghilzāī were on the side of Ibrāhīm. To some two hundred of them Ibrāhīm had given royal

<sup>1</sup> Omit و. MSS. (A) (B).

<sup>2</sup> MS. (B) قوارداده ادائی. <sup>3</sup> MS. (B) omits بسوی.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. (A) (B) omit خود reading در تصرف داشت.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (B) omits both ملوك and نزد. <sup>6</sup> MS. (A) امرای.

<sup>7</sup> A footnote variant reads کالپی Kālpī. <sup>8</sup> MS. (A) reads پاونڈ بونڈ.

<sup>9</sup> MSS. (A) (B). <sup>10</sup> جشم تازہ ذور. MS. (A) reads روز in error.

<sup>11</sup> MSS. (A) (B) دش. <sup>12</sup> MS. (B) دش مقابلہ.

<sup>13</sup> MSS. (A) (B) فرة.

<sup>14</sup> MS. (A) حلوايی.

tents and standards, and ensigns<sup>1</sup> and kettle drums, and it frequently happened that to anyone who came and brought with him ten or fifteen horsemen he gave a sort of makeshift flag staff with a bit of red rag wrapped round it, simply to gain favour and to attract people, bestowing upon him also a grant of dignity and a *jagir*.<sup>2</sup> In this way nearly eighty thousand men flocked to him, and on the day when Hāji Khan came from Alwar and gave in his allegiance to him, he shewed him great favour bestowing upon him a lofty and spacious tent covered on the outside with *saqirlat*<sup>3</sup> of Portugal, and on the inside with Frankish velvet, had it freshly pitched for him. Moreover he lavished upon Hāji Khan magnificent carpets, and vessels of gold and silver and all other requirements on the same scale accordingly he entered the tent without hesitation and there took up his abode. This treatment occasioned great envy and jealousy<sup>4</sup> among the Amirs of pure Afghan blood who became disheartened and spared not to express their discontent among themselves. Iskandar, who had a following of twelve thousand men, inasmuch as he estimated the army of Ibrāhim as being more numerous than his own, shilly shallied and made overtures for peace, and wrote a treaty in the following terms, that from Dihli to the eastern extremity of Hindustan as far as could be arranged,<sup>5</sup> should belong to Ibrāhim Khan,<sup>6</sup> and that the country of the Panjab and Multan as far as possible should belong to Sikandar, so that he might attain the object for which the Mughals came to Hindustan. The Afghans of both

<sup>1</sup> The text here reads طوق MS (A) however reads قمع The true reading should evidently be قمع which according to M. Pavet de Courteilles means a standard composed of the tail of the قطاع (quates or Tibetan yak) fixed to a pole

<sup>2</sup> MSS (A) (B) وحائجه

<sup>3</sup> MS (B) reads سقولاب *saqirlat* Dozy, however gives no such form of the word and the word is probably سقلاس *sqqlas* meaning a silken stuff brocaded with gold See Dozy s.v. See also Yule and Barnett Glossary s.v. Scolat also Skeat Etym. Dict s.v. Scarlet

<sup>4</sup> Another instance of Badoni's use of *ابه* in this unusual sense

<sup>5</sup> We should apparently read here كچا کچا شورہ گیا MS (B) omits the words altogether MS (A) agrees with the text which however does not seem satisfactory

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) omits حکم

armies, who were blood-relations or connections of each other, were pleased at the prospect of a peaceful settlement, and Kālā Bhār<sup>1</sup> the brother of Sikandar, and the Amirs of the *Panj Bhaiya* which means "the five brothers," who were<sup>2</sup> with the sword the marvel of the age, made this additional stipulation that if after that Ibrāhīm (*Khān*)<sup>3</sup> gets possession<sup>4</sup> of the treasury of 'Adli and the kingdom of Bhatta, which is near being realised, he shall make us partners in both of these gains, then all well and good,<sup>5</sup> but if not we will annul the peace. Sikandar agreed to this proposition,<sup>6</sup> and the majority of the Amirs of Ibrāhīm (*Khān*)<sup>7</sup> impressed upon him that there was no danger to be apprehended from agreeing<sup>8</sup> to this proposal, inasmuch as the treasury and kingdom of Bhatta would certainly be theirs, "and then," said they, "it will require a man to oppose<sup>9</sup> us (successfully), while for the present, at any rate, we shall have tided over this difficulty satisfactorily :

*Verse.*

Be not proud, for I hold the staff of wisdom in my hand,  
The arm of riot is long (and)<sup>10</sup> a stick has two ends.

Ibrāhīm came round to this view but Mas'ūd *Khān* and Husain *Khān Ghilzai* with some of the new Amirs said : "Seeing that in the end the matters in dispute between us and Sikandar will one day have to be decided by the sword, now that our party has increased, while his following is exceedingly small, why should we not decide<sup>11</sup> the matter at once,<sup>12</sup> and not desist until we have secured ourselves against a repetition of this in the future. To agree to peace now will be a confession<sup>13</sup> of weakness on our part, and an admission of the bravery of our enemies."<sup>14</sup> Upon 'Adli

1 MSS. (A) (B) so also *Firishta*. The text reads کالا پہاڑ Kālā Pahār.

2 MS. (A) reads بود.

3 MS. (B) adds خان.

4 MS. (B) reads اور بدست which seems better than the text.

5 MS. (A) omits بهتر.

6 MS. (B) reads رای for معنی.

7 MS. (B) reads خان ابراهیم.

8 MS. (B) omits قبول.

9 MSS. (A) (B) read آید.

10 MSS. (A) (B) omit و. That is to say, a staff is a weapon both of offence and defence.

11 MS. (A) reads ذر سانیم but the textual برسانیم is better.

12 MS. (B) reads قضیہ را بفعال فیصل.

13 MS. (B) omits دلیل.

14 MS. (B) reads می شود.

also, who has crept like a rat into his hole, with all his elephants and retinue, the desire of conflict with us is creeping, and that peace which had been concluded has been confounded" Ibrāhīm Khān put off fighting till after the arrival of Miyān Yahyā Turān, governor of Sambhal, who was famous both as a warrior and as a man of sound judgment. Miyan Yahyā in the year 961 H during the disturbances, gave battle in Badāon to twenty of 'Adlī's Amirs who had been appointed in the district of Sambhal, and defeated them, he then fought a great battle on the plain<sup>1</sup> of the township of Kandarkhi with Raja Mātar Sen Kalitarīya, who was the former ruler of Sambhal and had collected a great force, and defeated him. The author of this *Muntakhab*, who was at that time accompanying his father, now deceased, was in the twelfth year of his age<sup>2</sup> and had gone to Sambhal to study, wrote this chronogram *Chi bas khub karda and*<sup>3</sup> (How well have they done)<sup>4</sup>. Before that he could convey the news to his teacher,<sup>5</sup> the prince of learned men, the guide of connoisseurs, the exemplar of the intelligent,<sup>6</sup> the master of masters, the Miyan Hāsim of Sambhal, this<sup>7</sup> tidings had already reached him. At the time when he was by way of benediction and blessing giving instruction in the *Kanz i Fiqh*, he said, "Count the letters of this *tariikh* which I have spoken without forethought, *Iathħā : āsmāni shu*"<sup>8</sup> I replied nine hundred and sixty, which<sup>9</sup> is one unit short. He answered,<sup>10</sup> I said it with the hamza of *Iz̄afat* that is to say, *Iathħā : āsmāni*, which is in conformity with the ancient spelling in respect to the value of letters and in this way it is correct<sup>11</sup>. He gave his blessing, and fixed a time for the lesson, and adding

<sup>1</sup> MS (B) reads در موضع

<sup>2</sup> MS (B) reads در سوی و <sup>۱۲</sup> مصیل

<sup>3</sup> مس حوب کرده اند Chi bas khub karda and A footnote to the text points out that this gives the date 962 H whereas the event chronicled occurred in 961 H

<sup>4</sup> Read مهربانی MS (B)

<sup>5</sup> MSS (A) (B) read امیر حکایت مدنی instead of امیر حکایت مدنی

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) این حضر

<sup>7</sup> فتح ای ای ای شد Fathħ : āsmāni Shud They were beaten given victories Read with hamza this gives 961 H

<sup>8</sup> MS (A) reads ۸۵ for ۹ MS (B) reads گو

<sup>9</sup> MSS (A) (B) read ۸۵ هزار و پانصد

<sup>10</sup> MS (A) reads wrongly دست According to this the value of hamza is 1 and it is taken as equivalent to Alif The hamza of *iz̄afat* is said to be

a few pages, written with his own hand to the pages which I had  
 426. written containing the instruction of the Qāzī, gave them to me  
 as a souvenir, and entrusted my instruction to Miyān Shaikh  
Abūl Faṭḥ, the son of Shaikh-allahdiyah<sup>1</sup> of Khairābād, *may God  
 be merciful to him*, who is now seated on the throne of instruction  
 and guidance in the room of his father; and inasmuch as Miyān  
 Yahya after taking forcible possession of<sup>2</sup> the country of Kānt<sup>3</sup>-o-  
 Golah and that district, going by way of Badāon had built a  
 bridge across the Ganges at the township of Ahār,<sup>4</sup> and had gone  
 towards Ibrāhīm Khān, I accompanied my father, now departed,  
*may he rest in peace*, to Amroha,<sup>5</sup> and was thus separated from  
 that army;<sup>6</sup> and being introduced to the presence of the late Mīr  
 Saiyyid<sup>7</sup> Muḥammad Mīr ‘Adl, *may God have mercy on him*,<sup>8</sup>  
 with whom he had some hereditary connection, remained some  
 time under his instruction. In short on the day on which Miyān  
 Yahya joined Ibrāhīm Khān, on that very morning Ibrāhīm  
 Khān had drawn up his army and placed Miyān Yahya in the  
 command of the advance guard, while he appointed Hāji Khān  
 to the command of the left division, and Rāī Husain Jilwānī<sup>9</sup>  
 with the Ghilzais to the right division. He himself taking the  
 centre drew up in line of battle. On the other side Sikandar Sūr

an abbreviated **س** (Platts' Persian Grammar, p. 43), but if this were the case its value would justly be 10 and not 1. It thus appears more probable that the hamza of *iżāfat* is in reality hamza, and does not represent an original **س**.

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) **شیخ الهدی** وله. See J. A. S. B., 1869, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> MS (B) reads بضبط آورده.

<sup>3</sup> Kānt. Town in the Shāhjahānpur District, N.-W. P., see Hunter, I. G. vii. 437. Kānt-o-Golah in Shāhjahānpur according to Blochmann, J. A. S. B., 1869, p. 122.

<sup>4</sup> Abār. Ancient town in the Bulandshahr District, N.-W. P., see Hunter, I. G. i. 81.

<sup>5</sup> Amrohā. Town in Moradabad District, N.-W. P., see Hunter, I. G. i. 266.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) reads **و با مر و هد رفت** after ازان لشکر جد ایشان.

<sup>7</sup> See J. A. S. B., 1869, p. 126, and Āīn-i-Akbarī, (B), I. p 268. The Mīr ‘Adl was the officer entrusted with the duty of carrying out the finding of the Qāzī, see Āīn-i-Akbarī, III. (J.) 41.

<sup>8</sup> MS. (A) reads **رحمه الله عليه**.

also drew up his forces and came out<sup>1</sup> from his camp. The right wing of Sikandar's forces (the Pnij Bhmyn), earned away the left of Ibrahim's army by sheer weight and after sacking<sup>2</sup> the camp went on to Agra and pillaging the city issued a proclamation on behalf of Sikandar.<sup>3</sup>

The right of Ibrahim Khan's army, however, earned away the left of Sikandar's force, and driving them back pursued them as far as the township of Hodal<sup>4</sup> and Palwal,<sup>5</sup> shouting, Prosperity to Ibrahim Khan<sup>6</sup> Haji Khan at the instant the two opposing ranks closed, passing by the side of his tent,<sup>7</sup> and seeing it had been torn to shreds by the pillaging party,<sup>8</sup> in pretended ignorance of what had occurred hastened to Alwar. A slight engagement ensued with Miyan<sup>9</sup> Yahya Parvin who commanded the advanced guard of Sikandar's army, and a wound was inflicted upon the hand of Miyan Yahya and two of his singers were cut off.<sup>10</sup> He did not draw rein till he arrived at Sambhal. Ibrahim Khan took up a position on the lower ground with four hundred<sup>11</sup> men, and with his front facing down hill<sup>12</sup> awaited the attack of Sikandar, the shots from whose mortars<sup>13</sup> passed over the heads of his men, so that they could not move a step.

When Ibrahim saw that the field remained empty and that his troops were scattered like motes in a sun beam,<sup>14</sup> he realised that Sikandar himself was present with the opposing army, so yielding to necessity<sup>15</sup> he proceeded to Itwa. His canopy and all his regalia<sup>16</sup> were taken. Sikandar pursued him as far as Itawa,<sup>17</sup> where he heard that Jannat Ashizam had reached<sup>18</sup> Hindustan.

<sup>1</sup> MS (B) reads

نهض کرد

<sup>2</sup> MSS (A) / B) omits سام

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) reads بھر دل

<sup>6</sup> For Hodal and Palwal see Hunter I G v 43<sup>a</sup> at 1 xi 21

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) omits حل

<sup>7</sup> گداشتم MS (A)

<sup>8</sup> MS (A) omits عمان سعی (B) عارت گواں

<sup>9</sup> MS (A) reads دوی از انگلشان او را

<sup>10</sup> Read with MSS (A) (B) دوی از انگلشان او را

<sup>11</sup> Supply مو from MSS (A) (B)

<sup>12</sup> I am not quite clear as to the meaning of this passage

<sup>13</sup> The text and both MSS seem to be incorrect. We should read I think روکھا و مصوب دلخهای سکندر

<sup>14</sup> Quran xxv 25 MS (A) reads wrongly here MS (B) شد مسافر ملنوارا

<sup>15</sup> MSS (A) (B) دصوروت ماد و MS (A) reads چور خور

<sup>17</sup> MS (A) (B) لر عطف او ازاوه رسیده MS (B) ماد

retracing his steps thence he proceeded by continuous marches as far as Sihrind,<sup>1</sup> he eventually fought a battle there and was defeated. Ibrāhīm leaving there went to Sambal, and collecting an army procured a fresh gold-embroidered canopy, and a month later crossed (the river) with a force of three<sup>2</sup> thousand sowārs by the ford of Kistī,<sup>3</sup> and (?) made towards Kalpī in order that having collected a fresh army,<sup>4</sup> he might fight 'Adlī again. At this juncture 'Adlī had appointed Hīmūn the grocer, who was his vazīr and uncontrolled agent, and had sent him from Chinhār with certain eminent Amīrs, and five hundred elephants like storm clouds (for blackness), and unlimited treasure to proceed to Āgra and Dilhi.

Hīmūn, regarding Ibrāhīm as his own especial prey, considered it essential to overthrow him;<sup>5</sup> Ibrāhīm came out to oppose him ready for battle, and taking up a strong position shewed a resolute determination to withstand him, such as perhaps Rustum, if anyone, displayed before.<sup>6</sup> But for all this, by the decree of the Almighty<sup>8</sup> he was not successful.<sup>8</sup> He was the possessor of all the praiseworthy qualities which should belong to kings.<sup>9</sup> He was well formed and well spoken, modest, cultured and refined,<sup>10</sup> daring and liberal, but success in war is God-given,<sup>11</sup> and it is not in mortals to command it, it was not his fate<sup>12</sup> to win. Accordingly in this space of two years of disorder he must have fought<sup>13</sup> sixteen or seventeen battles, and on every occasion after gaining a success met with a defeat. *God preserve us from failure after success.*<sup>14</sup>

1 MSS. (A) (B) عاقبتا.

سے هزار (A) (B).

2 MS. (A) کنی kanī (?). MS. (B) گیسی gīsī (?).

3 MS. (B) جمیعتی.

4 MS. (A) reads دفع for واقع.

5 MS. (B) reads مُقابله بمقابلة.

6 MS. (A) (B) read نهایتش همان قدر for بونیايد.

7 MS. (A) reads بونیايد.

8 A footnote to the text says that the word بی is superfluous, MS. (A) omits بی.

9 MS. (B) reads wrongly متخلق for متخلق تواضع for تواضع.

10 MS. (A) (B) موهبته.

11 MS. (A) (B) نصیب for بضیغه.

12 MS. (A) supplies فقرات.

13 نعوذ بالله من الحوادث بعد الكوارث. A tradition, meaning we have recourse to God for preservation from decrease or defectiveness after increase, or redundancy. See Lane s. v. حورباء.

Ibrahim Khān after this<sup>1</sup> defeat, leaving Kalpi made straight for<sup>2</sup> Baiāna with all speed, and Himūn pursuing him arrived at Baiāna Ibrahim Khān taking a body of the Nuhāni<sup>3</sup> and Afghān cultivators<sup>4</sup> and landholders of Baiāna, again<sup>5</sup> went out to meet Himūn, and, making a night attack upon him, the following morning fought a fierce battle with him near to the township of Khānwāl, ten krohs distant from Baiāna, but could not prevail against his destiny, and Himūn said 'It is easy to smite a stricken foe' and rolled him up and inflicted a defeat upon him, so that<sup>6</sup> he was compelled to fortify himself in the fortress of Baiāna, which is a fort of exceeding loftiness and strength. Himūn thereupon, making that fortress the centre of his operations, attacked it continuously every day, subjecting the fort to a heavy bombardment,<sup>7</sup> Ghāzi Khān the father of Ibrahim Khān<sup>8</sup> kept the fort provided<sup>9</sup> with supplies by way of the mountain passes to the westward of Baiāna. Himūn kept up the siege of this fort for three months, and made inroads on the districts of Baiāna on all sides, pillaging and destroying<sup>10</sup> Nearly all the books which my late father<sup>11</sup> possessed in Basāwar<sup>12</sup> were destroyed. A severe famine prevailed throughout the eastern<sup>13</sup> portion of Hindūstān, especially in Āgrā, Baiāna, and Dihlī. It was so severe a famine that one *ser* of *jātrāri*<sup>14</sup> grain had reached two *half-tankahs*, and was in fact not to be had (even at that price). Men of wealth and position had to close their houses, and died by tens or twenties or even more in one place, getting neither grave<sup>15</sup> nor shroud. The Hindus also were in the same

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) اس

<sup>2</sup> We should read here مک اندھا *yak andaz* MS. (A)

<sup>3</sup> MSS. (A) (B) داری

<sup>4</sup> MSS. (A) (B) زرعون The text reads ارغون which has no meaning

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) داری

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) تا بالصورة

<sup>7</sup> MS. (A) اششاری

<sup>8</sup> MS. (A) omits حان

<sup>9</sup> MS. (B) reads میغروستاد

<sup>10</sup> MS. (A) میمود MS. (B) عارت کرده

<sup>11</sup> MSS. (A) (B) وائد مرحوم

<sup>12</sup> MS. (B) omits سادر

<sup>13</sup> MSS. (A) (B) صالک شرق روپہ

<sup>14</sup> The *ser* is approximately two pounds. *Jātrāri* is the Hindustani name for the small variety of millet also known as *chhola jauar* (*Andropogon sorghum*)

<sup>15</sup> MS. (A) reads in error مکووہ for مکووہ

plight, and the bulk of the people were fain to live on the seeds of the *Mughailān* thorn<sup>1</sup> and on wild herbs,<sup>2</sup> also on the skins of the oxen which the rich slaughtered and sold from time to time; after a few days their hands and feet swelled<sup>3</sup> and they died. As a date for that year the phrase *Khushm-i-Īzad*<sup>4</sup> (Divine wrath) was invented.<sup>5</sup> The writer of these pages with these guilty eyes of his saw man eating his fellow-man in those terrible days. So awful was their aspect that no one dared let his glance rest upon them; and the greater part of that country, what with scarcity of rain, and shortness of grain,<sup>6</sup> and desolation, and what with the constant struggle and turmoil, and two years continual anarchy<sup>7</sup> and terror, was utterly ruined, the peasantry and tenants disappeared, and lawless crowds attacked<sup>8</sup> the cities of the Muslims. Among the strange<sup>9</sup> incidents of the year 962 H., during the time of the war between Sikandar and Ibrāhīm, was the fire which occurred in the fort of Āgra. The following is a short account of this incident. During the time when Āgra<sup>10</sup> was emptied of the troops of 'Adli,<sup>11</sup> one of the Amīrs<sup>12</sup> of Ghāzi Khān Sūr entered the fort of Āgra and took up his abode there,<sup>13</sup> to make certain preparations and to take charge of the supplies; while he was engaged in inspecting<sup>14</sup> the rooms of the warchouses, he happened to go early one morning into one of the rooms,<sup>15</sup> and was going round<sup>16</sup> carrying an open lamp,<sup>17</sup> a spark from which fell in one of the rooms which was full of

1 مغیلان *Mughailān* for غیلان *Gīlān*. According to tho *Makhzanu-l-Adwīya*. This is the tree called in Hindī *kikar* or *babūl*. (*Acacia Arabica*) see also Ibn Baitār (South) I. 82, according to whom it is *Spina egyptiaca*. *Mimosa gummifera*. See also Drury, useful plants of India who states that the seeds and pods are used as food for sheep when grain is scarce.

2 درم می کردو MS. (B) adds بود. 3 MS. (B).

4 خشم ایزد *Khushm-i-Īzad*. Gives the date 962. H.

5 یافته شد.

6 MS. (B) omits غل.

7 MS. (B) omits فتنه.

8 MS. (A) omits می reading تاختند. 9 MSS. (A) (B) غرایی (A).

10 MS. (B) omits آگو.

11 MS. (B) reads عدل خان 'Adl Khān.

12 MS. (A) reads اصیری از.

13 MSS. (A) (B) قیام می نمود و (B) می نمود.

14 MSS. (A) (B) سیری میکرد.

15 MS. (A) (B) درون میدپد.

16 MSS. (A) (B) چراغ *chirāgh* is an open lamp with a naked flame generally consisting of a small earthenware saucer of oil with a wick.

gun powder. In the twinkling of an eye an explosion occurred,<sup>1</sup> and the flames shot up to the sky, attended with a violent shock, which led the people of the city to imagine that the judgment day had arrived, and starting from their sleep they began repeating the formula of *Tauhid* (Declaration of Unity),<sup>2</sup> and *Taubat*<sup>3</sup> (Repentance), and *Istighfar* (seeking for pardon). Heavy slabs of stone and massive pillars were hurled<sup>4</sup> through the air to a distance of several *krohs* across the river Jamna, and great number of people were killed,<sup>5</sup> in fact human hands and feet, and the limbs of all kinds of animals were thrown five or six<sup>6</sup> *krohs*. As the name of the citadel of Agra was originally *Badal Garkh*, the words *Atash* : *Badal garkh*<sup>7</sup> made a chronogram to record the date.

In the days when *Himun* blockaded the fortress of *Baiana* God's people were crying for bread and taking each other's lives,<sup>8</sup> a hundred thousand sacred lives were as nought for a single grain of barley, whereas the elephants of *Himun*'s army, which numbered five hundred, were fed solely upon rice, saff oil, and sugar, the senses<sup>9</sup> were shattered by anguish upon anguish in that terrible time —

### Verse

We cherish enemies we also destroy friends,  
What mortal has the power to question our decrees

On one occasion *Himun* was one day presiding at a public banquet and summoning the Afghan Amirs<sup>10</sup> into his presence,

آشی در گرفت که MS (A)

<sup>2</sup> The formula of *Tauhid* is *La illaha illa Allah wahdhu la Sharika lahu* There is no god save God He is one He has no partner

The other formula is *Istaghfiru illah wa atabu istakhr* I ask pardon of God and to Him I repent

Both these formulas are used on occasions of sudden alarm and peril

<sup>3</sup> MS (B) omits و توبه <sup>4</sup> MS (B) reads instead of بدر دیده

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) تلف شد <sup>6</sup> MS (B) omits و شش MS (A) omits

<sup>7</sup> آتش بدال گرخ *Atash* : *Badalgarkh* The fire of Badalgarkh These words give the date 962 H

<sup>8</sup> I read here with MS (A) می گرفند و حار می گرفند Although MS (A) also reads in the margin می دارند the other reading is more probably correct and is a further statement of the terrible straits to which the garrison of *Baiana* were driven

<sup>9</sup> A footnote variant reads حلق را. MS (A) reads هر

<sup>10</sup> MS (B) omits امیران

to the head of the table<sup>1</sup>, urged them to partake of food, saying: "Help yourselves to the largest morsels," and if he saw anyone of them eating slowly no matter who he was,<sup>2</sup> he would address him<sup>3</sup> in terms of the foulest abuse saying: "How can such a nondescript nonentity as you who are sluggish in eating your victuals hope to contend against your own son-in-law the Mughul in battle." As the fall of the Afghan power was near at hand,<sup>4</sup> they had not the courage to say a word to that foul infidel, and laying aside all that disregard of superior force<sup>5</sup> for which they were renowned, swallowed his insults<sup>6</sup> like sweetmeats, either from fear or hope,<sup>7</sup> this had become a regular practice with them.

*Verse.*

Lay not your hand obsequious on my foot,  
Give me but bread, and brain me with your boot!

In the meanwhile news reached Himūn that Muhammad Khān Sūr, Governor of Bangāla, had assumed the title of Sultān<sup>8</sup> Jalālu-d-Din, and was marching with an army<sup>9</sup> like the ants and locusts for multitude from Bangāla, and having reduced Jaunpūr was making for<sup>10</sup> Kälpi and Āgra. Just at this juncture an urgent summons<sup>11</sup> arrived from 'Adli to Himūn in these words: "At all costs come to me at once as I am confronted by a powerful enemy." Himūn thereupon abandoned the siege, and when he arrived at Mandāgarh,<sup>12</sup> which is distant six *krohs* from Āgra, Ibrāhīm (Khān)<sup>13</sup> like a hungry hawk which leaves<sup>14</sup> its nest and pursues the crane, pounced upon him, and hurled against him in

<sup>1</sup> MS. (B) omits سر.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (B) omits بود می بود.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) reads بزیان for بر او (Text).

<sup>4</sup> MS. (B) insert و unnecessarily.

<sup>5</sup> I read here جهل دستبند instead of the textual reading. MS. (A) gives reason to think that this is correct, it reads جهل دستبند which making allowance for conversion of د into ة in writing gives the reading adopted. The textual reading has no meaning.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. (A) (B) شنام اورا د.

<sup>7</sup> MS. A omits از اعید.

<sup>8</sup> MS. (B) omits سلطان.

<sup>9</sup> MS. (A) omits عظیم.

<sup>10</sup> MS. (A) گھنٹو.

<sup>11</sup> Omit نیز. MS. (A).

<sup>12</sup> MS. (A) reads سند اکر. Mandākar. MS. (B) منڈاگڑھ Maudāgarh.

<sup>13</sup> MSS. (A) (B) omit خان.

<sup>14</sup> MS. (B) reads پوریدہ گپت.

battle, but being defeated went towards Alwar. Then, after obtaining<sup>1</sup> reinforcements from Haji Khan Alwari,<sup>2</sup> he again set about<sup>3</sup> accomplishing his own objects, and Himūn detailed<sup>4</sup> his brother's son named Thar Yal<sup>5</sup> with a fully equipped army to pursue him. Thar Yal<sup>6</sup> marching with restless haste pursued Ibrahim for two stages, and joined Himūn. Haji Khan was not pleased at Ibrahim's coming, nor would he send him any assistance. Ibrahim being disheartened<sup>7</sup> turned aside, and bidding farewell to his father, brothers, and all his blood relations left them in Hindun, and, with a small band of followers took the road to Bhatta. Eventually Ghazi Khan a short time after, fell a prisoner into the hands of Haidar Khan Chaghta in Buana, relying upon assurances<sup>8</sup> and great and small of his party were put to death, and not a single one of that line was left, as will be related in its proper place,<sup>9</sup> if God Most High so will it, and now that kingdom and empire, and the independence of that family have become as an idle tale. How wonderful are the ways of God!

### Masnawī

The world is a jnggler decrepit and bowed,  
 It brings to pass one thing but promises another,  
 It calls you with kindness but drives you away with rancour,  
 All its dealings are invariably of this nature  
 If it calls you know not whether it calls you  
 If it drives you forth you know not whether it drives you  
 All of us, old and young are destined to death,  
 No one can remain in the world for ever

Inasmuch as everyone liked Ibrahim Khan who was considered by all to have a wonderful fortune in store for him in a short time large numbers gathered to him from all parts. He fought 432 with the army<sup>10</sup> of Ram Chand, the ruler of Bhatta but was

<sup>1</sup> دو مک گردید MS (A) reads دو مک کردید

<sup>2</sup> MS (B) omits احریشی! <sup>3</sup> MS (B) کرد <sup>4</sup> MS (A) در مده

<sup>5</sup> MS (B) reads نہر پال Nahar pal

<sup>6</sup> MS (B) reads بھار پال Nahar pal

<sup>7</sup> Read here بادند MS (A) reads بادند (?) MS (B) بادند

<sup>8</sup> MS (A) reads بھئی <sup>9</sup> MS (A) reads حکم for حکم

<sup>10</sup> Read طور MS (A) for طور

forced to flee<sup>1</sup> and was taken prisoner. Rājā Rām Chand, in accordance with the customs of landholders,<sup>2</sup> made him a present of a bow, and treated him with the utmost honour and respect,<sup>3</sup> and in a personal interview<sup>4</sup> presented him with a royal tent, with the apparatus of royalty, and attendants: then seating him upon the throne, standing humbly as a servant, performed the offices of attendance.

Ibrāhīm Khān<sup>5</sup> spent<sup>6</sup> some time there, till Bāz Bahādur the son of Sazāwal Khān, Ruler of Mālwa, who eventually read the *Khuṭbah* in that country, became involved in a quarrel with the Miyānī Afghāns, who summoned Ibrāhīm Khān<sup>6</sup> and raising him to the supreme command, sent him against<sup>7</sup> Bāz Bahādur. Rānī Durgāwati the ruler of the country<sup>8</sup> of Kara Katanka also, who was embroiled with Bāz Bahādur on account of the proximity of her kingdom, rose up<sup>9</sup> to assist Ibrāhīm, and went out to fight against Bāz Bahādur, who made overtures for peace<sup>10</sup> and dissuaded the Rānī from assisting Ibrāhīm. She, accordingly, returned to her own country, and Ibrāhīm, not considering it advisable to remain there any longer, went off bag and baggage to Orissa, which is the boundary of Bangāla, and lived on good terms with the *zamīndārs*. Suleimān Karrānī, when he took possession<sup>11</sup> (of Orissa), made terms with the Rājā, and sending for Ibrāhīm with assurances of safety, slew him treacherously in the year 975 H.

#### Verse.

Fix not thy heart on this world, for it has no foundation,  
 Speak not of life, for that too is ruined.  
 The tent of life which thou placedst at first,  
 Death<sup>12</sup> will surely uproot, were it of solid steel.

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) omits فرار نموده.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (B) reads است for میباشد.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (B) omits و آداب. MS. (A) reads ادب.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. (A) (B) یہ.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) omits خان:

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) omits خان.

<sup>7</sup> Read سردارند. MSS. (A) (B), for سپردند (Text).

<sup>8</sup> MS. (B) omits ولایت.

<sup>9</sup> MS. (A) برشاست و.

<sup>10</sup> MS. (A) reads استیل.

<sup>11</sup> MS. (B) reads wrongly در مقدمات.

<sup>12</sup> اجل. MS. (A) reads حل.

Himūn proceeded by rapid marches till he joined 'Adlī<sup>1</sup>

'Adlī and Muhammad Khan Gaurā were at that time sitting down over against one another, with the river Jamna between them, at a place called Chhappai Khatta, fifteen lioks from Kalpi

433

Gaurā, confidently relying upon his superior force to overcome the forces of 'Adlī, had drawn up his cavalry and infantry and elephants to a number surpassing all computation, and was every moment<sup>2</sup> expecting victory, when suddenly the scale turned against him, and Himūn swept down upon him like a comet, and no sooner did he reach the ranks of the picked elephants after crossing the river Jamna,<sup>3</sup> than he swooped down upon the army of Gaurā, taking them unaware as does the army of Sleep, and making a night-assault gave no one time so much as to lift his hand.

They were in such utter confusion<sup>4</sup> that no man knew his head from his heels, nor his turban from his shoes. The greater part of his Amirs were slain, while the remnant who escaped chastisement took to flight. The wretched Gaurā was so effectually concealed that up to the present not a trace of him has been found, and all that remains and paraphernalia of royalty<sup>5</sup> and grandeur became 'like the scattered moths and like flocks of carded wool,'<sup>6</sup> and became in a moment the portion of the enemy. The kingdom is God's, the greatness is God's.

### Verse

In one moment, in one instant, in one breath,<sup>7</sup>

The condition of the world becomes altered

After this heaven given victory and unforeseen triumph, 'Adlī proceeded to Chinar and appointed Himūn,<sup>8</sup> who who was the commander in chief of his army, with abundant treasure and a countless host, elephants of renown, an ornament to the army

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) حادی و میڈان (B) reads حادی در میدان

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) omits بایل

<sup>3</sup> Literally Crying where shall I put the cap where shall I put the case?

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) omits سلطنت و

<sup>6</sup> Quran II 4

<sup>7</sup> MSS (A) (B) read دم لحظه دم دم لحظه MS (B) reads دم لحظه for لحظه

<sup>8</sup> MS (A)

and a terror to the enemy, to repel the forces of the Mughul which had taken possession of the country as far as Itāwa and Āgra, as will be presently related if God Most High so will it.

Just at this juncture Khizr Khān, the son<sup>1</sup> of Muḥammad Khān Gauria, who had been killed, succeeded his father in Kor,<sup>2</sup> issuing the currency and reading the Khuṭbah in his own name, with the style and title of Sultān (Muhammad)<sup>3</sup> Bahādur, and collecting a huge army to revenge his father's death, came up against

434. 'Adlī, who notwithstanding his distress<sup>4</sup> fought bravely on that field, and contrary to expectation met with fierce resistance. After fighting manfully 'Adlī was killed, and joined Muḥammad Khān whose life-blood was yet freshly spilled, fighting in hot blood. This event occurred in the year 962 H. and *Gauria bikūsh*<sup>5</sup> was its chronogram.

Verse.

My soul, do thou look at the world and take what it gives to thy heart's desire;

Live at thine ease therein a thousand years like Nūh.<sup>6</sup>

Every treasure and every store which kings have laid by,  
That treasure and that store seize<sup>7</sup> and take for thine own.

Every pleasure which the world contains do thou consider as made for thee;

Every fruit which grows in the world<sup>8</sup> do thou taste and take.

In the final round which brings the end of thy life,  
A hundred times seize the back of thy hand with thy teeth  
and gnaw it (in despair).

<sup>1</sup> MS. (B) reads و for و.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) omits در کور. <sup>8</sup> MSS. (A) (B) omit مخدوم.

<sup>4</sup> The text reads بِاوجُود آن تندگی. MS. (A) reads تندگی (sic.) MS. (B) reads تندگی. The meaning is not very clear.

<sup>5</sup> گوریہ بکشت *Gauria bikūsh*. A footnote to the text points out that these words give 963 as the date. Thomas (*Pathān Kings*, p. 416) gives 964 H. as the date of 'Adlī's death.

<sup>6</sup> A footnote variant gives چرخ.

<sup>8</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read بعالم for دنیا.

<sup>7</sup> MS. (B) reads دست for چنگ.

'Adli was so highly skilled in singing and dancing that Miyān Tānsin, the well-known *Lalīn-i-kaṭ*<sup>1</sup> who is a past master in this art<sup>2</sup> used to own to being his pupil, and Bāz Bahādur, son of Sarāwal Khān, who was also one of the most gifted men of his age and had no equal in this life-wasting accomplishment acquired the art (of music) from 'Adli.

Verses.

They owned no rival, but surpassed them all,  
May God He is exalted and glorified, pardon them.

One day a performer from the Dakhni brought into his assembly an instrument called *palkhīcaj*,<sup>3</sup> which is in length<sup>4</sup> equal to the height of a man, so large that the hands of no man could reach<sup>5</sup> the two ends of it, as a sort of challenge to those who were present, and all<sup>6</sup> the performers of the kingdom of Dihli were unable to play it; 'Adli, however, found out by his knowledge of other instruments how to play it, and placing a cushion on the floor beat<sup>7</sup> the drum now with his hand and now with his foot. The assembled people raised a shout and all the skilled musicians owned their allegiance to him, and praised him exceedingly; and at the time when he was an Amīr, and as a commander of twenty-thousand held a jāgīr,<sup>8</sup> a Bhagat boy<sup>9</sup> handsome and comely who had acquired perfection in his art, used to come to his assembly from some of the villages near Badāon, and used to play.<sup>10</sup> 'Adli was so fascinated by his beauty and skill that he kept him in his own service and took pains to educate him, giving him the name of Muzāhib Khān.<sup>11</sup> When he attained to kingly power

<sup>1</sup> See Ain-i-Akbari I, (B) 612, note 1. *Kalīn-i-kaṭ* or *Kalīn-i-kānt* is a Hindi word meaning a singer or musician. MS. (A) reads کالن دوست *Kalīn want*.

<sup>2</sup> Badāoni uses the word *wādi* وادی a valley or desert, apparently to show his disapproval of the art.

<sup>3</sup> A large kind of drum. See Ain-i-Akbari (J.) III, 235

<sup>4</sup> MS. (B) reads کلانی for علیا. <sup>5</sup> MS. (A) میں.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) omits اسکے. <sup>7</sup> MS. (A) omits اسے.

<sup>8</sup> MS. (A) reads hero وجہت *Ahāwan* MS. (B) reads اجاوٹ *Ajāwan*. So also footnote variant to text.

<sup>9</sup> بھگت پسری. The Bhagatiya are "a caste of loose people who pass their time in buffoonery, singing and dancing." Sherring I, 276.

<sup>10</sup> MSS. (A) (B) کرد باری. <sup>11</sup> MS. (A) طخا.

he made him a commander of ten thousand. His natural elegance and refinement were such that one day upon returning from the polo ground of Badaon<sup>1</sup> he said, "I am hungry." Ghāzi Khān Sūr whose tent<sup>2</sup> was at the head of the road said "What I have ready is at your service." 'Adli, for politeness sake, felt constrained to accept his hospitality; first they brought some fried sheep's liver.<sup>3</sup> No sooner had he smelt it than he leapt from his seat, and was so disgusted that he left the company<sup>4</sup> and drew rein nowhere till he reached his house; they say also that the sweepers used to gather up the remains of camphor of the finest quality two or three times daily from his dressing-room, and whenever a necessity arose<sup>5</sup> he would first grow red, then pale and livid,<sup>6</sup> and would faint while his countenance changed. In spite of all this leisure and luxurionsness, his fasts and prayers were never duly performed;<sup>7</sup> he had entirely given up the use of intoxicants, and the day he left the world the treacherous time even grudged him two yards of cloth, and it was never known where his corpse went.<sup>8</sup>

436.

## Verse.

Oh ye lords of wealth beware ! beware !  
And you, ye lords of state, beware ! beware !<sup>9</sup>

After him, the kingdom fell away from the race of Afghāns and returned to its original holders, and right once more became established.

<sup>1</sup> The text reads اجاون with a footnote variant بدواون. MSS. (A) (B) read بدواون.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (B) omits قلیہ پوتی &c.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) قلیہ پوتی. The text reads بدوی meaning scraps of meat.

<sup>4</sup> The text reads غشیان ghashyān. MS. (A) reads ghasayān. If we take the reading of the text it will be 'he felt faint.'

<sup>5</sup> تغاضای گرفت MS. (A). <sup>6</sup> برمی آمد MS. (A).

<sup>7</sup> MS. (A) قضانشاد.

<sup>8</sup> He was, as has been described, killed in battle.

<sup>9</sup> MS. (A) reads خداوند مال in the first line, and حال in the second. MS. (B) reads حال in the first and مال in the second.



In this year, 948 H.,<sup>1</sup> Humāyūn married Ḥamīda Bānū Begam, and coming to Pāñtar returned to Lohrī. Mirzā Hindāl started for Qandahār in answer to the summons of Qarācha Beg,<sup>2</sup> the governor of that district, and Yūdgār Nāṣir Mirzā, who had encamped at a distance of ten *krohs* from (Humāyūn's) camp also intended to proceed to Qandahār. Humāyūn thereupon sent Mīr Abūl-Baqā,<sup>3</sup> who was one of the most distinguished of the learned men of the time, Persian commentator on Mir Saiyyid Sharīf, and author of other compositions, to advise him and dissuade him from his purpose, <sup>4</sup> At the time of crossing the river a party sallied out from the fortress of Bakkar and rained showers of arrows upon the people in the boats. The sainted Mīr was struck by the soul-melting arrow of Fate, and was drowned <sup>5</sup> in the ocean of martyrdom. This event took place in the year 948 H. and the chronogram *Surūr-i-kāināt*<sup>6</sup> was invented to commemorate it.

Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir hearkened to this advice and counsel and remained in Bakkar, and Humāyūn proceeded to Tatta, whereupon many of his soldiers left his camp and joined Mirzā (Yādgār) and spent their days<sup>7</sup> in comfort by reason of the increased pay they received. In this way Mirzā gathered strength, and Humāyūn crossing the river laid siege to the fortress of Siyāhwān.<sup>8</sup> Mirzā Shāh Husain kept sending<sup>9</sup> reinforcements

<sup>1</sup> The text reads 947 H. ( ۹۴۷ ) نھصہ و چھل و هفت with a footnote saying that one MS. reads 948 H. and another نھصہ و چھل و هشت و هشت and this is the correct date. 947-948. MSS. (A) (B) both read 948 H. and this is the correct date.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. (A) (B) سو ان. *Firishta*, Qarācha Khān, Bombay text, p. 409.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read میر ابوالباقا MS. (A) omits و.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. (A) (B) add و. <sup>5</sup> MS. (A) دم.

<sup>6</sup> سوور کائنات *Surūr-i-kāināt*. Joy of created things. These words give the date 948 H.

<sup>7</sup> MS. (A) گذرانیده MS. (B) میزد.

<sup>8</sup> *Firishta* says سہوان *Sihwān*. Sihwān or Schwān is in the Karāchī district of Sind, lat  $26^{\circ} 26' N.$  long  $67^{\circ} 54' E.$  The river Indus formerly flowed close to the town but has now quite deserted it. The fort of Sihwān is ascribed to Alexander the Great. See Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, XII. 305; but Tiefenthaler (I. 128) attributes it to Husain, son of Shāhbeg Arghūn.

<sup>9</sup> MSS. (A) (B) آزوقة.

and supplies<sup>1</sup> to the garrison,<sup>2</sup> and embarking on a boat, and<sup>3</sup> coming near to the camp blocked the avenues of supplies (to Hamāyūn) The siege lasted for seven months, and victory seemed as far off as ever, while great distress was felt from scarcity of grain<sup>4</sup> and want of salt.<sup>5</sup>

*Verse.*

Every feast which is prepared<sup>6</sup> by the hand of heaven  
Is either altogether without salt or is altogether so salt (as  
to be unenjoyable).

The soldiers were reduced to such extremities,<sup>7</sup> that they were forced to give up grain and content themselves with the flesh of animals, and finally<sup>8</sup> they had to abandon the hope of even this.

*Verse*

The hungry-bellied fastened his eyes on skins,  
For fur is the near neighbour of flesh

Then he sent messengers a second time to Bakkar to summon Mirzā<sup>9</sup> Yādgār Nāsh, so that in conjunction with him he might repel Mirzā Shah Husnūn and gain possession of the fort He sent a reinforcement, which was however of no service,<sup>10</sup> and hearing of the distress which prevailed in the camp he saw no good in going there, so remained in Bakkar<sup>11</sup> Mirza Shah Husnūn played upon his ambition by false promises of the rule of that kingdom, and of having the *Khūqāh* rend and the currency issued in his name, he also promised to obey him, and also that he would give him his daughter in marriage, and thus misled him into

<sup>1</sup> MS (B) فروستاد می

<sup>2</sup> This is the statement of one author, but Firuzkhan says "The siege lasted for seven months Mirza Shah Husain Arghun also came with boats and blocked the road by which supplies of grain came, in consequence of so great scarcity of food ensued that they had to live on the flesh of animals" Bombay text 409

<sup>3</sup> MSS (A)(B) و

<sup>4</sup> MS (B) مکھی می

<sup>5</sup> می نمکی می

<sup>6</sup> Footnote variant دست ماز Footnote variant سر

<sup>7</sup> MS (A) omits اکثرے ہی most of them

<sup>8</sup> Text reads آخر MS (B) reads اکثرے ہی

<sup>10</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read پیاہد

<sup>9</sup> MS (B) omits میرزا

<sup>11</sup> Footnote variant بکر Bakkar

opposing Humāyūn.<sup>1</sup> He further took possession of all<sup>2</sup> the boats belonging to Humāyūn, who, in consequence of all these obstacles, any one of which was a sufficient reason,<sup>3</sup> seeing the distress and misery of his army, abandoned the siege<sup>4</sup> of the fortress, and all unwillingly saying, "Retreat is the wisest course," turned back towards Bakkar, and remaining several days inactive for want of boats, at last by the help of two zamīndārs recovered two boats which Mirzā had sunk, and reached<sup>5</sup> Bakkar. Mirzā, as a means of covering<sup>6</sup> the shame he felt, before he came to pay his

439. respects,<sup>7</sup> marched by forced marches against Mirzā Shāh Husain, and putting to death or taking captive large number of the people of Tatta, who in ignorance of his intentions had left their boats,<sup>8</sup> did a good deal to repair<sup>9</sup> his former defections. Then with shame and confusion he came and had an interview (with Humāyūn) and brought in countless heads of the enemy. His faults were overlooked, but in consequence of certain events which occurred, he again became rebellious, and being deceived by the wiles of Mirzā Shāh Husain, prepared for war. Mun'īm Khān who eventually became Khān-i-Khānān also meditated<sup>10</sup> flight. Both of them, however, became<sup>11</sup> aware of the folly of their design, and realising its heinousness abandoned their iniquitous intention. The men of Humāyūn's force were day by day going over to the side<sup>12</sup> of Mirzā Yūdgār Nāshir. In the meantime Maldeo, Rāja of the kingdom<sup>13</sup> of Mārwār, who was distinguished above all the zamīndārs of Hindūstān on account of the strength of his following<sup>14</sup> and his exceeding grandeur, again sent letters of summons. Humāyūn not thinking it advisable to remain<sup>15</sup> any longer in the vicinity of Bakkar and Tatta, proceeded by way of Jaisalmir towards Mārwār. The Rāja of

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) reads بـا پـادشـاه مـخالفـت سـاخت.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) omits بـتمـام.

<sup>3</sup> كـهـاـمـعـلـيـ مـسـتـقـلـ بـودـ اـزـ بـرـايـ وـبـرـانـيـ لـشـكـوـ.

<sup>4</sup> اـزـ سـرـ قـلـعـهـ.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (B) رـسـيدـهـ.

<sup>6</sup> دـفعـ.

<sup>7</sup> Footnote variant بـدـفعـ.

<sup>8</sup> اـزـ کـشـتـيـ يـدـرـ آـمـدـهـ بـودـنـهـ.

<sup>9</sup> MS. (B) تـالـافـيـ reads.

<sup>10</sup> MS. (B) اـراـدـهـ.

<sup>11</sup> MS. (B) مـطـلـعـ شـهـ.

<sup>12</sup> MS. (B) جـانـبـ.

<sup>12</sup> MS. (A) مـلـكـ.

<sup>14</sup> Omit قـوـتـ and read جـمـعـيـتـ.

<sup>15</sup> MS. (A) omits خـودـ after بـودـنـهـ.



aware of their treachery from its outset]<sup>1</sup> returned without asking permission, and informed Humāyūn of the real state of affairs. He on the instant started with all haste for Amarkot. It so chanced that two of Mäldeo's spies had arrived at that same place, and Humāyūn gave orders for them both to be put to death. In their despair one drew a knife, and the other a dagger,<sup>2</sup> and fell upon (their enemies) like boars wounded by arrows, and killed<sup>3</sup> a large number of living things,<sup>4</sup> men, women and horses, whatever came in their way.<sup>5</sup> Among the number was Humāyūn's charger: Humāyūn thereupon asked Tardī Beg for a few horses and camels,<sup>6</sup> he however behaved meanly, and Humāyūn mounted a camel. After a while<sup>7</sup> Nadim, his foster-brother,<sup>8</sup> gave the horse which his mother was riding to the king, he himself going on foot in his mother's retinue through that bare desert, which was like an oven for heat.<sup>9</sup> His mother afterwards rode on the camel, and they traversed that road<sup>10</sup> which was so terribly difficult, amid constant<sup>11</sup> alarms of the attack of Mäldeo, [and with intense labour and distress].<sup>12</sup> In the middle of 41. the night they reached a place of safety; by chance the Hindūs of Mäldeo's army]<sup>13</sup> pursuing them through the night, missed their

<sup>1</sup> The words in brackets are not in MSS. (A) (B).

<sup>2</sup> Read کاره یکی و خنجر دیگری گشیدن. MS. (A).

<sup>3</sup> هلاک ساختند و بقتل رسانیدند. MS. (A). This is the preferable reading.

<sup>4</sup> Read معاندان for چاندان. MSS. (A) (B).

<sup>5</sup> برقہ پیش می آمد. MS. (B) آید. MS. (A).

<sup>6</sup> This is the reading of the text. MS. (A) reads جند است شیو (sic).

Firishta says that Humāyūn's horse shewed signs of tiring, (مسنتی نمود) so that he asked Tardī Beg for a horse, who unkindly refused, and as every moment tidings kept arriving that Mäldeo's army was near at hand, Humāyūn had no alternative but to mount a camel (Bo. Text, p. 410.)

<sup>7</sup> Text حکیم ہے. MS. (A) omits. Firishta writes حکیم ہے whereupon.

<sup>8</sup> Firishta writes ندیم کو کھڑے خود.

<sup>9</sup> Firishta gives a slightly different version of this: stating that Nadīm himself went on foot and placed his mother on his own horse leading it, afterwards mounting her on a camel. (Bo. text loc cit.).

<sup>10</sup> MS. (A) آٹ را را (sic). MS. (B) reads روز را.

<sup>11</sup> MSS. (A) (B) omit و هردم. <sup>12</sup> Omit ہل after مشقت. MS. (A).

<sup>13</sup> All this passage from بود to بخشش is omitted in MS. (B).

way,<sup>1</sup> and in the morning, in a narrow pass, came upon the rearguard of the army, who were two and twenty in number. Mumtum Khan and Roshan Beg<sup>2</sup> Kokn, and another<sup>3</sup> party of men who belonged to that side having arrived, a battle ensued. In the very first onset the leader of the Hindus went to hell from an arrow-wound, and a large number were killed. They could not withstand the attack, and many camels fell into the hands of the Muslims. This victory was the occasion of great rejoicing.<sup>4</sup> Marching from thence and being without water,<sup>5</sup> after three days they arrived at a halting-place, where, on account of its depth<sup>6</sup> a drain had to be beaten at the mouth of the well, so that its sound might reach the place where the oxen for drawing the water were.<sup>7</sup> For lack of water, a crowd of people in their distress were lost, and<sup>8</sup> disappeared like water in that sandy plain, which was a very river of quicksand, while many horses and camels

<sup>1</sup> According to our author's account it seems as though Maldeo's men lost their way, but Firuzta's account is as follows: "When the tidings of the approach of the infidels arrived Humayun ordered certain of his officers who were with him to follow him in close succession, while he himself started with a small party of not more than twenty five; when night came on the officers lost their way and went in another direction towards morning the ranks of the enemy's army became visible, and in accordance with (Humayun's) orders Khalil 'Ali and the rest who were in all not more than twenty five men repeated the creed, then turned and with stout heart gave battle. Fortunately the very first arrow struck the leader of the infidels in the breast, he fell headlong to the earth and the rest fled. The Muslims pursued them and captured many camels. Humayun returned thanks to God and alighted at a well which contained a little water where the Amirs who had lost their way came up."

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) omits سگ

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) omits دوکر

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) reads حوش قنی.

<sup>5</sup> آپ بروائشند، is the reading of the text and both MSS (A) (B) but it does not tally with Firuzta who writes "Marching thence, for three stages water was absolutely un procurable, and the people were in great distress, on the fourth day they reached a well, &c." Perhaps we should read آپ بروائشند یا. Putting up with the want of water

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) omits کم.

<sup>7</sup> The rope was so long that before the bucket reached the mouth of the well the oxen used to draw it up, had gone so far that the sound of a drain was necessary to warn their drivers that they must stop. MS (A) reads دی گروکش بود میرسند also داس for داس

<sup>8</sup> MS (B) omits و عالم

drinking water after their long and unaccustomed drouth, died<sup>1</sup> from surfeit of water. And inasmuch as that desert, like the midday mirage,<sup>2</sup> was as interminable as the troubles of the hapless<sup>3</sup> wretches of the army, perforce they turned aside by a circuitous route<sup>4</sup> towards Amarkot, which lies at a distance of a hundred krohs from Tatta. The governor of Amarkot, named Rānā, came out to meet them accompanied by his sons, and did all in his power<sup>5</sup> to render fitting service.

Humāyūn bestowed<sup>6</sup> all that he had in the treasury upon his followers, while to supply the party who had not yet arrived,<sup>7</sup> he borrowed from Tardi Beg and others by way of assistance, and gave it them. He also made presents of money, and sword-belts<sup>8</sup> to the sons of Rānā, who, for the reason that his father had been put to death by Mirzā Shāh Ihsain Arghūn, collected a large force<sup>9</sup> from the surrounding country,<sup>10</sup> entered the service of Humāyūn, and leaving his baggage and camp equipage in<sup>11</sup> Amarkot under the care and protection of Khwāja Mu'zam, the brother of Begam,<sup>12</sup> he (Humāyūn) proceeded towards Bakkar.<sup>13</sup>

442. On Sunday, the fifth of the month Rajab, in the year 949 H. the auspicious birth of the Khalifah of the age Akbar Pādshāh occurred in a fortunate moment at Amarkot. Tardi Beg Khān conveyed this joyful tidings to Humāyūn at that halting-place, who after giving (the child) that auspicious name,<sup>14</sup> proceeded

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) هلاک گشتنہ.

<sup>2</sup> سراب MS. (A) reads سیراب.

<sup>3</sup> بلا دیدگان اردو. The calamity-stricken of the army.

<sup>4</sup> را گردانیده. I can see no other meaning for this expression.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) reads حسب المقدار. MS. (B) reads حسب.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. (A) (B) بخش فرمودنہ.

<sup>7</sup> MS. (A) نرسیدہ.

<sup>8</sup> کمر خنجری. MS. (A).

<sup>9</sup> MSS. (A) (B) omit ب.

<sup>10</sup> از اطراف کرده اور دل. MS. (B). The text is correct.

<sup>11</sup> MSS. (A) (B) در (د).

<sup>12</sup> MSS. (A) (B) omit پادشاه.

<sup>13</sup> It was now that Akbar was born, according to Firishta, before Humāyūn left for Bakkar. See Bo. text, p. 411. Briggs, II. 95; but from our author's text it appears that Humāyūn had left Amarkot before his son was born, and only saw him at Chaul.

<sup>14</sup> The text and both MSS. (A) (B) read فرجام ماند which is not capable of satisfactory interpretation. It is suggested that we should read ماند instead of فرجام.

with all haste towards Bakkar. At the camp of Chaul<sup>1</sup> he sent for the Prince of auspicious mien, and was rejoiced by the well-omened sight of his son. His soldiers, in whose nature the craft of unfaithfulness was as firmly planted as is deceit in the nature of the times, were one by one, including even Mun'im Khan, deserting.<sup>2</sup> At this time Buram Khan<sup>3</sup> came from Gujrat and tendered his allegiance. Considering it unadvisable to remain in that country Humayun determined to make for Qandahar. Mirza Shah Husain thinking this an opportunity not to be lost, in accordance with a requisition<sup>4</sup> sent thirty boats and three hundred camels, and Humayun crossed the river Indus. At that time Mirzā Kamīā<sup>5</sup> had taken Qandahar<sup>6</sup> from Mirzā Hindal and had left it in charge of Mirza 'Askari, and having given Ghazni to Mirza Hindal had read the Kutubah in his own name. After some time, however, he changed that also.<sup>7</sup> Mirzā Hindal having given up all royal dignity in Kabul used to live like a dariyah,<sup>8</sup> and Muza Kāmrān yielding to the instigation of Mirza Shah Husain wrote to Mirzā 'Askari saying, "Seize the road by which the Pādshah will proceed and take him prisoner in any way you can contrive." Accordingly when he arrived at the camp of Shal Mastang<sup>9</sup> Mirza 'Askari<sup>10</sup> marched by forced marches from

چول ۱ Chaul or Chore a village situated on the route from Amarkot to Jaisalmer, eight miles northeast of the former place. See Thornton's Gazetteer, I p 143 and map Lat 25° 25 Long 69° 51. See also Keith Johnston's Atlas.

<sup>2</sup> MSS (A) حمل بیرون مگاں فراری نمودند (B) فاری نمودند So also Firighta who says But after a short time the army began to scatter and nothing could be accomplished. Mun'im Khan also fled so.

<sup>3</sup> See Āin-i Akbari I (B) 315 No 10

<sup>4</sup> MS (B) omits حسب

<sup>5</sup> MS (B) omits صورا کامران

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) omits برا

<sup>7</sup> MS (A) reads اکرا نعمت نمودند MS (B) reads اکرا نعمت نمودند

<sup>8</sup>

<sup>9</sup> The text reads شال مسٹانگ Shal Mastang but both MSS (A)(B) read سال مسٹان معرل اردو دو د Sal Mastan manzil : Urd : but Firighta Bo text, p 411, line 10 reads سال وہستان Sal Waheanan which is probably a copyist's error for شال و مسٹان Shal o Mastan. We should therefore read Shal o Mastang understanding by it Mustang which lies S S W of Quetta or Shal at a distance of about 25 miles. See Thornton's Gazetteer, II pp 66 and 188. The distance from Qandahar to Shal is about 150 miles.

<sup>10</sup> A footnote variant reads میرزا مسٹان Mirza Hindal Not in MS (A) or (B)

Qandahār and sent Chūlī<sup>1</sup> Bahādur Uzbaki to reconnoitre.<sup>2</sup> He however, went straight off and informed Bairām Khān, whose camp he reached at midnight, and Bairām Khān went with all haste behind the royal tent and represented the state of affairs. Accordingly he gave up all idea of Qandahār and Kābul, and in opposition to his brothers, uttering the formula<sup>3</sup> of separation, took the road to 'Irāq, accompanied by twenty-two men, among whom were Bairām Khān and Khwāja Mu'tazzam. These two he sent to bring the Queen-consort and the young prince, asking Tardi Beg for the loan of a few horses, who, however, again branding himself<sup>4</sup> with the stigma of meanness and disgrace, refused to comply with this request, and further declined to accompany him. Humāyūn left the young Prince, who was an infant of only one year, in the camp under the charge<sup>5</sup> of Atkah Khān<sup>6</sup> on account of the great heat and the scarcity of water along his route, but took the Queen-consort<sup>7</sup> with him and journeyed by way of Sistān.

Mirzā 'Askarī just then arrived at the royal camp,<sup>8</sup> and alighting and tearing the veil of humanity from the face of modesty, set about appropriating the valuables. He also placed Tardi Beg<sup>9</sup> in rigorous confinement, and carried off the young

<sup>1</sup> Footnote variant جوکی Jūkī.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. (A) (B) فرستاده. MS. (B) omits گیری.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) omits کلمہ. See Qur'ān xviii. 77.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (B) reads گشودہ for گشیدہ.

<sup>5</sup> اتابکی atabakī. The word atabak or atābek is a Turkī word signifying "grand-père, précepteur, instituteur du fils des Sultāns." (Pavet de Courteille),

<sup>6</sup> Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Atgah Khān. See Āin-i-Akbarī I. (Bl.) 321. No: 15, where we learn that it was he who assisted Humāyūn to escape drowning after the defeat of Qanauj. Humāyūn attached him to his service, and subsequently appointed his wife wet nurse (*anāgah*) to Prince Akbar at Amarkot, conferring upon her the title of Jī Jī Anāgah."

The word لی anā means a mother in Turkī, while اکا anākah or کا anākā means a nurse, as لی atā means a father; the word اکا atākah would mean foster father, and this is probably the name given to Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad, not Atgah or Atka.

<sup>7</sup> MS. (B) omits گلپاچا after بیگم. MSS. (A) (B) read بودند گرفتند for گرفتند.

<sup>8</sup> دیوان خاندان عالی Dīwān Khāna-i-'Alī.

<sup>9</sup> The words بحکم do not seem to convey any definite meaning, we should perhaps read مسلم be-hilm.

Prince<sup>1</sup> to Qandhar, and handed him over to Sultan Begam, his own wife, with injunctions to take every care for his kind treatment and protection.<sup>2</sup> In that journey important events took place,<sup>3</sup> which, although they were fully and elaborately detailed in the original,<sup>4</sup> do not admit of relation in this place, and must be rapidly passed over as he did that long stretch of road. These events took place in the year 930 H. (1543 A.D.) In short, leaving Sistan and journeying to the city of Khorasan, he had an interview with Sultan Mohammad Mirza, the elder son of Shah Tahmasp, who held the rule of that country under the tutelgo<sup>5</sup> of Mohammad Khan Taklu,<sup>6</sup> and receiving all the necessities of royalty, and requisites for his journey,<sup>7</sup> with all honour and ceremony reached the sacred city of Meshed (Mashed), and at each successive stage, by order of the Shah, the governors of the provinces hastened to welcome him, and made all preparations for entertaining him and showing him hospitality, escorting him from stage to stage. Bairani Khan proceeded to do homage to the Shah, and brought with him thence a letter congratulating Homayun upon his arrival. The two monarchs met at Pulaq-Soriq<sup>8</sup> and exchanged the customary honours and courtesies.

In the course of conversation the Shah asked what had led to his descent, Humayun inadvertently<sup>9</sup> replied 'The opposition of my brothers.' Bahram Mirza, the brother of the Shah, who was

<sup>1</sup> MSS (A) (B) omit ب

<sup>2</sup> Omit و MSS (A) (B)

<sup>3</sup> داد روی MS (A)

<sup>4</sup> MSS (A) (B) لطف دوستی That is to say, in the Tabaqat-i-Albari. See Elliot and Douson, V 217, et seqq.

<sup>5</sup> اتابیقی Atabiqi. The termination *iq*, *ugh*, *in* or *ugh* indicates either relationship, as in this instance; an abstraction, as in چو فرق chūqluq, abundance; or possession. See Pavot de Courteille &c.

The word patronage would more etymologically represent *atabiq*, but in modern usage this word has become perverted from its true sense.

<sup>6</sup> Called by Nāmu d Din, Ahmad Muhammad Khan Sharfa d Din Ughli Taklu (F and D, v 217). The word تکلو Taklu means "eau qui coule dans une vallée et des flancs d'une montagne, lieux humides et verdoyants" (P de C.)

<sup>7</sup> MS (B) reads داده و ما بحاج سلطنت گرفته This reading is also given as a variant in a footnote to the text.

<sup>8</sup> The text has نیلانی سورتاق (Sic) ایلانق ? *Ilaq Surtag*, but both MSS (A) (B) read پلاق سوریق *Pulaq Suriq*

<sup>9</sup> MSS (A) (B) omit the article, reading خاری دهن

present, was grieved at this speech, and from that day<sup>1</sup> forth sowed the seeds of enmity against Humāyūn in his heart, and set himself to overthrow his enterprise, [nay more to overthrow Humāyūn himself as well],<sup>2</sup> and impressed upon Shāh Tahmasp, saying, "This is the son of that self-same father who taking so many thousand Qizilbāsh soldiers to reinforce his army, caused them to be trampled under foot by the Özbaks, so that not one of them escaped alive."<sup>3</sup> This was a reference<sup>4</sup> to that affair in which Bābar Pādshāh took Najm-i-Ayywal from Shāh Isma'il<sup>5</sup> with seventeen thousand Qizilbāsh cavalry,<sup>6</sup> and led them as an auxiliary force against the Özbaks, and at the time of the siege of the fortress of Nakhshab, otherwise known as Kash,<sup>7</sup> (?) wrote the following verse upon an arrow and discharged it into the fort:

*Verse.*

I made Najm Shāh to turn the Özbaks from their path,  
If I did wrong, (at any rate) I cleared (my own) path.

The following day when the two armies met<sup>8</sup> he withdrew<sup>9</sup> to one side, and the Qizilbāsh troops met with the treatment which was in store for them; that circumstance<sup>10</sup> is notorious.

However, to return from this digression, Sultān Begam<sup>11</sup> the sister of the Shāh, whom he regarded as an adviser equal to the

<sup>1</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read از آن روز باز.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (B) omits the words in brackets. MS. (A) reads ضایع ساختن cf. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Elliot, v. 218.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. (A) (B) بدر نیامد.

<sup>4</sup> The text is correct تلمیح MS. (A) reads بلمخ.

<sup>5</sup> In the Memoirs of Bāber, (Erskine, p. 243), he is called Nijim Sani Isfahāni. (Najam-i-Sāni Isfahāni).

<sup>6</sup> MSS. (A) (B) omit سوار.

For an account of this see Erskine (Memoirs of Bāber), pp. 242, 243.

<sup>7</sup> MS. (A) reads کس kas (?).

<sup>8</sup> نسب Nakhshab. "In Mawarān-n-nahr between the Jaihūn and Samārqand, but not lying on the road to Bokhārā, is kept on the left in journeying from Bokhārā to Samārqand, also called Nasaf, situated three stages from Samārqand." See Yāqūt, s. v.v. نسب and نسف. In Bokhārā, see Kesh (Keith Johnston's Atlas), or Shehr-i-Sabz.

<sup>9</sup> MS. (B) reads تلاني for التقى.

<sup>9</sup> MS. (A) كشیدة.

<sup>10</sup> MSS. (A) (B) قصبة. Text reads قصبة.

<sup>11</sup> MS. (A) reads سلطانام Sulṭānam. So also *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

promised Mahdi,<sup>1</sup> (who in the belief of the Shī'ahs lies concealed in a subterranean dwelling in the city of Samirah, otherwise known by the name of *Surrā man rā's*,<sup>2</sup> and when necessity arises will emerge from thence and inaugurate an era of equity), and with whose opinion and advice all the affairs<sup>3</sup> of State were bound up,<sup>4</sup> dissuaded him from that mistaken step,<sup>5</sup> and by the use of rational argument brought him back<sup>6</sup> to an attitude of kindness and amanhood, and induced him to help and assist His Majesty (Humāyūn) wrote a *rūdā'i* (quatrain) of which the following is the last verse<sup>7</sup>

## Verse

All kings desire the shadow of the Humā,<sup>8</sup>  
Behold! the Humā has sought thy shadow

On a certain occasion he interpolated this verse into a fragment from Salmān,<sup>9</sup> and sent it to the Shah

1 The promised Mahdi, or Leader who is to appear before the Resurrection  
See *Miftāḥ al-Haqq*, xxii; also Hughes' *Dict. of Islam*, 305

2 Samarrā, in 'Irāq. Founded by Al Mu'tasim b. 'Uthmān, eighth Khālidah of the house of 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib. See *History of the Caliphs* (Jarrett), p. 350

Its name was changed by Al Mu'tazim for the sake of good augury into *Surrā man rā's* meaning 'Who sees it rejoices'. Samarrā was at one time the capital of the Caliphate, but became once more merely a provincial town when the seat of government was removed to Būkhārah remaining however a place of pilgrimage to the Shī'ah Muslims for here were to be seen the tombs of two of their Imāms, also the Mosqno with the underground chamber, from which the promised Mahdi Al Qāsim is to appear. See J. R. A. S., 1895, p. 76, for the article from which this note is abridged - a translation from the Arabic of Ibn Serapion, by Mr. Lo Strange.

8 MS (A) *هُمَّات*.

4 MS (B) omits *وَرَد*.

5 Text *كَيْلَانِدَة*. MS (A) reads *كَيْلَانِدَة* (?)

6 MS (A) *أَوْرَد*.

7 MSS (A) (B) *سَتْ أَحْرَنْ اَنْ اَسْتَ*

8 *Huma*, see p. 57 of this work and note 2

There is an allusion here to the name Humayūn in its etymological sense of relation to the *llama* or bird of royal augury

9 Read *بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ* MS (A)

Salmān Sawāfi Jamālā d. Dīn, a native of Sawāfi. Shāikh 'Alī d. Dāwūdah of Samān said, "I have never seen in all the world the equal of the verses of Salman or the pomegranates of Samān". He died in the year 669 H. *Majma' al-Fuṣūl*, II. 19. See Beato O. B. D. p. 235, where Salmān is said to have died in 770 A. H. See also H. K. 8946 *Firaqīma*. The date of his death given in the *Majma' al-Fuṣūl* must be incorrect, as Salman was the panegyrist of Amir Shāikh Hasan and of his son Sultan Awānī Jalayer the latter of whom died in 746 A. H. See *Ain-i-Akbari* I (B) 100 n. 6

## Verse.

I hope that the Shāh will out of kindness treat me,  
As ‘Alī treated Salmān in the desert of Arzhan.<sup>1</sup>

The Shāh was extremely pleased, and after innumerable banquets and associations in travelling, and hunting expeditions,<sup>2</sup> arranged all preparations on a scale of regal magnificence in Humāyūn's honour, and took much trouble in giving his assent to the religious tenets of the Shī'ahs, and to that which the later writers of that persuasion say regarding the blessed companions of Muḥammad, *may God be pleased with them*, and Humāyūn after<sup>3</sup> much ado said "Bring them written upon a sheet of paper." Accordingly they wrote down all their religious beliefs, and Humāyūn read them with a view to copying them, and gave precedence<sup>4</sup> in the Khuṭbah, after the custom of ‘Irāq, to the recital of the twelve Imāms.<sup>5</sup> Shāh Murād, the son of the Shāh, an infant at the breast, with ten thousand<sup>6</sup> cavalry under the command<sup>7</sup> of Bidāgh Khān Qizilbāsh Afshār,<sup>8</sup> was nominated<sup>9</sup> to reinforce Humāyūn, and it was determined that the Qizilbāsh should march

<sup>1</sup> One day Salmān was in the desert of Arzhan which is between Bushire and Shīrāz and swarms with lions. Suddenly a lion confronted him, and in his helplessness he called upon ‘Alī for aid who appeared and drove away the lion. There is a spot known to this day as the *Muqām-i-Salmān*. He is buried at Madām. See *Isābah*, II. p. 224. Salmān Abū ‘Abdi-l-lah al Fārsī, called in Persian Rūzbih.

MS. (A) reads instead of the first line given in the text

میهد وارم کنده لطف با ما آن گند. MS. (B) reads **بَعْد التَّبَا وَالْمُتَّبِعِ**.

<sup>2</sup> Omit and read **ترتیب داد و** MS. (A). <sup>3</sup> **بعد التَّبَا وَالْمُتَّبِعِ**.

<sup>4</sup> Read here **نقل نمودند** for **تعقب نمودند**. MSS. (A) (B).

<sup>5</sup> The Shī'ahs apply the term *Imām* to the twelve leaders of their sect whom they call the true *Imāms*. They are on this account called the *Imāmiyah* and the *Isnā 'Asharīyah*. See Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*, 203 and 572.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (B) reads **دوازده هزار** 12,000.

<sup>7</sup> **با تابعی** Bidāgh Khān was according to *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* the Prince's tutor. Hence apparently the use of this word.

<sup>8</sup> See *Tārikh-i-Rashidī* (Elias and Ross), p. 214 n. Afshār is the name of one of the seven Turkī tribes who had been the chief supporters of Shāh Ismail, and whom he distinguished by a particular dress, including the red cap from which the Qizilbāsh derive their name.

<sup>9</sup> MS. (A) **ناموزد و داشت**.

by one route and Humāyun by another,<sup>1</sup> and that Humayūn should, after gaining the victory, hand over Qandahār to Shah Murād. Taking leave, and marching rapidly through Aīdabil and Tahriz, (Humāyūn) again went to Mashhad the holy city,<sup>2</sup> and succeeded in visiting the shrine of the fountain head of light<sup>3</sup>

At the time when one night he was walking alone in that sacred enclosure, one of the pilgrims said in a low voice<sup>4</sup> to his fellow, "This is not Humayun Padshāh"<sup>5</sup> The other replied "Yes it is" Then coming close, he said in the ear of Humāyun "So you are again laying claim to omnipotence!" This was a reference to the circumstance that Humayun used generally in Bangāla to cast<sup>6</sup> a veil over his crown, and when he removed it<sup>7</sup> the people used to say, Light has shined forth! He also washed his sword in the river and said<sup>8</sup> "Upon whom shall I gird the sword?" When he arrived at Āgra he imposed upon the populace a new self-invented form of salutation, and wished them to kiss the ground (before him). At last Mīr Abul Baqā with the Amirs and Vazirs paid the due respects, and the Amirs of the Qizilbāgh coming (by another road)<sup>9</sup> arrived at Gaimair and took possession of the whole of that territory, and had encamped within view<sup>10</sup> of Qandahār, when<sup>11</sup> after five days Humāyun arrived, and Mīrzā 'Askari was besieged, and for three months continuously<sup>12</sup> fighting was kept up, and a large number were daily killed on both sides. Thereupon Bairam Khān was sent to Kabul as an ambassador to

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) reads که پادشاه قندھار را ... گذارید It was settled that Humayun should ... hand over Qandahar (to Shah Murad) MS (A) omits صوراء

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) inserts مقدس

<sup>3</sup> At Mashhad (Mesched) is the tomb of 'Alī, son of Muṣṭafā Rēzā. See Meynard Dict de la Perse, p 396 s v طرس Ses also Āin i Akbari, (J) III, 86 Firishta reads (Bo Text, p 212)

متوجه مشهد مقدس امام علیہ السلام

<sup>4</sup> Insert دیگری after درین instead of after دیگری MSS (A) (B)

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) reads دیست این ست

<sup>6</sup> MSS (A) (B) می اند احتمد Read درمی داشتند MSS (A) (B)

<sup>7</sup> Supply از MS (A) (B) از راه دیگر MS (A)

<sup>10</sup> MS (B) reads در طاف و ساختند MS (A) درس ایسا

<sup>11</sup> Omit نامن می باشند MS (A) (B)

<sup>12</sup> Insert پیانی after چه می باشد MS (A) (B)

Mirzā<sup>1</sup> [Kāmrān in whose behalf Mirzā 'Askari was fighting and Mirzā Hindāl and Mirzā] Suleimān Badūkhshī and Mirzā Yadgār Nāsir<sup>2</sup> who had arrived from Bakkar in a wretcheded plight; and [since]<sup>3</sup> the idea of the Qizilbāsh was that no sooner would Humāyūn arrive than the Chaghatai would submit to him<sup>4</sup> and would all come in.<sup>5</sup> This, however, did not happen, and the siege became very protracted, and a large<sup>6</sup> number were killed. It was also currently reported that Mirzā Kāmrān was coming to the assistance of Mirzā 'Askari, they accordingly lost heart and meditated a return to their own country.<sup>7</sup> It so happened that just at that very time certain Amirs deserted from Mirzā Kāmrān, namely, Muhammād Sultān Mirzā, Ulugh Mirzā, and Mirzā Ihsain Khān with other noted commanders, and offered their services to Humāyūn. Mu'yd Beg, who was a prisoner in the fortress of

47. Qandahār, escaped<sup>8</sup> from the fort and had an interview with him, meeting with very kind treatment. Mirzā 'Askari in his alarm, sued for quarter, and joined<sup>9</sup> the ranks of Humāyūn's followers; his faults were pardoned and he was distinguished by especial marks of favour.

<sup>1</sup> The words within brackets occur in both MSS. (A) (B) which read

میرزا کامران که میرزا عسکری از جانب او مخاربہ  
می کرد فرستادند و میرزا هندال و میرزا سلیمان الحج

This also tallies with the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. See Elliot and Dowson, V. 219.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) reads ہ but it seems to be in error.

<sup>3</sup> Omit فرستاد in this place, MS. (A). <sup>4</sup> MS. (A) omits چون.

<sup>5</sup> ایل شدن - چعینہ ایل خواهند شد *Il shudan*. To become submissive. See Pavet de Courteille, s v. ایل.

<sup>6</sup> Read here. و همه خواهند در آمد. MSS. (A) (B). The word باطاعت seems unnecessary and tautological; possibly it is an interpolation by a scribe who failed to understand the word ایل *il*, taking it in its ordinary sense of "tribe."

Regarding the Chaghatai, see *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, (Elias and Ross, pp. 2, 3.)

<sup>7</sup> MS. (A) كثیر.

<sup>8</sup> MS. (A) omits می before خواستند and reads

که بدیار خود مراجعت نهایند.

<sup>9</sup> The text read پایان آمد having come down. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* says "managed to escape by stratagem, and let himself down from the walls by a rope." E. and D. loc cit.

<sup>10</sup> MS. (A) ۸۵۷.

## Verse

There's a sweetness in forgiveness which there is not in revenge

He also ordered the Amirs of Qizilbash that for the space of three days they should abstain from interference with the families of the Chaghtai tribe,<sup>1</sup> and the inhabitants of the city, so as<sup>2</sup> to allow of their all coming out, and although Humayun had no territory in his possession yet on account of the promise which had gone forth he brought Bidāgh Khan and Mirzā Murad into the fort and made over the whole of that country to them

## Verse

If a man fulfils the obligation of his promise

That man rises superior to any estimate you may form of him

With the exception of Bidāgh Khan and two or three other Amirs,<sup>3</sup> no one remained in the service of Mirzā Murād, while the remaining Amirs of the auxiliaries, all returned to 'Irsq

Humayun was induced by the coming on of the winter winds, to ask Bidāgh Khan to provide shelter for the followers of his army within the walls of the city, but that inhuman being invariably sent strangely rough answers.<sup>4</sup> On this account some of the Chaghatai Amirs began<sup>5</sup> to take to flight towards Kabul, among them was Muīza 'Askari, who was seized in the way and brought to Humayun, who imprisoned him. Many stirring events<sup>6</sup> happened in those days, which<sup>7</sup> led to the delivery of Qandahar from the hands of the Qizilbāsh. First among these was this, that the Chaghatai Amirs urged upon Humayūn the necessity of seizing Qandahār, on account of the coldness of the weather, saying

<sup>1</sup> الورن چعتا Ulus : Chaghtā. The word Ulus is a Turkish word it is not found in Pedhouse's dictionary. In Fażlu llah Khan's Turkish Persian Dictionary its meaning is given as قبیله بزرگ qabilah : buzurg a large tribe

The title of Ulusbegi 'chief of the tribe' was a very old one among the Mughals. See *Tarikh-i-Rashdi* (Ellis and Ross) p. 132 n. 1

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) reads wrongly ل for ل

<sup>3</sup> Bidāgh Khan + Abul Fath Sultan Afshar and Sufi Wali Sultan Kadamu Tabaqat : Akbari E and D, v. 221

<sup>4</sup> Read سخنان بادر MSS (A) (B)

<sup>5</sup> MS (B) reads کردند

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) reads اوقاعات صای چند The text is correct

<sup>7</sup> Omit مدعى MS (A)

that after the conquest of Kābul and Badakhshān he ought<sup>1</sup> to  
 448. bestow the greater portion of that place again upon the Qizilbāsh  
 as compensation, so that due requital might be made them.

Secondly, the passing of Mirzā Murād on that very day,<sup>2</sup> by  
 a natural death, from the world of existence and trouble.

Thirdly, the tyranny and oppression inflicted by Qizilbāsh  
*canaille* on<sup>3</sup> the inhabitants of the city, and their preventing the  
 Chaghatai from entering the fort, upon any pretext whatever.<sup>4</sup>

Fourthly, this incident, that a fierce<sup>5</sup> *Tabarrā*, in accordance with

<sup>1</sup> MSS. (A) (B) omit باید but it seems to be necessary.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) inserts ام قرار داد روز "the very day of the agreement."

<sup>3</sup> Omit نسبت MS. (B). <sup>4</sup> MS. (B) omits مظلوم.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) reads تبرای تندي. The word here seems to mean one who is  
 anathema, i. e., a Sunnī.

The following long note is necessary as no book I can find explains the word  
 تبرای *Tabarrā*: This word means enmity (as opposed to علی *Tuwallā*,  
 affection) and is a technical term in use among the *Shi'ahs*. In defining  
*tabarrā* a distinction is to be made between مخالفت *mukhālafat* opposition,  
 and عداوت 'adāwat enmity, the former not necessarily involving the latter,  
 for instance two men may be in opposition (*mukhālafat*) on worldly matters,  
 and yet be in thorough amity (*maḥabbat*) in matters of faith, or may be  
 opposed to one another in questions of philosophy and yet be unanimous in  
 religious questions. Thus enmity includes opposition, but opposition does not  
 necessarily imply enmity. And yet it is held that حب *maḥabbat*, affection,  
 and عداوت 'adāwat enmity may occasionally co-exist: for the reason that  
 عداوت 'adāwat is of two kinds, religious, as for instance the 'adāwat of  
 Muslims and Infidels, who regard each other as enemies on the ground of the  
 fundamental differences in their faith: and, worldly, as the 'adāwat between  
 one Muslim and his fellow Muslim on account of some conflict of worldly  
 interests. Thus it is conceivable that 'adāwat and *maḥabbat* may co-exist. Or  
 again one Muslim may have an affection for another Muslim *qua* Muslim, but  
 entertain a hatred for him as an adulterer, while he may love even a *kāfir*  
 (Non-Muslim) for his good works such as alms, &c., while he hates him as an  
 Infidel: his love being merely of a worldly nature in no way connected with  
 religion.

The co-existence of 'adārat and *maḥabbat* in one person due to one con-  
 sideration is however impossible.

Again, the 'adārat which true believers entertain against each other on  
 account of worldly considerations is not injurious to the faith, however  
 reprehensible it may be.

Moreover, the essential origin of 'adārat in religious matters is *kufr*  
 (infidelity), therefore one must consider every *kāfir* as an enemy: thus  
 although there may be lawful ties of worldly affection (*maḥabbat*) between a

Moslim and n Kafir, such as the relation of father and son, or brotherhood other blood relationship or friendship, get all these considerations most he cast aside from the exigencies of religion, and 'a laicet must be based upon their kufir. Again religious affection is centred in *imān* (faith of Islam), we must therefore from religious considerations love all the brethren of this faith whether they are obedient or contumacious.

*Mahabbat* and 'adwāt between a true believer and an unbeliever (Kafir) has different degrees, just as there are differences of degree in the love which any person holds being entangled for his different relations. So also in religious love there are degrees. The highest is that for the Prophet Muhammad, next to this love for the assembly of believers who have close connection and intimate relation to the Prophet; and that assembly is confined to three parties. First, the children and relations of the Prophet who are his members; secondly, his pure spouses who are in a way his members; thirdly, his companions who elected to serve him and gave their lives for his cause.

If among the believers there be any devoid of faith (*imān*), or guilty of any sin which destroys their former works, and in accordance with the dictates of the Qur'añ become worthy of 'adwāt (عذوات) they are excepted (from the rights of *makabbat*) and enquiry should be made into their faith or absence of faith. Inasmuch as *fisq* (immorality) does not necessarily exclude *Imān* (faith) it is not lawful to curse such an one, nor to display تبرّه (tabarrū) against him, but rather to pray for his pardon, as long as he retains *Imān* it is lawful to entertain تبّت (mohabbat) for him, and 'adwāt on religious grounds is unlawful, inasmuch as tabarrū and تسبّب (reviling) are only justifiable when mohabbat for a person no longer remains, which is restricted to death or infidelity.

Now we must consider the words of the Shāh divines who consider opposition to and contention regarding the Khilafat of 'Alī as kufir, according to the words of Khwaja Nasir Tusi: "Muhibbūshu fasaqah wa muheribuhu kafarah" "Those who oppose him are immoral and those who fight against him are infidels."

Accordingly a section who have contented themselves with opposition are not deserving of tabarrū, because their extreme fault is *fisq* (immorality) and the *fasiq* (immoral man) may be a true believer.

The above is translated from the *Tuhfa-i-nā-i-aghariyah* of Shāh 'Ahmad 'Aziz of Dihlī.

The gist of the matter appears to be this that Tabarrū is not justifiable for immorality, but only for infidelity. It seems therefore to take the place in Muslim Theology of the *Arbā'ah* of the Christian Godo. It is more than excommunication, inasmuch as death in infidelity is made the test of tabarrū which thus implies final separation and curse.

The use of foul abusive language against the companions of the Prophet would be held to be loss of ايمان (Imān) and hence to render the reviler liable to تبرّه tabarrū provided he died in that state. As the person referred to in the story was killed by Mirza Yadgar Nāyir who is called ندراي tabarrū incurred.



part of the inhabitants of the world<sup>1</sup> are like a flock of sheep, wherever one goes, the others immediately follow.<sup>2</sup> Mirzā 449. Kāmrān, losing the clue of all independent action, availed himself of the services of the *Shaikhs* and 'Ulamā to sue for pardon. Homāyūn, upon condition of personal submission, effaced the record of his transgressions from the page of his mind with the water of forgiveness. Mirzā, in accordance with the saying "The traitor is a coward,"<sup>3</sup> would not consent to an interview, and took refuge in the citadel of Kābul, where he entrenched himself, and fled thence in the dead of night to Ghaznīn. The whole of his army<sup>4</sup> came over to the camp of Homāyūn, who appointed Mirzā Hindāl to pursue him, and came himself to Kābul, and the hidden meaning of the sacred word "Verily, He who hath ordained the Qur'ān for thee will restore thee to thy returning place"<sup>5</sup> was revealed, and he refreshed to the full his eyes with the sight of the noble Prince his son. This victory was gained on the tenth of the month of Ramazān the blessed,<sup>6</sup> in the year 952 H. (A.D. 1545),<sup>7</sup> and the following hemistich was written as a record of the date:—

*Bē jang girist mulk-i-Kābul az rai.*<sup>8</sup>

"He took the kingdom of Kābul from him without fighting." And inasmuch as others are responsible for the relation of these events, and the compiler of this *Muntakhab* has only adapted his record from them, now however much he may desire to epitomise,<sup>9</sup>

1 MS. (A) موردم عالم ; MS. (B) omits حکم عالم

2 MS. (B) می آوردند

3 MS. (B) reads Al-Hāfiq al-akhāyin khayf. *Al-Hāfiq al-akhāyin* طبایف و الخایف

4 MS. (A) reads سپاهیانش

5 Qur'ān xxviii. 85.

6 MS. (A) omits المبارک.

7 The *Tabaqat-i-Atbarī* (Elliot and Dowson, v. p. 222) says: "The victory was accomplished on the 10th Ramazān, 953 H. when the Prince was four years, two months and five days old. Some place the event in the year 952: but God knows the truth." A footnote (I, page 223) states that the *Atbar-nāma* (vol. I. p. 823) makes the date 12th Ramazān, 952.

8 بی جنگ گرفت ملک کابل از اوی. These words give 952 H. *Firishta* also gives this same hemistich. (Bo. text, p. 418).

9 Text طباب اطناب را کشیده دارد. Lit. to draw tight the tent cords of prolixity. MSS. (A) (B) omit را ; MS. (B) reads سخن fer اطناب.

the thread of his discourse<sup>1</sup> has involuntarily become lengthened (in accordance with the saying). *Narration has many bye-paths.*<sup>1</sup>

To make a long story short when Mirzā Kāmrān proceeded to Ghaznīn and was unable to enter it,<sup>2</sup> he departed towards Bakkar, and Mirzā Shāh Husain, who had given him his daughter (in marriage), came forward to assist him.

Humāyūn put to death Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir who was meditating flight, and proceeded with the intention of conquering Badakhshān. Suleimān Mirzā gave him battle, and was defeated, and

450. Kāmrān Mirzā coming up in Humāyūn's absence took possession of Kābul, placing guards over the ladies<sup>3</sup> of high degree, and over the young Princee.

Humāyūn, after relieving Mirzā Hindāl of the government of Badakhshān, wrote a patent conferring it upon Mirzā Suleimān, and making over<sup>4</sup> the government of that country to him returned with all speed to Kābul. Mirzā Kāmrān, after the defeat of his forces, remained entrenched in Kābul, and when he found himself in straits, out of sheer cruelty several times gave orders for the young Princee to be placed upon the ramparts of the fort within range of both artillery and musketry fire, but Māham Ānka<sup>5</sup> made her own body a shield for him against the arrows of calamity..

*Verse.*

The Sūdārs and Amirs, on account of the heat of the contest in which they were engaged, began to traffic in hypocrisy,<sup>1</sup> and kept coming backwards and forwards, now in one direction now in another. Many of them on both sides were killed. At last,<sup>2</sup> Mīrzā,<sup>3</sup> having made a hole in the wall of the fort, came out in disguise,<sup>4</sup> and when Hājī Muhammād Khān, who had been detailed with a party of men to pursue him, came up with Mīrzā,<sup>5</sup> Mīrzā said to him "What if I have killed your father Bāba Qashqa?" Hājī Muhammād Khan, who was a veteran soldier, energetic and experienced, pretending not to understand him, returned, and the Prince reached his father Humāyūn aafō and sonnd, and the part returned to the whole.<sup>6</sup>

Mayest thou live a thousand years, and a thousand years  
beside,

For in the prolongation of thy life are a thousand advantages

And Mīrzā Kamrān took refuge with Pir Muhammād Khan, 451 Governor of Balhh, and asking his assistance<sup>7</sup> avoided certain of the provinces of Badakhshān without a struggle from Suleiman Mīrzā and his son Isha'īl Mīrzā, and took possession of them, and Quracha Khaa,<sup>8</sup> who had done notable service, together with certain other grasping<sup>9</sup> Amirs, entertained extravagant expectations from Humāyūn, and when their iniquitous desires were not realised hotook themselves to Badakhshān and Kahnī.

Within those few years the earth had quitted its accustomed state of repose, and had undergone tremblings and agitations. A certain witty writer<sup>10</sup> says with reference to this

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) omits لی، و اے to make faints

<sup>2</sup> Read بَعْدَ مِرزا MS (A) <sup>3</sup> Mīrzā Kamrān

<sup>4</sup> Text صورت ناشناش میں MSS (A) (B) read تصویرت ناشناش

<sup>5</sup> میرزا رسید

<sup>6</sup> Text reads حز و کل رجوع نموده MS (A) has the better reading حز و کل رجوع نمود

<sup>7</sup> A footnote variant reads شزار معدنی را for a thousand objects, so also MS (A)

<sup>8</sup> Text مدد طلبند MSS (A) (B) مدد خواسته <sup>9</sup> MS (A) reads علا

<sup>10</sup> MS (A) reads ... نمودند و اعراض حلم طمع شدند

<sup>11</sup> Text طریقی دران یا بگفته This admits of translation also "a certain

The fortress of Kābul which in height surpasses the seventh heaven;<sup>1</sup>

Like the Kite which is six months female and six months<sup>2</sup> male.

On several occasions it happened that Mirzā Kāmrān came to pay his respects to Humāyūn and had a personal interview with him. Humāyūn, out of natural kindness and innate good-will pardoned his shortcomings, and cleared his heart of all rancour against him,<sup>3</sup> and after he had sought permission to leave to make the pilgrimage to the sacred city of Makka, bestowed upon him the country of Badakhshān,<sup>4</sup> and himself going up against Balkh, fought with Pir Muḥammad Khān and ‘Abu-l-‘Aziz Khān, the son of ‘Abdu-llah Khān,<sup>5</sup> the Ozbak king, and defeated them after a sharp engagement. But following the bad advice of his Amīrs, who were treacherous hypocrites,<sup>6</sup> and in alarm about Mirzā Kāmrān, he turned back and came to Kābul.<sup>7</sup> Mirzā Kāmrān<sup>8</sup> once more broke<sup>9</sup> his treaty obligations, and inasmuch as the untrustworthy leaders on both sides began to practise unfaithfulness, and led him out of the way,<sup>10</sup> and he had to fight numerous battles,<sup>11</sup> he eventually sought

*Zarif.*" There was a poet of that name, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan of Iṣpahān. See *Majma' u-l-Fuṣūḥā*, II. 345.

کیوان ۱ Kaiwān. The planet Saturn which is in the seventh heaven.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante p.* 352 *n.* 1. <sup>3</sup> و سینه صاف شدند

<sup>4</sup> See Elliot, v. 229, 230.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) reads عبید اللہ خان. 'Ubaidu-llāh Khān.

The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* calls him 'Abid Khān, Elliot, v. p. 230.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) reads امرای موائی مخالف.

<sup>7</sup> The account given by our author is explained by that of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* which says that on the night before Balkh would have fallen, some of the Chaghatai chiefs whose wives and families were in Kābul, became alarmed because Mīrzā Kāmrān had not joined the army, so they met together and advised Humāyūn not to cross the river of Balkh, but to fall back upon Darra Gaz taking up a strong position: then, after a short time the garrison of Balkh would surrender. Humāyūn agreed to this, and both friends and foes imagined that a retreat to Kābul was intended. The Osbaks took courage and followed in pursuit. A battle ensued in which Humāyūn was personally engaged, but cut his way out, and reached Kābul in safety. See Elliot, v. p. 231.

<sup>8</sup> MS. (A) omits کامران.

گودو۔ MS. (A) ۹

۱۰- میبدوند را از راه بگیرند

<sup>ii</sup> Read نَوْد for نَمُونَة MS. (A).

aid from Islam Shāh, but, meeting with disappointment,<sup>1</sup> and returning thence, was delivered into the hands of Humāyūn by the machinations of Sultān Adūm Ghinkar at Pnshala.<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding all his repeated rebellions his life was spared, but the jewel of sight was taken from him,<sup>3</sup> (as has already been stated), and he was permitted to depart for the sacred Makka. He had the good fortune to make the *Hajj* four times, and thus made amends for his past evil deeds, and thereto delivered up the life that had been entrusted to him.

452.

Verse<sup>4</sup>

Never in the garden of Faith has a blade fulfilled its promise,  
Never has a shaft aimed by Heaven failed to strike the mark  
The tailor of Fate has never clothed any man in a garment  
which it has not afterwards torn from him  
The Age has never given any coin which it has not changed.  
The Time has never played any piece without practising  
deception with it.  
Whom has the Heaven placed in safety beneath the Sun,  
That it has not made short-lived like the shining dawn  
Khūqānī cast dust into the eyes of the world,  
For it has caused the pain in the eyes and has given the  
no remedy

<sup>1</sup> MS (B) reads دیم شہ مایوس گئے از اسلام

<sup>2</sup> Our author is very brief in his recital of this portion of the history, for a fuller account see Elliot, v 232 to 235. MS (A) reads پر ماں تارہا

<sup>3</sup> Mīrzā Kamrān was blinded by the stroke of a lance, see Elliot, v 146 and 235 in the year 960 II. Firzītā gives the *tārīk* written to commemorate it چشم پوشید ریبدک سپھر Chashm poshid tā bedā l-sapihr. He closed his eyes to the injustice of heaven. It is clear that Humāyūn in destroying his brother's eyesight was only choosing the lesser of two evils, the Chaghatal leaders clamouring for his death. Firzītā also says that he made three pilgrimages (*Hajj*) three times, dying on the 11th of Zu'l-Hijjah 964 II (Bo Text, p 455) October, 1557 A.D.

<sup>4</sup> Khaqānī, whose name was Afzalū d Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī an Najjār, a famous poet, was originally a pupil of Abul 'Alā Ganjawi, he took the name Haqāiqi, as his *takhallus* and entered the service of Shāhruwan Shāh the great Khāqān Mānnchāhr, from whom he received the title of Khaqānī. Having absented himself without permission, he was captured and imprisoned in the fortress of Shādarwan, where he wrote many poems. After his release he hastened to Makka and wrote the *Tuhfatu l'Iraqain* while on the way. He

Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī<sup>1</sup> wrote this *tārīkh*.

*Verse.*

Kāmrān,<sup>2</sup> than whom no man has been found more fitted for sovereignty,

Went from Kābul to the Ka'bah, and there committed his soul to God, and his body to the dust.

Kāhī spake this as a *tārīkh* to commemorate his death,  
*Pādshāh Kāmrān died at the Ka'bah.*<sup>3</sup>

And the poet Waisī<sup>4</sup> wrote :

*Verse.*

Shāh Kāmrān the renowned Khusrū,  
Who in majesty raised his head to Kaiwān.

Faithfully served the holy temple four years  
And entirely freed his heart from worldly bonds.

453.

After performing his fourth pilgrimage  
In pilgrim garb, he yielded up his soul to his Lord.

died soon after his return, and was buried in the cemetery of Sorkhāb in Tabrīz in the year 582 H.

*Majma'u-l-Fuṣḥā*, I, p. 200. See also Beale, O.B.D. s. v. Khāqānī.

1 MS. (B) reads عو. MS. (A) reads و مولا قاسم کاتبی.

2 This also means, Happy is he than whom &c.

3 *Pādshāh Kāmrān baka'bah bimurd*. The letters of this line give the date 968 H. instead of 964 H.

Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī otherwise known as Miyān Kālī Kābulī. Our author (see vol. III. p. 172 of the text), stigmatises his poetry as crude and wanting in originality, although he acknowledges that it possesses a peculiar quality unshared by any other author. He was skilled in astronomy, as well as in rhetoric and Sufism, and had also some skill as a composer of music. Badāoni laments the fact that notwithstanding all his advantages Kāhī spent his life in infidelity and impiety. The *Atash-Kada* (p. 190, Bombay Edition) says, that he sprang from the Gulistān Saiyyids; one of his ancestors came out of the city to pay his respects to Timūr and joined his army, whose fortunes he followed until the birth of the Saiyyid aforesaid in Tarkistān. He was brought up in Kābul whence he acquired his name. He went to Hindustān in the time of the Emperor Humāyūn, where he held a position of trust and honour. No date is there given for his death, which occurred in 988 H. See *Ain-i-Akbarī* (B) I, 566 n. 1; also Beale, O.B.D., p. 144.

4 MS. (B) reads دبسی Dabsī for ویسی Waisī (Text).

One night as Wāsi was halden with sleep,  
He visited him and called him towards himself,  
And said, "If they ask thee concerning my death  
Reply, "The pardoned Shāh remained in Makka" :

Mirzā Kāmrān was as a king, brave and ambitious, liberal and good natured, sound of religion and clear of faith. He used always to associate with the 'Ulamā and learned doctors. His poems are well-known. At one time he held such strong views of probity that he gave orders to exterminate grapes from his kingdom, but afterwards became such a slave to wine that he was not ashamed of the after effects of debauch, eventually he left the world penitent and devout. All's well that ends well.<sup>1</sup>

This event took place in the year<sup>2</sup> 964 H.

Mirzā 'Askari, after Qurrāchā Khān was slain in the last battle before Kabul, fell a prisoner into the hands of Humāyūn's soldiery, and Khwāja Jolāla d-Dīn<sup>3</sup> Ma'lūmūd Dīwān convoyed him to Badakshān and made him over to Mirzā Suleiman. He was kept in confinement for some time,<sup>4</sup> and then was released, and Mirzā Suleiman despatched him to Ballū, by which route he purposed journeying to the two sacred cities.<sup>5</sup> When he reached a valley which lies between Sham<sup>6</sup> and the sacred city of Makka, without accomplishing his object he hastened from<sup>7</sup> that desert to the tree Ka'bah which is the bourn of all mankind. The following is the *tārikh* of that event —

*'Ashari pādshāh : daryādil<sup>8</sup>*

Verse

Why dost thou soil thy fingers with the blood of the world?  
For honey is oft mingled with deadly poison.<sup>9</sup>

1 Shāh + marhum dar Makka mand. This line gives the date 964 H.

2 الْأَعْوَاقُ الْأُمُرُوْرُ مَا لَعْنَهُ أَعْوَاقٌ Al umru bil 'auaqib Lit. Events are according to their terminations

3 MS (A) omits سال & MSS (A) (B) دودج

4 حَرَمَيْنِ شَرَقَيْنِ Haramain + Sharqain Mecca and Medina

5 Syria Nizamu d Din Ahmad says "in the country of Rum," Elliot

v 234

6 MS (A) reads بَلْ بَلْ

7 i.e. 'Ashari the bountiful king. These letters give the date 922 H.

8 In the *Miṣḥkat* (xxi Part I) we read that honey was prescribed by Muhammad. A man came to his majesty and said "Verily my brother has a

454. The end of Mirzā Hindāl was on this wise, that after Mirzā Kāmrān had suffered defeat in the final engagement, and had taken refuge with the Afghāns, and Hājī Muhammad Khān<sup>1</sup> Kūkī was executed<sup>2</sup> on account of his numerous misdeeds, one night Mirzā Kāmrān made a night attack upon the camp.<sup>3</sup> By chance that night the dart of death struck Mirzā Hindāl in a vital spot, and he drank the draught of martyrdom. This event took place<sup>4</sup> in the year 958 H. and *Shabkhūn* was found to give the date.<sup>5</sup>

pnrging.' And his highness said : ' Give him honey to drink' and it was done. Then the man came to his highness and said : ' I gave him honey to drink, which has increased the pnrging,' then his majesty said to him thrice : ' Give him honey.' And the man came a fourth time and said : ' it increaseth the pnrging.' And his highness said : ' give him honey.' Then tho man said : ' I have and it increaseth the purging.' Then his highness said : ' God has said truly, there is a cure for man in honey, and your brother's belly lied, by not accepting of the cure.' Then the man gave his brother honey to drink again and he got well."

Honey was held in high estimation as a drug among ancient physicians. The poisonous qualities of honey gathered from certain plants is well known; for instance, we find in the *Makhranu-l-Adwīya* that honey shed by bees which have lighted in the herb Absantīn (*Absinthium*) and the like acquires a bitter taste, and causes diseases of the stomach and liver, while another kind of honey causes fainting and cold sweats and loss of consciousness. So also the poisonous honey of Heraclea, supposed to owe its poisonous properties to the aconite plant.

Quite recently well authentioated cases of honey poisoning have been reported in the United States. The honey in one instance was found to be impregnated with gelsemine. It is generally believed that two varieties of aconite, *Kalmia latifolia* some Rhododendrons *Azalea pontica* and certain other plants of the N. O. Ericaceæ, have poisonons properties which are communicated to the honey of beos lighting on them. It is said that the *Azalea pontica* was the plant which yielded the poisonous honey noticed by Xenophon in his account of the retreat of the Ten Thousand. The active poison *andromedotoxin* has been found in many Ericaceæ. The symptoms of honey poisoning are briefly described as vomiting, pnrging, acute gastro and abdominal pain and cramps, with surface coldness and pallor, and tho general signs of collapse. See *Ind. Med. Gaz.*, January, 1897, p. 27. See also *Med. and Surg. Rep.* September, 1896.

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) omits خان. <sup>2</sup> MSS. (A) (B) omit پادشاهی after سیاست.

<sup>3</sup> Read شبخون برادری آورد. <sup>4</sup> MS. (A) نهود روی.

<sup>5</sup> شبخون. *Shabkhūn*. Night assault. The letters of this word give the date 958 H. The *Tabaqat-i-Akbarī* gives another *tārīkh*. See Elliot, v. 234, which however gives 959 H.

## Verse

When Fate made such a night attack<sup>1</sup> with the forces of the world

That the zenith became red like the twilight from bloodshed,  
Hindal the world conqueror left the world,  
And abandoned the world to Shāh H̄umāyun,  
The young plant like stature of that shapely palm tree  
Was like a lamp to the sleeping n̄partment of the sky  
Wisdom sought for a *tārīkh* of his death,<sup>2</sup> I said,  
Alas! a lamp has been extinguished by reason of a *night attack*

Mirzā Amāni also wrote<sup>3</sup> the following —

Shāh Hindāl the cypress of the rose garden of beauty,  
When he left this garden for that of Paradise,<sup>4</sup>  
The wailing ring dove uttered this *tārīkh*,  
“A cypress has gone from the garden of glory.”<sup>5</sup>

And Manlānā Hasan ‘Alī Kharjs<sup>6</sup> wrote

## Verse

Hindal Muhammad Shāh of auspicious title  
Suddenly was martyred by Fate in the heart of the night,  
Since a night assault (*shabkhan*) caused his martyrdom,  
Seek the *tārīkh* of his martyrdom in *shabkhan*

455

Humāyun bestowed the horses and retinue of Mirzā Hindal upon the young Prince, the asylum of the world, and confirmed to them Ghaznī with its dependencies as *Iqta'* grants<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MSS (A) (B) read سما خویی

<sup>2</sup> MSS (A) (B) omit و

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) reads ماني Mans for امي Amāni (Text) MSS (A) (B) read اءى for اءى (Text)

<sup>4</sup> Read بستان for بستان MSS (A) (B)

<sup>5</sup> سروی ار دوستان دولت رفت

To arrive at this *tārīkh* we take the value of the words *Bustan* + *daulat* which is 959 and then take from this the value of the *sarve* (a cypress) used here for the letter Alif, which is straight and erect like the cypress, and has the value 1, thus we obtain 958 II

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) reads اءى

<sup>7</sup> See *Ain* + *Akbār* (Jarrett) II 115

The Afghāns could no longer protect Mirzā Kāmrān, and it so happened that Mirzā went to Islem<sup>1</sup> Shāh; in the meanwhile the hidden purposes of Heaven were made manifest, so that after hearing the tidings of the death of Islem Shāh, and of the occurrence of extreme confusion and turmoil between the Afghāns of Hindustān and the tribal chiefs, Humāyūn definitely determined upon the attempt of the conquest of Hindustān.<sup>2</sup> In the meantime the lovers of contumacy, that is to say, the envious and riotous, so distorted the appearance of the sincere loyalty of Bairām Khān, in the clear mirror of the mind of Humāyūn, that it was inverted and he was represented by them as hostile. Accordingly an attack was ordered in the direction of Qandahār. Bairām Khān came out in person to receive<sup>3</sup> Humāyūn and with all ceremony offered due service. Thereupon the disloyalty of his traducers became apparent. On this occasion Humāyūn was furnished, by the good offices of Bairām Khān, with the opportunity of meeting that Scion of the Walis, the offspring of the Saints, the seal of the Shaikhs of the Naqshbandī<sup>4</sup> sect, Maulānā Zainu-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Kamāngar.

The following is a fuller account:—

The aforesaid Maulavi was from Bahdā,<sup>5</sup> which is a village of the dependencies of Khurāsān,<sup>6</sup> and had attained to the companionship of many of the Shaikhs, *may God sanctify their spirits*, especially Maulavi Maḥdūmī ‘Arif Jāmī, and Maulavi ‘Abdu-l-Ghafīr Lārī, *may God He is exalted<sup>7</sup> sanctify their spirits*, who supported themselves by giving instruction and making illustrations, and Bairām Khān having opened tutorial relations with him, used to go to take lessons from him, and now and then when he was reading Yusuf and Zulaikha and other books, they used to say,

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) reads سالم Salīm شاہ Salīm Shāh. <sup>2</sup> MS. (A) هندوستان.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) بروزگان باستقبال.

<sup>4</sup> The Naqshbandī Shaikhs were the followers of the renowned saint Khwāja Bahāu-d-Dīn Naqshband of Bokhārā. See Āīn-i-Akbarī (B) I, 423 n. 2 where the meaning of *Naqshband* is said to be the occupation of this man and his parents, who used to weave *Kamkhābs* adorned with figures (*naqsh*). See also for a long account of the Naqshbandī School. Āīn-i-Akbarī (J.) III, 358, et seqq.

Kamāngar means a bowmaker.

<sup>5</sup> Footnote variant بهداین Bahdāyan.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) reads قندھار Qandahār.

<sup>7</sup> MS. (B) omits تعالیٰ.

"Oh, Bairam what is your wish! You yourself are as Ynsnf and Zulai<sup>1</sup> in the world" And Humayun having ordered a banquet in honour of the sacred illuminated spirit of the asylum of the seal of prophecy, *may the blessing and peace of God be upon him*, invited the *Akhund*,<sup>2</sup> and with his own hands took the ewer, while Bairam Khan took the basin, intending to pour the water over his hands, seeing this the Akhund indicated Mu Habibullah, the grandson of Mir Sayyid Jamalu d Din the traditionist, and said,<sup>3</sup> "Do you not know who that person is?" Humayun thereupon perforce carried the ewer to the Mir, who, with the utmost confusion, poured half of the entire contents of the ewer over his hands, after which the Akhund without scruple washed his hands, to their heart's content At this time Humayun enquired,<sup>4</sup> "How much water is enjoined by the Sunnat to be poured over the hands?" They replied, "so much as is necessary to clean the hands," then first Bairam Khan poured water over the hands of the remainder of the assembly, and was followed in this service by Husain Khan the relation of the Mahdi, son of Qasim Khan At last the food was eaten, and Humayun found very great delight in their society, and was much benefited thereby Afterwards he sent a piece of coined gold by the hand of Bairam Khan, saying, 'This is a present'<sup>5</sup> Inasmuch as it was his custom not to take a present from anyone, after great deliberation he accepted it, with excessive reluctance and disgust, and in return for it sent into the presence of the king several bows of his own fashioning, with something over and above (the value of the gold) saying, "Presents<sup>6</sup> must be given on both sides"

The story goes that one day Bairam Khan caused a garment to be made of handsome *Kashmir shals*,<sup>7</sup> and brought it to him He took it in his hand and praised it<sup>8</sup> saying, "What a valuable thing this is!" Bairam Khan said, "As it is a suitable garment for a dervesh, I have brought it as an offering for you" He thereupon made a sign<sup>9</sup> with two of his fingers, as much as to say I have two of them, come give this one to some one more

457.

<sup>1</sup> MSS (A) (B) omit دلگش

<sup>2</sup> دویں a tutor teacher preacher

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) reads میداپید د

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) reads پرسید

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) reads کہ اس نے راست کے

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) omits دردھ

<sup>7</sup> Shalws

<sup>8</sup> Text گردہ MS (A) گردہ MS (B) دیں

<sup>9</sup> MS (A) omits اشارت

deserving of it than I. Many<sup>1</sup> miraculous acts are related of him. Some few of these Shāikh Mu'in-d-Dīn, the grandson of Maulānā Mu'in Wāiz, who by the order of the Khalifah of the time was for some time Qāzī of Lāhor, wrote in a separate treatise: among them this is written, that when archery practice was going on, he used in opposition to his usual habits to come every day<sup>2</sup> to the butts, and give instruction in archery. The youths used to urge and incite Bairām Khān to practise<sup>3</sup> archery, saying that it would surely be useful to him some day. As a fact, the very first<sup>4</sup> defeat of the Afghāns occurred in the fight at Māchīwāra,<sup>5</sup> when the victory was entirely gained by the archers and in all probability that eagerness and instigation had this very end in view.

In that collection of stories also is the following, that when Bairām Khān, after making over Qandahār to Bahādur Khān the brother of 'Alī Qulī Khān Sistānī, came to Kābul, he appointed on his own part a tyrannical Turkomān, so that the people groaned under his oppressive hand, and made many complaints to the Ākhūnd, till he became ill as they desired, and they enjoyed a few days' respite from his oppression, and used to bring tidings of him every day to the assembly of the Ākhūnd. At last one day, as one of them was<sup>6</sup> saying "He has risen from his bed," the Ākhūnd also, looking him in the face, said angrily, "Perhaps he may rise on the morrow of the resurrection." Three or four days afterwards he again fell ill, and removed the disgrace of his tyranny from the world. It is a saying of theirs that the Turk when sleeping is an angel, but when he sleeps the sleep 458. of death he is superior to the archangels.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) reads خیلی منقول است.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (B) reads هر روز و هر روز. <sup>3</sup> Read روش for ورزش. MSS. (A) (B).

<sup>4</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read مچھی وارگ کے شکست.

<sup>5</sup> Māchīwāra. On the banks of the Sutlej in the Ludhiānā District of the Panjab. See Tieff. I, 112. Āīn-i-Akbarī (J.) II, 310; III, 69.

At page 315 of Blochmann's Āīn-i-Akbarī (I), we read "The conquest of India may justly be ascribed to Bairām. He gained the battle of Māchīwārah and received Sambhal as jāgīr."

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) omits میو. The hint given by the Ākhūnd was in true Oriental fashion.

<sup>7</sup> MS. (B) reads بہتر از فرشتہ خواهد بود. MS. (A) reads پیغمبر for پیغمبر and omits بہتر.

## Verse.

I saw a tyrant sleeping at mid-day

I said, this is a calamity; It is best that sleep should take him

And that man who is better when sleeping than when waking  
For such an evil liver death were preferable.

Humāyūn, at the time of his return, had some intention of taking Qandahār from Bairām Khān and giving it to Mu'īm Khān. Mu'īm Khān, however, represented that now that the conquest of Hindustān was on the tapis a change of governors would be a source of dissension in the army, and it would be better to wait till after conquering Hindustān, and then to act as circumstances might demand. Accordingly Qandahār was confirmed<sup>1</sup> to Bairām Khān, and Zamindāwar to Bahādur Khān. Then coming to Kābul he prepared his army with transport and commissariat, and in Zū Hijjah 961 H. set out from Kābul to march against Hindustān.<sup>2</sup> And the following qīṣā'h was written which gives the date in two ways.

## Qīṣā'h.

لُقْسَرُ غَلَزِي نَاصِرُ الدِّين هُمَّا يُون شَاه  
Who without question excelled all former kings,  
Advanced from Kābul for the conquest of Hind;  
The date of his advance is *nūh fad wa ghast wa yale*.<sup>3</sup>

At the halting-place of Parshāwar<sup>4</sup> Bairām Khān arrived from Qandahār<sup>5</sup> and presented himself before the king. By continuous marches they crossed the river Indus<sup>6</sup> and Bairām Khān and Khizr Khwāja Khān, with Tādi Beg Khān and

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) مقرر مائد.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. (A) (B) عازم هند گشتند.

<sup>3</sup> بیضی و شست و یکی. Nine hundred and sixty-one. The value of the letters taken separately also gives 961. This is the explanation of the statement in the text that this qīṣā'h gives the date in two ways. Footnote to the text says پعنی صوری و معنوی that it is both in form and in literal value.

<sup>4</sup> The text reads پرشادار *Parshādar*, in error. MSS. (A) (B) read پرشادار *Parshādar*.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) omits پر.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (B) omits دن.

459. Iskandar<sup>1</sup> Sultān Osbak forming the advance party, went forward<sup>2</sup> and Tātār Khān Kāsī, governor of the fortress of Rohtās, evacuated the fort<sup>3</sup> and fled. Adam Ghakkar did not present himself on this occasion.<sup>4</sup>

When they arrived at Lāhor, the Afghāns of that place also not being able to withstand him dispersed, and the commanders of the vanguard<sup>5</sup> started off towards [Lāhor and Thānesar]<sup>6</sup> Jalandhar<sup>7</sup> and Sirhind. That country was taken possession of without any trouble; Shahbāz Khān and Naṣīr Khān Afghān however fought a battle near Dipālpūr with Shāh<sup>8</sup> Abū-l-Ma'ālī and 'Alī Qulī Shaibānī, who was eventually Khān-i-zamān,<sup>9</sup> and was defeated. So great was the terror inspired by the Mughuls that thousands<sup>10</sup> upon thousands of Afghāns would flee at the sight of ten of the huge-turbaned horsemen (even although they were Lāhorīs), and never looked behind them. Before Humāyūn's army crossed the river Indus, Sikandar Afghān Sūr gained the upper-hand of Ibrāhīm Sūr, and having conquered him<sup>11</sup> formed the intention of leaving Itāwa and marching to attack 'Adlī. Suddenly, however, tidings arrived that Humāyūn had crossed

<sup>1</sup> MS. (B) adds خان.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) reads پیش می آمدند پیش می آمدند MS. (B) reads.

<sup>3</sup> Read قلعہ omitting the hamza.

<sup>4</sup> The Tabaqāt-i-Nāshīrī says "Ādam Ghakkar although he owed service, did not join the army." Elliot, v. 237.

<sup>5</sup> امرای منقلاًی Umarā-i-Manqalāī. MS. (A) reads Umarā-i-mutafarrig. مانگالائی manqalāī منگالائی manghalāī or manghalātī or māngalātī is a Turkī word signifying forehead (front) or advance-guard of an army. See P. de C. s. v. so also Faizullāh Khān who gives only the meaning پیشانی pīshānī forehead.

<sup>6</sup> These words in brackets should be omitted apparently. They are absent from MS. (A) and also from the Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī which mentions Jalandhar and Sirhind. Besides the commanders were already in Lāhor.

<sup>7</sup> MS. (B) omits جلندهو Jalandhar.

<sup>8</sup> MS. (A) reads شاہپور شاہ ابوالمعالی in error.

<sup>9</sup> 'Alī Qulī Khān was the son of Haidar Sultān Osbak-i-Shaibānī, who had been made an Amīr in the Jām war with the Qizilbāsh.

It was in the early days of Akbar's reign that he obtained the title of Khān-i-Zamān. See Badāoni, Vol. II, p. 12. Lowe's Translation, p. 5. He had defeated Hīmūn near Pānīpat. See Āīn-i-Akbarī, I, (B), p. 319.

<sup>10</sup> MS. (A) reads هزار هزار.

<sup>11</sup> غالب گذشت MS. (A).

the Indus, and the Afghans, wherever they were, set about plannung how to save their wives and children, however one did not help the other, each one occupied himself with his own necessities, and they knew well that it was only Islem Shah who could successfully contend against the Mughuls, no other person had the power. Notwithstanding this however, Sikandar, in the neighbourhood of Jalandhar, first<sup>1</sup> appointed<sup>2</sup> Tatar Khan Kast with Habib Khāu and Nasib Khan Taghuchi with thirty thousand cavalry, to oppose the troops under Humayun which had been collected in that district, and he himself came on in their rear.

The Chaghatai Amirs<sup>3</sup> crossed the river<sup>4</sup> Sutloj, and the Afghans followed them, at sundown the two lines met and a fierce battle ensued<sup>5</sup>. The Mughuls set their hands to their bows with such effect that every arrow which they freed from the bowstring bore the message of death to the ears of one or other of the enemy, and the Afghans, whose weapons of offence ran short,<sup>6</sup> took refuge in<sup>7</sup> a ruined village, and with the object of gaining a better view of the Mughul troops<sup>8</sup> they set fire to the roofs<sup>9</sup>. The result, however, was the very reverse<sup>10</sup> of what they desired, and their stratagem had this result, that the Afghans remained in the light, while the Mughuls were in the darkness and riddled the Afghans with arrows. A cry went up from among them, and shouts of Fleo! Fleo!<sup>11</sup> rose on all sides, and the victory was gained with such ease that but few Mughuls were

<sup>1</sup> MS (B) omits اول

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) سبزه کردو

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) صیر چفتائی So also Tabaqat : Akbari Text reads حصار اسراي.

<sup>4</sup> MS (B) omits آنکہ

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) رفع شد

<sup>6</sup> کہ لوتاہ مالح بودند کہ لوتاہ مالح بودند A footnote variant reads صلاح salah which would mean ' who were ill advised ' this is the reading of MS (B) but the other is preferable

<sup>7</sup> Text در در و دی

<sup>8</sup> Read دی نظر & MSS (A) (B) for در نظر

<sup>9</sup> The true reading is a little uncertain here. The text reads چادرها chamberha which may be taken in the meaning of a roof, MS (A) reads چادر جر (?) while MS (B) reads چادر (?) chanbara

The account given in the Tabaqat : Akbari (Elliot v 237-238) differs and makes it appear as though the Mughul troops used fire arms or fire arrows. Our author's account appears more reasonable

<sup>10</sup> Omit رویی MSS (A) (B)

<sup>11</sup> MS (B) omits الفرار

slain, and horses, elephants, and spoil beyond all computation fell into the hands of Humāyūn's troops. The news of this victory reached Ḥumāyūn in Lāhor; thus the whole of the Panjab and Sirhind and Hissār Firūza was entirely<sup>2</sup> subjugated. Thence he marched by forced marches straight for the environs of Dihli, and Sikandar Sūr with eighty thousand cavalry, and elephants of note, and a strong force of artillery, collected round him the Afghāns from every direction, and came to Sirhind, digging a trench round his camp<sup>3</sup> after the custom<sup>4</sup> of Shīr Shāh. This he fortified, and took up his position; the Amīrs of Humāyūn's army holding a council of war, fortified Sirhind, and as far as they could, shewed they were prepared to defend it, and sending despatches to Lāhor begged Humāyūn to come in person, and then awaited his arrival. Humāyūn with all speed<sup>5</sup> marched and came to Sirhind,<sup>6</sup> and every day fierce contests<sup>7</sup> took place between the more venturesome spirits on both sides. Sometime passed in this way, till the day when the command of the advance-guard of the army fell to the turn of the young Prince of the

461. world;<sup>8</sup> seizing his opportunity he drew up his line of battle. On one<sup>9</sup> side was the Prince, the Asylum of the world; and on the other side Bairām Khān, Sikandar Khān, 'Abdu-llāh Khān Osbak, Shāh Abūl-ma'ālī, 'Alī Qūli Khān and Bahādur Khān made mauly onslaughts. The Afghāns also, as far as they were able,<sup>10</sup> behaved with due bravery and valour,<sup>11</sup> but could not contend<sup>12</sup> against an adverse fate, and after a conflict beyond his strength Sikandar turned and fled.<sup>13</sup> The victorious hosts pursued the enemy for a long distance, reaping a rich harvest of slaughtered Afghāns; wealth and booty beyond all bounds, together with horses and countless elephants fell into their hands: then they turned back and erected with the heads of their enemies a column

<sup>1</sup> Supply after بیان شاہ وسیدہ قلمہ (A). <sup>2</sup> MS. (A) (B).

<sup>3</sup> MS. (B) reads لشکر for مسکر. <sup>4</sup> MS. (B) reads بطرز for پستور.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. (A) (B) omit تمام.

<sup>6</sup> The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* states that Humāyūn sent Akbar.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read مقابلہ for مقاتله. Text.

<sup>8</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read جهانیان. <sup>9</sup> MS. (A) omits یک.

<sup>10</sup> MS. (A) حسب امکان (B) دادنگی و صردی.

<sup>11</sup> MS. (B) reads دادنگی (A) دادن.

<sup>12</sup> MS. (B) reads بونیامندہ (A) نہاد.

<sup>13</sup> MS. (A) (B) روی بفرار.

to which Bairūnā Klān gave the name<sup>1</sup> of Sar Manzil, which (name) is in existence at the present day, Tuno has many memorials of this kind and still more will follow.<sup>2</sup>

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On the road on which thou seest those particles of dust,<sup>4</sup>  
Thou seest (it may be) the dust of Suleimān<sup>5</sup> brought  
thither by the wind<sup>6</sup>

Another says

1'936

Every particle of dust which the whirlwind carries away  
May be either a Faridûn or a Kaiqâbâd?

The words *Shāmghīr : Hamdūn*<sup>8</sup> were found to give the date of this victory, as they are in this Rubā'ī.

The wise writer sought for an auspicious omen,  
He sought for the writing of speech from his well balanced  
nature.

When he came to record the conquest of Hindustān,  
He sought the date in the words *Shambhu-i-Humayūn*.

Sikandar then proceeded towards the Siwalik hills while Sikandar Khan Osbak turned towards Dihli, and the royal camp went by way of Samana to the direction<sup>9</sup> of the capital of Hindustān, and a party of the Afghans<sup>10</sup> who were in Dihli, fled hot foot<sup>11</sup> for their lives, and were scattered on all sides like a flock of sparrows into whose midst<sup>12</sup> a stone has fallen, and every one was saying to himself, "He who escapes with his head, verily he is fortunate," and the hidden<sup>13</sup> meaning of the words "the day

نامہ داد (A) MS 1

\* MS (A) adds *mu* after *جوا*.

<sup>5</sup> MS (B) reads اطم for متنوی (Text)

\* A footnote to the text recites the reading of MS (B) درهای گرد

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) reads سلیمانی

The dust of Alexander turned to clay

May stop a hole to keep the wind away.  
شمشیر همایون Shamshir, Humayun The sword of Humayun These  
letters give the date 962 H.

سماجی یا نیتیت هند NS (B) reads

<sup>10</sup> MSS. (A) (B) omit '3'

<sup>11</sup> Read سکا MSS. (A) (B) instead of the reading in the text

<sup>12</sup> MS (B) inserts <sup>85</sup> after <sup>مُعْرَكَةٍ</sup>      <sup>13</sup> Supply <sup>سُو</sup> MS (A)

*when man shall flee from his brother and his mother and his father and his spouse and his sons”*<sup>1</sup> became evident.

Shāh Abū-l-Ma‘āli was detailed<sup>2</sup> to pursue Sikandar, and in the month of Ramazān the blessed, in the year 962 H. the city of Dihlī became the seat of the imperial glory and majesty, and most of the regions of Hindustān for the second time enjoyed the honour of the *khuṭbah* and *sikkah* of Humāyūn. No king before this time had ever been so fortunate as to attain to the glory of imperial power a second time,<sup>3</sup> after having suffered defeat; whereas in this case the power of God whose glory is supreme was plainly shewed. And in this year Humāyūn apportioned the greater part of his territories<sup>4</sup> among his faithful adherents, and vowed the *pargana* of Muṣṭafaābād, the revenue of which reached the sum of thirty or forty *laks* of *tankas*, as a votive<sup>5</sup> offering to the Spirit the author of victories, the guardian of prophecy *on him and on his family be blessings without end*. He also gave Hissār Firūza as a reward<sup>6</sup> to the Prince, just as Bābar Padshāh also had conferred it, in the commencement of his victories, as a reward,<sup>7</sup> upon Muḥammad Humāyūn, and the whole of the Panjāb he bestowed upon Shāh Abū-l-Ma‘āli, and nominated him to oppose Iskandar the Afghān, who, not being able to stand against him, shut himself up in the northern hills, and Shāh Abu-l-Ma‘āli having reached high rank<sup>8</sup> was living in great pomp in Lāhor; on this account the crow of conceit made its nest in his brain, and brought matters to this pass<sup>9</sup> that after the affair of (the king) whose dwelling is in Paradise, the queen shewed signs of contumacy and rebellious

<sup>1</sup> Qur’ān lxxx, 34-35.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. (A) (B) نامزد گشت.

<sup>3</sup> The reading of MS. (A) is preferable to that in the text. MS. (A) reads. مرتبتہ دیگر بغرض سلطنت بوسد بمقرب سلطنت رسد. A footnote variant reads.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. (A) (B) ولايات را.

<sup>5</sup> Text مقصود ص MS. (A) نذر.

<sup>6</sup> Faizullah Khān gives this word as چلد و *Childū* in the sense of *In‘ām*. In the Farhang-i-Anandrāj the word is given as *jildā* or *juldā* in the same sense. Pavet de Courteilles does not give the word.

<sup>7</sup> MS. (B) omits بانعام محمد.

<sup>8</sup> MS. (B) reads بشوکت تمام مرتبتہ تمام and omits بانجام رسید.

<sup>9</sup> Text بانجام رسید. MS. (B) reads بانجام رسید.

intentions,<sup>1</sup> as will shortly be described, if God Ho is exalted<sup>2</sup> so will it. And since Abū-l-Ma'āli had treated badly the Amirs who had been sent to support him, and had (occasionally)<sup>3</sup> interfered in their *Aqīqas*, and not only in these but even in the public treasury and in the government lands, the Amirs became disheartened, and Sikandar daily waxed stronger; Baurām Khān was appointed<sup>4</sup> to the office of tutor (*Atāliq*) to the young prince, and was sent to oppose Iskandar. Shāh Abū-l-Ma'āli was appointed to Hīqār Firūza, but had not yet started when Qābā Khān Gang was appointed to Āgīn, 'Ali Qalī Khān to Mīrāt and Sambal, and Qīmbar Dīwāna to Badāon, and Haidar Muhammād Khān Akhtā Begī<sup>5</sup> to Baiāna. Haidar Muhammād Khān kept Ghāzī Khān Sūī,<sup>6</sup> the father of Ibrāhim Sūī, for sometime besieged in the fortress of Baiāna.<sup>7</sup> And inasmuch as the good fortune of the Afghāns was, like their good sense, on the decline; although before the siege and after it also, thoughtful and experienced men urged him to march on Rāntanbhor and thence to Gnjrāt, he would not listen to them, and fell like a fish into the net.

Verse<sup>8</sup>

God carries the vessel whithersoever He will  
Though the ship master rends his garments on his body.

The *zamīndārs* of the fortress of Baiāna sued for quarter, and had an interview with Haidar Muhammād Khān, binding themselves by oaths<sup>9</sup> to certain treaty conditions, and bringing Ghāzī Khān with his family and relations out of the fort, bestowed him in a safe place in the camp,<sup>10</sup> and<sup>11</sup> the following day having made a careful examination of the wealth and treasures,<sup>12</sup> put all tho

<sup>1</sup> اثار حلف و تغیلات فاسد یز و نعنه طهور شناخت <sup>2</sup> The text reads wrongly خلاف MS (B) reads خلاف.

<sup>3</sup> تعالی MS (A)

<sup>4</sup> مکرر فرمودند و دفع امکندر تعین نمودند MS (B)

<sup>5</sup> مقرر فرمودند و دفع امکندر تعین نمودند MS (B) reads آخوند بیگی Haidar Muhammād Khān Begī was an old servant of Humayun who had given the Emperor his horse when Humayun's horse had been shot in the defeat near Balkh. See Ann. i Akburi, (B) I, 384

<sup>6</sup> میدین کرد MS (A) (B) omits قلعة and reads محضور for محضور.

<sup>7</sup> MS (A) reverses the order of these two lines

<sup>8</sup> MS (B) reads پذیمان for پذیمان <sup>11</sup> MSS (A) (B) read معیدن کرد.

<sup>9</sup> MS (A) has a superfluous و here

<sup>12</sup> MS (A) و دفاین

inhabitants to death from the full-grown man to the babe at the breast,<sup>1</sup> sending<sup>2</sup> the heads to the Emperor, who, however, was displeased with this;<sup>3</sup> accordingly<sup>4</sup> he despatched Mir Shihābu-d-Dīn<sup>5</sup> Nishāpūrī Bakhshī, who received the title of Shihābu-d-Dīn

464. Ahmad Khān, to Bāiūnā to verify the wealth of Ghāzi Khān. Haidar Muhammād<sup>6</sup> concealed the valuable jewels and shewed only ordinary<sup>7</sup> things. Qambar Diwāna had collected a large following in the vicinity of Sambal and was saying 'What has Qambar to do with Sambal, while 'Ali Quli Khān has a lien on the revenue of Sanbal? It is as though the land belonged to one man and the trees to another.'<sup>8</sup>

And before that 'Ali Quli Khān could go to Sanbal Qambar Diwāna went to Bādāon, and from thence passing by Kānt o Gola<sup>9</sup> he fought with Rukn Khān Asghān, and gained the day, occupying the country up to the vicinity of the township of Malāūn?,<sup>10</sup> but was subsequently defeated by the Asghāns, and having given up a large number to death in that fort<sup>11</sup> arrived at Bādāon, where he exercised great cruelty and oppression; and although 'Ali Quli Khān sent to summon him,<sup>12</sup> he refused to yield to him and said, "My relations with the Pādshāh are more intimate than yours,<sup>13</sup> this head of mine is twin brother of the imperial crown." 'Ali Quli Khān upon his arrival besieged Bādāon, and that madman

<sup>1</sup> MS. (B) reads همگی را تا اطفال شیر خواره. This reading is given in a footnote to the text.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (B) reads فوستادند.

<sup>8</sup> MS. (B) reads این معنی پسند نیاید.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) omits بناع reading و. <sup>5</sup> MS. (B) reads میر شہاب Mir Shihāb.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. (A) (B). <sup>7</sup> اشیای سهل را نمود. *Ashyā-i-sahl rā namud.*  
MS. (A) omits ی.

<sup>8</sup> Road hero سنبل و قنبر چه. MSS. (A) (B). The reading in the text has no meaning.

<sup>9</sup> Shāhjahānpur. MS. (B) omits کانت.

<sup>10</sup> The text reads مالزوہ Malāzwah (?) MS. (A) reads لاوا (?) Malāwah. MS. (B) reads ملاوا Malāwah. I am quite uncertain as to the correctness of the suggestion in the translation. Malāūn (See Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* ix. 237) is a hill fort in the Panjāb lat. 31° 12' N. long 76° 52' E.

Firishta makes no mention of this.

<sup>11</sup> MS. (A) reads جا. MS. (B) omits کس.

<sup>12</sup> MS. (B) omits نزد خود. MS. (A) reads طلبیده.

<sup>13</sup> MS. (B) reads زیاده از آنست.

(Dīwān)<sup>1</sup> who knew no moderation, was at that very time preparing to tyrannise over the people even more than before, taking by force the daughter of one and the property of another, and in consequence of his want of trust<sup>2</sup> in the people of the town, used himself to go the rounds by night<sup>3</sup> from bastion to bastion, and see to the proper state of the defences. In spite of this his imagination used to run riot,<sup>4</sup> and his ideas, in consequence of his infatuation, were excited to such a degree, that he used to go for half the night into an empty<sup>5</sup> room and lay his ear upon the ground, and going out<sup>6</sup> from thence a few steps would spy about, and then return to his original post, suddenly he called the pioneers and said, "A noise has reached my<sup>7</sup> ears, dig up<sup>8</sup> the ground in this spot." When they excavated they discovered a mine<sup>9</sup> which 'Ali Quli Khan had laid from outside the fortress. The people who saw those<sup>10</sup> mines said that from the side<sup>11</sup> of the fort in whatever direction they struck<sup>12</sup> into the mine they found the foundation of the well of the fort reached the water, with iron rods, and pillars and haulks of sal<sup>13</sup> wood arranged under its foundations, bound together<sup>14</sup> for the purpose of strengthening them, with the sole exception of this place which had been excavated.

In fact, had not Qambar been vigilant, the men under 'Ali Quli Khan would have blown down the wall by sheer force and have effected an entrance by way of that breach. 'Ali Quli Khan was

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<sup>1</sup> The word دیوان Dīwān means a madman

<sup>2</sup> MS (B) reads اعتمادی اعتمادی an incorrect form by itself

<sup>3</sup> MSS (A) (B) read شدیا after حود before شدیا

<sup>4</sup> This appears to be the meaning though the word فراست is used in a somewhat strained and unusual sense. A footnote variant to the text says that the textual reading is found in one MS and in two others مستوحص

Both MSS (A) and (B) are the same as the text which seems correct

<sup>5</sup> A footnote variant reads حالی قل for حالی قل The text is correct

<sup>6</sup> MS (A) omits پیشوا

<sup>7</sup> MS (B) omits من

<sup>8</sup> MS (B) reads نکارند .

<sup>9</sup> Text MS (A) reads نفت

<sup>10</sup> MS (B) omits آن

<sup>11</sup> MS (A) reads طرف for اطراف

<sup>12</sup> Text MS (A) reads شروع در خوب نمودند

<sup>13</sup> MS (A) reads گردند for نمودند

<sup>14</sup> MS (A) reads چویهای سال Chibba + sel

<sup>14</sup> Read دود MS (A)

astonished at this degree of vigilance,<sup>1</sup> and the people of the city by common consent despatched a message to 'Ali Quli Khān saying, "On such and such a night let the besiegers make an attack<sup>2</sup> up such and such a bastion, so that we may bring them into the fort by the help of nooses and scaling-ladders." Accordingly this they did, and having admitted the soldiery of 'Ali Quli Khān, Shaikh Habib Badāoni, who was one of the most notable men<sup>3</sup> of the place, took his place at their head, and leading them to the bastion of the Princes,<sup>4</sup> who were the relations of Shaikh Salim Chishtī of Fathpūr, set fire to it. On the morrow when the sun rose, the sombre-fated Qambar, wearing over his head a black blanket which was an emblem of his wretched fate,<sup>5</sup> came out of the city. They seized him as one would a jackal and brought him in, and although 'Ali Quli Khān spoke gently to him,<sup>6</sup> saying "Bow thy head,<sup>7</sup> that I may spare thy life," that madman, fed on dog's brains gave him an abusive answer, so that he was sent to join the dogs of hell. His tomb is well-known in Badāon. He used to spread plentiful feasts and say (to his guests) "Eat! for wealth is the wealth of God, and life is the life of God, and Qambar Diwāna is the cook of God."

When the despatch from 'Ali Quli Khān reached the Court together with the head of Qambar, the king, whose refuge is the mercy of God, was extremely annoyed. Just about this time, on the seventh of the month of Rabi'u-l-Awwal, in the year 963 H., when<sup>8</sup> Humāyūn had ascended to the roof of the library which he had built in the fortress of Dīnpanāh in Dihli, as he was coming

466. down, the *mu'azzin*<sup>9</sup> uttered the call to prayer, and he knelt out of

<sup>1</sup> MS. (B) omits او.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) reads حملة for حمل.

<sup>3</sup> Text از مشاهیر. MS. (A) reads از اعیان.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) reads شیخ زاده.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) بمالیم گفت.

<sup>6</sup> Text reads که از گلیم بخت وی نشاند بود, but it seems as though we should read کلیم in the sense of wounded, stricken. MS. (B) omits بود.

<sup>7</sup> Text فرود آورد. MS. (A) reads فرود آورده.

<sup>8</sup> Supply ک MSS. (A) (B).

<sup>9</sup> موصن *Mu'azzin*. The crier whose duty it is to utter the *azān* or summons to prayer. The *Azān* was instituted at first when the Moslims came from Makka to Madīnah; some proposed the lighting of a fire, others the blowing of a trumpet, but the former was objected to as being a Jewish custom, and

respect for the *Azan*, and as he rose his staff glanced aside and his foot slipped, and he rolled down several steps<sup>1</sup> to the ground. When he recovered a little,<sup>2</sup> Nazar Shaikh Juli<sup>3</sup> was sent to the Panjab<sup>4</sup> to summon the Prince and to tell him exactly what had happened, and on the fifteenth<sup>5</sup> of the same month (Humayun)<sup>6</sup> had farewell to this mortal world and took his way to the abode of eternity<sup>7</sup> and thus *tarikh* was written to commemorate the event.

Since by the mercy of God he passed to his rest within the garden of Rizwan

*Bihisht amad maqam e jaik e u* gives the date<sup>8</sup>

and Maulana Qasim Kahi wrote as follows —

Humayun, Padshah of the kingdom of reality,  
No one remembers such an Emperor as he,  
Suddenly he fell from the roof of his palace  
And from that fall his precious life was lost  
Kahi made a calculation for the *tarikh* of that event,  
*Humayun Padshah az bam ustadi*<sup>9</sup>

the latter as being the custom of the Christians. Then Billal was ordered to repeat *Allahu Albar* twice in a loud voice as a signal for prayer.

The foreingers were ordered to be put into the ears while repeating the *Azan* to strengthen the voice probably this was due to the subjective sensation of increase of sound of the voice when the external meatus is closed. The *Azan* has special virtues attached to it for those who uttered it. Thus it is said. The callers to prayer may expect paradise on the day of the resurrection and again whoever acts as Muazzin seven years to please God will be redeemed from hell fire. See also Hughes' *Dict. of Islam* s.v.v. see Mshkat iv Chapter 5 6

1 MS (B) omit *و* 2 Firishta says that he was taken up unconscious

3 Footnote var ant *جمع عالی* *Juma ali* 4 MS (A) *نکاح پستاب*

5 Firishta says the eleventh (Bo Text 459)

6 MSS (A) (B) omit *و* 7 پادشاه عفران پاک

7 MSS (A) (B) دار رہا

8 پوشت آمد مقام پاک او اور These words give the date 968 H. The meaning is Paradise became his pure resting place

9 همایون پادشاه اور نام اعداد The value of these letters is 963. The meaning is He mayu Pa lafzi fell from the roof

The following was also found to give the date:<sup>1</sup>

Be not ignorant of the year of his death—See!  
*Humāyūn kujā rast wa iqbal-i-ū.*<sup>2</sup>

The following *tārikh* was also found:

*Ai! Ah! Pādshāh-i-man az bām nstād.*<sup>3</sup>

### Verse.

That capital city of the kingdom which thou sawest is laid waste,

And that Nile of whose bounty thou heardest has become a mirage,

The sky gave the head of Muhammad Yahya to ruin,  
 467. And calamity attended Sinjar the lord of slaves.

The fourth heaven became a house of mourning

The spirit of sanctity came to condole with the Sun.

His age was fifty-one years, and the duration of his reign<sup>4</sup> was twenty-five years and a fraction. He was a man of kingly proportions, adorned with all excellencies and perfections, both of appearance and reality, unequalled in the sciences of astrology and astronomy and all abstruse sciences.<sup>5</sup> He was the preceptor of the followers of excellence and perfection, the refuge of the seekers after piety and rectitude. Fond of poetry and<sup>6</sup> of poets, he used himself to compose good verses; he never remained for an instant without the *wuḍū'*,<sup>7</sup> nor did he ever

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) reads here *ايضاً*.

<sup>2</sup> شهابيون كجرا رفت و اقبال او. The value of these letters is 963. The meaning is "What has become of Humāyūn and his good fortune."

<sup>3</sup> MSS. (A) (B) insert this before the preceding *tārikh*. Its value is also 963 H, and its meaning is 'Alas! Alas! my king fell from the roof.'

We must read اوقناد as in Text and MS. (A). MS. (B) has افتاد.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. (A) (B) سلطنتش.

<sup>5</sup> MS. (B) reads غريبه دیگر فنون.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) omits و.

<sup>7</sup> وضوء و *Wuḍū'*. Ceremonial washings before prayer. There is a saying attributed to Muhammad "Wuḍū' is half the prayers," and another "When a Moslim uses Wuḍū' it washes from his face those faults which he may have cast his eyes upon; and when he washes his hands, it removes the faults they may have committed; and when he washes his feet it dispels the faults

take<sup>1</sup> the name of God nor of the prophet, may the peace and blessing of God be upon him, without *Tikarat*,<sup>2</sup> and if it chanced<sup>3</sup> that the necessity arose for mentioning a name<sup>4</sup> compounded of this word 'Abd, or one of the *Asmāu l-hasna*<sup>5</sup> such as 'Abdu-llah or the others, in such a case he would confine himself to the word 'Abd (servant), for example he would call 'Abdu-l-Haīy, 'Abdul simply. In this same way in writing letters in place of the word "huwa"<sup>6</sup> when the necessity arose he used to write two Alifs side by side

towards which they may have carried him, so that he will rise up in purity from the place of ablation". Again "The key of paradise is prayer and the key of prayer is ablation". The prophet also said "Verily my sects will come on the day of resurrection with bright hands and feet because of Wuzu".

For a full account of Wuzu' and the acts requiring its performance, see *Mishkati l-Masabih* II. 34, also see Hughes' *Dict. of Islam*, art. "Wuzu".

1 MS (A) *تسبیب آنکه*

2 طلاق *Tikarat* This term includes all the various methods of purification enjoined by Muhammadan law.

See Hughes' *Dict. of Islam*, art. "Purifications".

3 MS (A) *در زبان فرانزی*

4 The text here gives some verses which are not found in MS (A).

They are given here as they interrupt the continuity of the text.

#### \* مطلع \*

اعتقادی درست دار چنانک - اعتمادت دین نگردد سست

لله را نی شک از عذاب حذای - نرهای هر اعتقداد درست

Preserve a lively faith so that thy reliance thereon may not falter,  
Nothing of a surety delivers the servant from the wrath of God save a  
lively faith.

MS (B) reads

با می اعتقادی درست دار چنانک - اعتمادت بدهات نگردد سست هرگاه

5 *Asmāu l-hasna* The best of names. See *Mishkat*, xxii 8. Verily the best of names, in the sight of God, are 'Abdu llah (the servant of God) or 'Abdu r-Rahman (the servant of the Merciful One).

6 هو *Huwa* The name of the Almighty, written at the commencement of a document by devout Muslims, meaning, *He alone is God*. It is the third person of the Arabic personal pronoun. By some commentators the word is supposed to stand for the *Ismul 'azam* or most holy name, which according to Muslim divines is known to God alone. See Quran III, 1 "La illaha illa Huwa". There is no God but He

thus (ii), whose letters thus arranged<sup>1</sup> have the same value as those of the word "Huwa." [In all matters he observed the same reverential caution which was as it were a part of his nature].<sup>2</sup> He always spent his evenings in company and was never niggardly in entertainment, the revenues of the whole of Hindustān would not have sufficed for his expenditure. His *rakīls*, for fear of (being thought to be greedy for) reward, would never mention

468. the name<sup>3</sup> of gold in his presence, and like his father he was not engrossed in amassing wealth; no improper word or term of abuse ever passed his lips, and if he were ever very wrath with any person he used just to say 'You stupid,' and not a word more.

Whether in the house or in the mosque even by mistake he never placed his left foot down before the right, and if any one placed the left<sup>4</sup> foot in his house he would say, "It is the left foot," and would make him turn back and bring him in again. From his excessive reserve he never opened his lips in a smile, nor did he ever cast an angry glance at any one. They say that Şhaikh Hamid, the commentator of Saubal, on the occasion of the conquest of Hindustān, for the second time went to Kābul to receive him, and in spite of the extreme confidence which Humāyūn had in him, one day he fell into a passion and said "My king, I see the whole of your army are Rāfizī<sup>5</sup> (heretics)." Humāyūn replied, "Şhaikh, why do you say such a thing, and what have you to say about it?" He answered "Everywhere the names of your soldiers are of this kind.<sup>6</sup> I find they are all Yār 'Ali (Friend of 'Ali), or Kafsh 'Ali (Shoe of 'Ali), or Haidar 'Ali (Lion of 'Ali), and I have not found a single man bearing the name of any other Companion." Humāyūn was indignant at this, and dashing his drawing pencil<sup>7</sup> upon the ground in anger, said "The

<sup>1</sup> The value of ح being 5 and of و being 6, the word هو is equivalent to eleven; Two Alifs placed side by side (ii) also stand for eleven.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (B) omits the sentence in square brackets.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (A) omits نام and reads نیاوردی. <sup>4</sup> MS. (B) omits چپ.

<sup>5</sup> رافضی Rāfizī. This term was originally applied to the Shi'ahs who joined Zaid ibn 'Ali but forsook him upon his refusing to curse Abū Bakr and 'Umar, the first two Sunnī Khalifahs: but it came afterwards to denote any sect of Shi'ahs. MS. (B) alone reads رافضی. The Text and MS. (A) have راقضی.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read این سرتیپ omitting در.

<sup>7</sup> قلم تصویر Qalam-i-taşwīr. Text and MS. (A) MS. (B) has تحریر taħrīr writing, instead of taşwīr (drawing), so also a footnote variant.

name of my grandfather himself was 'Umar Shaikh<sup>1</sup> and I know no more than this," then he rose and went into the *haram* and returning, with great gentleness and kindness informed the Shaikh of the purity of his faith<sup>2</sup>

### Verse

Preserve a lively faith so that thy reliance thereon may not falter,

Nothing of a surety delivers the servant from the wrath of God save a lively faith

And in order to recount the many virtues of that monarch who has obtained pardon and remission, *may his resting place be happy*, a separate record would be necessary Countless<sup>3</sup> poets, the wonder of the age, sprung from under the skirt of his auspicious reign<sup>4</sup>. Among these, in. Budakhsh was Maulana Junum<sup>5</sup> 469 Badakhshi the enigmatist, who composed a *qasidah* made up of thirty eight couplets in honour of that<sup>6</sup> monarch, whose refuge is the pardon of God, during the time that he was a Mirza, and certain *tours de force* which had escaped the net of the *qasidah* which Mir Sayyid Zu l-fiqar Shirwani composed in honour of Khwaja Rashid Vazir, and the *qasidah* of Salman Sawaji which he wrote in honour of Khwaja Ghans Vazir, this poet<sup>7</sup> seized, for example the *mu'amma*,<sup>8</sup> and *Izhar-i-muzmar*,<sup>9</sup> and the *tarikh*<sup>10</sup> and other (tricks) of this kind, and in very truth that work of art is a veritable *karnama* (record of deeds), a miracle in the world of speech. The following are the opening couplet and another, taken from it

<sup>1</sup> Umar Shaikh Mirza, second son of Timur was the father of Babar. See *Ain-i-Akbari* (B) I 299

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) reads شیخ را بمحض عَدْد حوش اطلاع داده سلامت و رفاقت شیخ را بمحض عَدْد حوش اطلاع داده  
So also MS (B) except that را is omitted

<sup>3</sup> MSS (A) (B) read داعشیار <sup>4</sup> MS (A) او

<sup>5</sup> Text reads جنوبی Junubi but MS (A) reads جنوبي Junub

<sup>6</sup> MS (B) omits اگر <sup>7</sup> MS (B) او نہ

<sup>8</sup> معملاً Mu amma Enigma A saying of which the meaning is hidden. See *Garcin de Tassy Rhetorique et Prosodie* p 165

<sup>9</sup> See *Garcin de Tassy op cit.* p 191

<sup>10</sup> بارخ تاریخ chronogram Several examples have been given see page 601 n 8

Verse.<sup>1</sup>

Shahanshāhā rukh-i-tū lāla o nāsrīn lab-i-tū jān  
Hāmī bīnam lab-i-tū ghuncha-i-rangīn shuda khandān  
Nāmī gūyam khatt-i-tū sabza o raihān khad-i-tū gul  
Shavad zāhir qudd-i-tū sitna-i-daurān dām-i-jaulān.

And by taking all the verses of this *qasīda* after the manner of an aerostic,<sup>2</sup> the following opening couplet is formed:—<sup>3</sup>

Shahanshāh-i-dīn pādīshāh-i-zamān  
Zi bakht-i-Humāyūn shīndā kāmrān.

While again, if the *hashw*<sup>4</sup> of the two first couplets are written in red ink, the following opening couplet results, which may be read in three different metres.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) شاهنشاہی qasīda.

The following is the translation of these lines which are given in the original in the text, as the whole sense of the passage following turns upon the form and not upon the meaning of the couplets.

King of kings, thy cheek is the tulip and jasmine, thy lip is the life.  
As I look, thy lip like the bud in its redness, expands in a smile  
I say not, thy bloom is the verdure and perfume, thy cheek is the rose  
Life itself, from thy figure entrancing, appears in thy gait.

<sup>2</sup> توشیح Tausīḥ. The initial letters of each verse when taken together from the couplet given. Thus in the four lines given the initial letters are ش sh & h و n و ش sh forming Shahanshāh. See Garcin do Tassy, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> The couplet when translated, reads:

Emperor of the faith, Pādīshāh of the age,  
From thy good fortune thou hast become prosperous.

The play on the words Humāyūn and Kāmrān will be observed.

<sup>4</sup> The first foot of the first *mīrāt* (hemistich) is called *sadr*, while the last foot of the same hemistich is called ‘urūz; similarly the first foot of the second hemistich is called *ibtidā*, while the last foot of this hemistich is called *zarb*. All the feet intervening between the *sadr* and the ‘urūz, or between the *ibtidā* and *zarb*, are called *hashw* which means literally the stuffing of a pillow (*Āgīn-i-bālīsh*). In the above the *hashw* of the verses is printed in red ink.

The scansion is as follows:—

<u>Shahanshāhā</u>	<u>rukh-i-tū lā</u>	<u>la-o-nāsrīn</u>	<u>labitū jān</u>
Mafā'i lun	Mafā'i lun	Mafā'i lun	Mafā'i lun

The metre is thus *Hazaj-i-Muṣamman*.

<sup>5</sup> The three metres in which these lines may be read are—

(i) *Hazaj-i-muṣamman*. See note 4 above.

Rukh i tū lala o nasīn khatt i-tu sābzā o rāhān  
 Lab-i-tū ghuncheha-i-rangin qadd-i tu fitna-i dāriān<sup>1</sup>

And if they be read in reversed order a couplet is formed which may also be referred to three several metres,<sup>2</sup> and with a change of qāfiyah<sup>3</sup> and radif<sup>4</sup> in the following manner —

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Khatt-i-tū sābzā o rāhān, rukh-i-tū lala o nasīn  
 Qadd-i tu fitna i dāriān,<sup>5</sup> lab i-tu ghuncheha-i-rangin

And from that which remains in black letters, a distinct opening couplet remained<sup>6</sup> Other *tours de force* also existed in this opening couplet, which are explained in the marginal notes to the work.

(ii) Ramal i mu'amman makhbūn, and the scansion is

زه ورسین	حاط ترسب	لله وسرین	روح قلا
فعالتن	فعالتن	فعالتن	فعالتن

(iii) Mujtar i mu'amman makhbūn and the scansion is

رخی تلا	حاطي تسب	له ورسین	روح قلا
مفاعلن	مفاعلن	فعالتن	فعالتن

See Elements of Arabic and Persian Prosody (Ranking) pp. 49, 67, 90

<sup>1</sup> MS (B) reads ستان in place of دوران so also footnote warrant

<sup>2</sup> The three metres are those given in note 5, on the preceding page

<sup>3</sup> قافية Qāfiyah This signifies the rhyme, of which the essential letter is called the روى rauz, which may have also other letters preceding it and four following

<sup>4</sup> ردیف Radif is the name given to a quiescent alif following a fatha, a wāw quiescent following a zamma or a ya quiescent following a kāra, in other words it is one of the letters ل, و, ي placed in a letter of prolongation before the rauz. It is more accurately called ردیف Rudif

Thus in the lines now cited the Radif is the letter ya in the words rangin, and nasrin, whereas in the former verses the radif was alif, as in the words rāhān and dāriān MS (A) omits وردیف See also Garcin de Tassy, op cit, p 370

<sup>5</sup> MS (B) omits طریق

<sup>6</sup> MSS (A) (B) read دوستان bustan

<sup>7</sup> For example, we can read

شیل اسحاقه lab i tu jān  
 هامی بیnam گھدہ khandūn,  
 نامی گیعام khud i tu gul  
 شیعاد یاھیر دام i jumūn

King of Kings thy lip is life  
 As I look it wreathes in smiles,  
 I say not thy cheek's a rose  
 Blooming as thou passest by

And from the four<sup>1</sup> couplets of a *qasīdah*<sup>2</sup> some of the words of which are written in red ink, the following *qīṣā'īh*<sup>3</sup> containing the conquest of Badakhshān may be obtained, and the *qīṣā'īh* also has a hidden meaning, the explanation of which is obtained from certain verses extracted from these two *qasīdahs*.<sup>4</sup>

*Qīṣā'īh.*

Tū-i Shāh-i Shāhān-i daurān ki shud  
Hamīsha turā kār fath o zafar.  
Girifti Badakhshān o tārīkh shud.  
Muhammad Humāyūn Shah-i bahr o bar.<sup>5</sup>

*Rubā'i.*<sup>6</sup>

Until the weak body of the beggar became the dust of his threshold,  
His heart on account of his sorrow and vexation, fell desolate.  
The life of this helpless one left him because of desire for the beloved,  
His love exceeded all bounds, if haply at that time that king might summon him.

1 MS. (A) reads **لار**.

2 MS. (A) **قصيدة**.

3 The **قطب** *qīṣā'īh*. Must contain not less than two couplets nor more than a hundred and seventy. The first two hemistiches need not rhyme, but the second hemistich of every verse must rhyme with the final hemistich of the opening verse.

The **قصيدة** *qasīdah* In this form of poem the two opening hemistiches must rhyme. It must consist in Persian of not less than twenty-five couplets and not more than a hundred and seventy. See also Garcin de Tassy, *Rhetorique et Prosodie* for an explanation of these and other terms, and Gladwin, *Dissertations*.

4 The reading in the text and in both MSS. (A) (B) is unintelligible, we must evidently read **دو** for **دویں**. The footnote to the text merely states that the reading in the text is found in all three MSS., but makes no attempt to explain the true reading.

5 **بُحْرُو بُرْ** **هَمَيْوَنْ**. These words give the date 927.

The translation of these verses is :

Thou art king of the kings of the age,  
Whose continual object is conquest and victory.  
Then did'st seize Badakhshān, and its *tārīkh* was  
Muhammad Humāyūn king of sea and land.

6 MS. (A) adds **مُزْهَر** *muzhar*.

*Gushicāra.*<sup>1</sup>

Tell the good tidings of the victory of the king of my faith  
 And if my life should obtain a few days grace from that exacting creditor<sup>2</sup> Death, this *qasidah*, together with all the *qasidahs*  
 and such useful information as I have written down in a separate  
 note-book in the course of my travels, shall, should opportunity  
 offer, be included among the contents of the second volume of the  
*Najātu-r-Rāghid*<sup>3</sup> which I am anxiously longing to complete,  
 should God, who facilitates our undertakings, so will it

Another poet<sup>4</sup> is *Wafā'i*, by which *takkallus Shaikh Zainu d-*  
*Din Khāfi*<sup>5</sup> is commonly known, who was *Sadr-i-mustaqill* (Judge-  
 plenipotentiary)<sup>6</sup> during the reign of Babar Padishāh. There

گوشوارہ<sup>1</sup> *Gushicāra* Lit., earring The first line of a *ghaṣṭ* or *qanda*,  
 following immediately upon another

کوچد فتح می دس نام Read MS (A) می دس نام گو خبر فتح شد دین ما A  
 footnote variant reads

<sup>2</sup> The following is the correct reading Immediately after the *gushicāra*  
 و اگر عمر روزی چند او غیرم منقاومی اهل مهلت یافت این تصدیقة  
 مع مایر قصائد و موائد که در مدت ایام سیاحی در بیانی علیحدۀ نوشته شده  
 آن موائد موائد را الخ - MS (A)

<sup>3</sup> سمات الرشید<sup>2</sup>. *Najātu-r-Rāghid* There is a MS of this work of Badaoni,  
 belonging to the College of Fort William, in the Library of the Asiatic Society  
 of Bengal, No <sup>E</sup>  
<sub>204</sub> (See J A S B xxxviii p 136) The title of the work  
 gives the *tarīkh* of its composition on the second and last pages The "second  
 daftār" hero mentioned by our author does not appear ever to have been  
 written, though from his statement it would seem he had commenced the  
 work

<sup>4</sup> MS (A) reads کے دیگر وقاری

<sup>5</sup> One *Zainu d Din Khāfi*, was a famous saint His life is given in the  
*Nafahatu-l Uns* Calcutta edition p 569, but the one meant in this passage is  
 the *Shaikh Zain* who read the *Khulbah* in Dihli in Babar's name after the  
 battle of Panipat, see Firuzta, Bo Text p 391 and Erskine, Memoirs of Baber,  
 p 308

<sup>6</sup> *Khāfi* or *Khawāfi* means 'coming from *Khawāfī*' which is a district and  
 town in *Khurasan* Our maps have *Khāff* or *Khāf* due west of Herat See  
*'Amr-i-Akbari* (B) I p 445 and footnote also p 592 and footnote

<sup>7</sup> صدر مستقیل<sup>6</sup> *Sadr-i-mustaqill* The Sadr was an officer of justice whose  
 power appears to have been almost unlimited, his edict was necessary to  
 legalise the accession of a new king

is a mosque in Agra to his memory,<sup>1</sup> and a school situated on the other side of the river Jamna. He was the possessor of excellencies both bodily and mental, and in the construction of enigmas and chronograms, and in extempore veraification, and in all the minutiae of poetry and prose, and in rhetoric, he was unapproachable in his own age.

They say that in the very first assembly in which he made homage to Bābar Pādshāh, he asked, what is your age?<sup>2</sup> Without premeditation he answered, *Qabl azīn ba panj sāl chil sāla būdam, wa ḥālān chihal sāla am, wa ba'd az dū sāl-i-dīgar chihal tamām mī shavad.*<sup>3</sup>

It should moreover be known that (Bābar Pādshāh) also asked (a riddle) of the author of this *Muntakhab* saying: *Pish azīn ba yak sāl panjah sāla būdam, wa ḥālān panjāh sāla am, wa ba'd azīn ba dah sāl panjāh sāla mī sharam.*<sup>4</sup>

It is well known that one day Shaikh Zain went to visit the brilliant resting-place of Sulṭānu-l-Mashāikh Nizāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā may God sanctify him, and having heard that story of the Shaikh about "Al Hidāyā mushtarāk wa tanhā khushtruk"<sup>5</sup> repeated this *qit'ah* on the spot:

His duties were to enquire into the circumstances of persons before grants were made to them. Under his orders were the Qāzī and the Mīr 'Adl. See *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, (B) I. 268-270.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read مسجدیست اورا instead of مصحاب مسجدیست (Text).

<sup>2</sup> That is to say "Five years ago I was *chil* (چل) years of age and now I am *chihal* (چھل) years of age, and two years hence my *chihal* (forty) years will be complete.

چل (*chil*) stands for 33 thus چ = 3 چ = 30

چھل (*chihal*) stands for 38 thus چ = 3 چ = 5 چ = 30

while چھل *chihal* is the Persian for forty.

MS. (B) completely loses the point by reading چل *chil* throughout."

<sup>3</sup> That is, A year ago I was fifty (*panjah*) years of age, now I am fifty-one (*panjah* with the addition of Alif) years of age, ten years hence I shall be (پانچھل) *panjah* years of age.

پانچھل (*Panjah*) stands for 60 : thus

چ = 2 چ = 50 چ = 3 چ = 5

Apparently we should read پنجھاں (*Panjāh*) which would give 61.

<sup>4</sup> This refers to a visit paid by Amīr Khusrū of Dihlī to Nizāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā, when he saw another visitor who had brought a present for Nizāmu-d-

*Qif'ah.*

Oh our Shaikh! may there come to thee from God gifts without censuring,

What am I that I should say "*Al Hudāyā muṣṭarak*"

Thou styest "*Tanhā khushtarak*" as thou didst say before  
Make it "*Muṣṭarak*" if thou dost not say

"*Tanhā khushtarak*"

*Verse.*

Grief has seized me by the sleeve, why should I hide my head  
in my sleeve?

Desire has grasped my skirt, why should I withdraw my foot 472  
within my skirt?

Ah! my sleeve in desire for thee and my skirt also are torn  
to rags,

Why should I hide my head in my sleeve and withdraw my  
foot within my skirt without thee?

He wrote a *tarikh* dealing with the circumstances<sup>1</sup> of the con-  
quest of Hindustan, and explaining its wonders, in which he did  
full justice to the claims of exultation

His death occurred near Chuhār in the year 940 H and he  
was buried within the precincts of a college which he himself had  
founded

Another (poet) was Maulānā Nadūn-i-Samarqandi, who was one  
of the wonders of the age, of excellent qualities, and a compen-  
dium of perfection<sup>2</sup>. He had a strong attachment for a beautiful  
youth named Nizam, and the following well known solution of an  
enigmatical meaning, was composed for him

*Verse*

I the broken hearted toll the praises of Nizam the famous,

Dīn Auliya Amir Khāsru exclaimed '*Al hidaaya muṣṭarak*' 'The gifts are  
in common' whereupon Nizam and Dīn Auliya replied

'*Al hidaaya muṣṭarak lakin tanhā khushtarak*'

"The gifts are truly in common, but I should be better pleased to enjoy  
them alone"

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) transposes the last two lines

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) omits حواں

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) reads دید حاصل. See *Amr Akbari* (B) I 605 n

For my heart, when absent from him, lies disordered<sup>1</sup> and enfeebled.

*Rubā'i.*

I am grieved, and in my heart on thy account I hold a hundred sorrows,

Without the rubics of thy lips, I am matched against pain hour by hour;

I am in despair for this life, I the poor, the dejected,  
I hope that the road of annihilation may become my refuge.

*Gūshwāra.*

I sing the praise of the locks of my beloved.

And the following verses are part of the fruit of his fertile genius.

*Ghazal.<sup>2</sup>*

How wondrous graceful is my loved one's form,  
I yield myself a slave to that figure and carriage;  
My loved one would not look towards me with compassion,  
Perhaps she displayed an inclination towards strangers.  
Nādirī! go towards the wineshop  
And pledge thy head and turban for wine.

*Verse.*

473. Though I remained my whole life-long there at the head of thy street,  
I swear by my life, that I never enjoyed a moment's peace;  
Wherever I bowed my head with the intention of obeisance  
Thou wert there the Ka'bah<sup>3</sup> towards which I turned.  
A whole world was admitted to intimacy, and yet I remained forlorn,

<sup>1</sup> ظامی *Nizāme*, lit. a governor, one who orders and directs. The play upon the word cannot be preserved.

<sup>2</sup> عز ج *Ghazal*. The *ghazal* or odes must consist of at least five couplets but must not exceed fifteen. Its first two hemistiches must rhyme.

<sup>3</sup> سجدہ *Sajdah*, commonly pronounced *Sijdah*, means a prostration in which the forehead touches the ground: as a religious observance the prostration, is on seven members: on the forehead, the two hands, the two knees, and the toes of both the feet; women must touch the ground with the elbows, men on the contrary must keep the elbows np. The palms of the hands

All were accepted there but I was rejected;  
 Why do you ask Nādirī, what is thy condition in that road,  
 At one time I am unhappy, at another I was happy<sup>1</sup> there.

He also wrote this *Qasīdah* in honour of the deceased Emperor.

*Qasīdah.*

Thanks be to God that with a settled mind  
 Intimate<sup>2</sup> friends sat together in pleasure;  
 The rose-garden is the pleasure-resort of people, for there in  
 the presence of the rose, the nightingale sorrowful at the  
 absence of his beloved became rejoiced by its presence.

It may be that the beloved one of the garden had been  
 stripped naked by Autumn,  
 So that she has woven a patchwork garment of the hundred  
 petals of the rose.

The rose and the jasmine, the spikenard and the basil are in  
 one place,<sup>3</sup>

See! the Emperor of Spring has come with his retinno and  
 troops.

The birds are singing the praises of the Emperor of heavenly  
 grandeur<sup>4</sup>

On the branches of the trees, like the preachers from their  
 pulpits.

The glorious Khāqān, the Emperor of dignity like Jamshid,  
 Hmāyūn,

Who has a powerful hand and a sturdy heart by the decree  
 of the Almighty.

From his intelligence springs the wisdom of the learned,  
 From his insight arises the perception of the men of acute  
 vision.

2.

must be placed upon the ground, with the fingers in the direction of the Qiblah, which was originally Jerusalem, but was afterwards changed to the Ka'bah. *Mishkātu-l-Mafābih*, Cap. xv. part i.

See Hughes' Dict. of Islam, art. Ka'bah.

1 MS. (A) خوشنودم آنچه.

2 The text reads معاصر contemporary, but MSS. (A) (B) read معاشر intimate.

3 MS. (A) reads بیک جانب فلک مرتبه. \* Text reads صریفہ. MS. (B) reads صریفہ.

Since prohibited things are unlawful by the statutes of religion,  
He hastens to perform the deeds for which there is divine  
sanction.

474.

There have gathered together, to secure the victory of the  
army of Islam,

The unrivalled warriors of his army, the brave men of his  
troops,

Beneath his victorious standard, on the field of Fortune,  
May the favour of the Everlasting be his protector and ally.  
Oh thou by the generosity of whose hand all things have  
their being,<sup>1</sup>

By the sharpness of whose sword all properties both acci-  
dental and essential<sup>2</sup> obtain permanence.

In the first day of eternity, the object of creation for the  
Lord of the world was the evolution of thy form from this  
revolving sphere,

Should Gabriel a second time be the bearer of revelation,  
Pure passages<sup>3</sup> will be revealed in thy glory.

Every subtilty of science which thy ruby lip pronounces  
Has become as famous in the world as the uninterrupted  
tradition.<sup>4</sup>

It is well-known that this is a commentary on the books of  
mathematical science, this wonderful composition of thine  
on the discovery of circles.

How can any one deny the vastness of thy knowledge ?

None but a stubborn disputant<sup>5</sup> will deny self-evident truths.

<sup>1</sup> قوام *qiwām* is the stay or support of any thing, that in virtue of which it subsists.

<sup>2</sup> عرض *A'rāz* اعراض وجوه *o jawāhir*. By عرض *'Arazun*, is meant in the conventional language of Muslim theologians, a thing that is not permanent, "an accident," as opposed to جوهر *jauharun*, "an essential," see Lane, s. v. عرض also *kashshāf*, s. v. v. جوهر also *mukābir*.

<sup>3</sup> آيات طواهر *ayāt ṭawāher* for طواهر *ṭawāher*.

<sup>4</sup> These two lines commencing شرکت حکمت occur in MS. (A) before the line commencing در روز ازل as well as in this place.

<sup>5</sup> مبني *Mabni*. Founded on certainty, equivalent to مسلم *Muslim*.

<sup>6</sup> مکابر *mukābir*. One who contentiously upholds a proposition which he knows to be false.

I cannot estimate thy perfections, for in every art thou hast  
become perfectly skilled ;  
When compared with thy philosophic intellect and good for-  
tune, the angelic essence becomes as one of the common  
material objects.

Thy generosity is of such a nature that at the moment of 475.  
bestowing

Thou knowest without asking all the hidden desires of the  
mind.

This enigma upon the name of Kibār<sup>2</sup> is also by him :

*Verse.*

That face<sup>3</sup> is the Qur'an, and that down on the cheek is the  
sign<sup>4</sup> of tyranny and oppression ;  
The cheek of that heart-envisaging one has no endowment of  
the mace of fidelity.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read احسان for احتىش. MS. (A).

<sup>2</sup> MS. (A) reads كبار. MS. (B) reads كبار.

<sup>3</sup> The text reads آنزو with a footnote saying that all three MSS. are  
the same. MS. (B) reads ببرو!

<sup>4</sup> The text reads آيت, MS. (B) reads آیت.

<sup>5</sup> The verse in the original runs thus :

Mushaf ast darrū wa īn khāff dyat i jaur o jaṣd st

'Ariz i īn dil-sitān bī bahra az khāl i waṣfā st

The word **مصحف** *mushaf* here has two meanings, (1) a collection of pages  
**قُرْبَه** *qurbeh*, written upon, and placed between two boards, hence a copy of  
the Qur'an, (2) affected by *tashrif*, which is a technical expression for so alter-  
ing a word by changing diacritical points and altering the order of its com-  
ponent letters, that it acquires a different signification.

In accordance with this second meaning, in the word **آنزو** the letter **و**  
*wāw* is first dropped leaving **آنزو** *ānzū* then **ز** *z* is changed into **ب** *b* giving **آنبر**  
*ānbār*, by transposing these letters we get **بار** *bār*.

The word **کبار** *kibār* has also two meanings, (1) down on the cheek; (2) a  
letter or character. Hence we may translate "that letter is the sign of tyranny  
and oppression." Now **کائن** *kā'in*, cutting or cleaving, is such a sign,  
and may be represented by its root **کف** *kaf*, which is the letter of the  
alphabet required, and when prefixed to the syllable **بار** *bār* above found  
gives the word **کبار** *kibār*, thus completing the *mu'ammd* or enigma.

The death of the aforesaid Maulūnā took place in the year 966 H. and Mir Amānī Kābulī wrote the following *tūrīkh*<sup>1</sup> of the event.

Verse.

Alas ! the pity of it, that the discerner of subtleties Nādirī has departed,

That rare poet<sup>2</sup> who did full justice to eloquence in the world ; I sought to express the date of his death by way of enigma, Wisdom answered one has gone from among the masters of speech.<sup>3</sup>

Another is Shaikh Abul Wājid<sup>4</sup> Fārīghī, who was deeply imbued with the feelings of a *darvēsh* and was<sup>5</sup> renowned for his sweet singing ; the following is taken from his poems :

Verse.

So great is the habitual oppression of that seeker after tyranny  
That a morsel of mercy from him, seems a great beauty.

And in his impassioned style he says :

Verse.

Praise be to God that I am freed from the love of an ill-conditioned sot,

Who used to fall, as did his eyes, from drunkenness in every road,

Who, like the cup, for the sake of a draught, was lip to lip with every man,

Who like the flagon bent himself to every cup in every place.

<sup>1</sup> MS. (A) reads در تاریخ نادیری.

<sup>2</sup> اُن نادیری <sup>و</sup> <sup>کے</sup> This we may read *An Nādirī ki*. That Nādirī who : or, *An Nādire ki*.

<sup>3</sup> سخن و ران رفت یکی از سخن و ران *Ruft yake az sukhun warān*. If from *sukhun warān* the value of which is 967, we remove <sup>یکی</sup> that is one, we have left 966.

<sup>4</sup> Footnote to text says that the *Nafā'is-u-l-Maāṣir* reads Abūl Wājid. MS. (B) reads ابوالوجود Abūl Wajd.

<sup>5</sup> MSS (A) (B) omit بود after مشرب and insert it after مشهور.

The following is also by him

476

*Verse*

At that time when my heart was blest with thy companion-  
ship,

It did not seem that such a blessing could be expressed,  
In short, the whole of my life's reckoning had passed in  
separation from thee,

Who can count the joy of meeting<sup>1</sup> what a store of happiness  
it was<sup>1</sup>

Strangers last night were near you, while Fārīgh at an  
immense distance was burning like rue<sup>1</sup> upon the fire of  
disappointment

This is also his

*Verse*

Oh my intimate companions do not break the bond of union  
In dispersion is distraction, do not break it and depart.

And again he writes

*Verse*

When thou drewest out thine arrow from my breast leave its  
point there,

Grant me my heart to yield my life in thy service manfully

His death occurred in the year 940 H, and he was buried in  
the monastery<sup>2</sup> of Shaikh Zainu d Din<sup>3</sup> at Agra, and in conse-  
quence of the extremity of their unanimity and concord both  
left the world in the same year. It is said that at the time when  
these two eminent men went to Hindustan owing to their  
excessive profligacy they possessed nothing but an old postin<sup>4</sup>  
between them. Shaikh Zainu d-Din<sup>5</sup> said to Shaikh Abul  
Wajd,<sup>6</sup> "I will take this to the bazar of Kabul upon the condition  
that you won't come and indulge in any pleasures." He agreed,  
and a purchaser having run it up to a most extravagant figure

<sup>1</sup> *Sipāh Sipāh* Rue is said in the *Ghāṣṣūl Lughāt* to be burned to avert  
the evil eye. Rue was called "herb of grace" from its supposed efficacy in  
exorcism.

<sup>2</sup> Omit *عَسْكَر* MSS (A) (B)      <sup>3</sup> MS (A)      <sup>4</sup> A sheepskin coat

<sup>5</sup> MS (A)      <sup>6</sup> MS (B) MS (A) reads *أَنْجَلِيَّة*

was ready to give five *shahrukhs*<sup>1</sup> but *Shaikh* Zain kept demanding more. At last *Shaikh* Abūl-Wajd came up in a disinterested way and was acting as broker, after a deal of haggling he said,  
**477.** “Ah! you cheat! why this door mat<sup>2</sup> itself contains<sup>3</sup> five *Shahrukhs* worth of fleas and lice”! so the bargain was at an end, and *Shaikh* Zain was annoyed and said, “What sort of time was this for the stupid jokes you are so fond of? We wanted the price of a loaf, and this is the way you’re going to pay for<sup>4</sup> it”! *Shaikh* Abūl-Wajd fell into a fit of laughter.

Another is Jāhī Yatmān,<sup>5</sup> who was from *Bukhārā*, and having acquired a reputation on this account in Kābul, offered his services at the time when the late Emperor proceeded towards Hindustān<sup>6</sup> obtained great favours from Humāyūn, and rose to a confidential position, and at the time when Shāh Muḥammad Khān Sālū<sup>7</sup> was left in Kābul as revenue commissioner,<sup>8</sup> he treated<sup>9</sup> the Mulla just like the rest of the people, and caused him serious annoyance. The Mulla accordingly composed an elegant *tarkīb*

<sup>1</sup> The *Shahrukhi* was a coin equivalent to 16 *dams*, or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to a rupee. They were so called because they were first coined by Shāh Rukh the *Mughul* Sultān of Persia, A. H. 807-850. Thomas, *Pathan kings*, p. 381. The purchaser was thus willing to give about two rupees for the *postīn*. The *postīn* is a jacket made of dressed sheepskin dyed a yellow colour and more or less handsomely embroidered in yellow silk. It is worn like Brian O’Linn’s breeches “with the fleshy side out and the woolly side in.” They cost about thirty or forty rupees, according to their embroidery.

<sup>2</sup> Text reads بَطِيل. *Batīl*. In the text this word is followed by a (?) MS. (A) has what may be بَطْل *patal*, in which case the meaning would be “a mat,” and this in consideration of the matted condition of a filthy *postīn* seems the true reading.

<sup>3</sup> MS. (B) omits باشندہ.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. (A) (B) اسیں ایسے۔

<sup>5</sup> MS. (A) reads و دیگری حامی تمبان *wa digare Ḥāmī Tambān*. MS. (B) reads یتمینان جاہی یتمینان *Jāhī-i-yatmīnān*. A footnote to the text gives and says that Nafā’isū l-Maāṣir writes “Jāhī Yatmīyān was from *Bukhārā*, his father Yatmīyān was a native of that place, for which reason he was commonly known by this name.”

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) reads سند Sind.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read سالو *Sālū*. The text reads شاپور *Shāhpūr*, but in a footnote gives سالو.

<sup>8</sup> سزاولی بچھت سزاولی *ba-jihat-i-sazāwalī*.

<sup>9</sup> MS. (B) reads تصوریدہ تصوریدہ *Tasawwuf* for نمودہ نمودہ.

band lampooning Sālū,<sup>1</sup> and inasmuch as the Emperor had the daughter of Shāh Muḥammad Sālū<sup>2</sup> in his service, he made an exception<sup>3</sup> in his favour alone, and erased the names of all the members of his family, male and female, consigning them to ignominy. Inasmuch as Humāyūn was also incensed against that ass<sup>4</sup> who had been the source of all this mischief, he had that lampoon read<sup>5</sup> in Sālū's presence by the Mulla in full assembly, and evinced the greatest delight and merriment, and made him give a largo sum as a reward. By degrees that lampoon became more and more disgracefully scurrilous, accordingly I have restricted myself to citing one extract from it in this place, which is as follows:—

"I am the poet of Shāh Humāyūn and the dust of his thres.  
hold," 478.

The rotinoo of my poetic worth casts the moon's brightness  
into shade.

My poem is the Emperor, and my noble verses are his cavalry  
and soldiery,

I experienced oppression from a fool,<sup>6</sup> without any fault or  
crime of mine.

If a fragment of paper has become blackened by my ravings,  
If my meditations turn towards<sup>7</sup> satirizing him,

The object is that that these idiotic asses

May have a regard for the honour and dignity of this class.

Alas, for that man who contends with the tribe of poets,  
Whoever contends with me contends against calamity."

The Emperor interfered at this verse saying, "Why do you  
not word it thus:

"Whoever contends with me contends with God"

The following verses are also by him:—

<sup>1</sup> MSS. (A) (B).

<sup>2</sup> MSS. (A) (B).

<sup>3</sup> MSS. (A) (B) مُسْتَنْدِيٌ سَاحِنَةٌ.

<sup>4</sup> The Text reads خر Khar but M.S. (A). reads خسور Khusur, father-in-law.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. (A) (B) استماع فرموده.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read بخشندهي be-khsende. The text reads قبضه زني qabza-zane. Whoremaster.

<sup>7</sup> Text روی بخ with a footnote بخ for بخ.

## Verse.

As long as we have existed we have been lovers and have incurred ignominy,  
 Yet we have been constant to the true proportions of lovers.  
 This is also his :—

## Verse.

Ye, beauteous ones, are all devoid of love and faithfulness,  
 Ye treat your captives with tyranny and oppression,  
 Ye promised to be faithful, but have vowed falsely,  
 Say truly, why are ye all thus false ?  
 Not in this city alone are we disgraced on your account.  
 Everywhere ye are the cause of our disgrace,  
 How often will ye ask what is your object in the world ?  
 I say truly that ye are, ye are, ye are.  
 Jāhi cannot save his life from your hands  
 For ye are a calamity of the calamities sent by God.

The following is also by him :

## Verse.

Last night the moon of the 'Id appeared in the form of a *misqal*<sup>1</sup>  
 Because from the vapours of fasting the mirror of the heart  
 was clouded.  
 Was this the new moon ? or by reason of the leanness of  
 their bodies,  
 Did the bone of the rib of the thirsty-lipped fast-enduring  
 ones appear ?  
 Or was it that they had fashioned a saddle<sup>2</sup> for the camel of  
 Lailī ?  
 Or was it the bowed body of Majnūn who had become pale  
 and wan through grief ?  
 The very heaven wishes to enrol itself among thy servants,

<sup>1</sup> جَاءَ misqal or أَلْأَاءَ misqalat, called also خَرَازَةٌ *kharazat*, is a shell used for polishing swords, mirrors, &c., *Taju-l-'Arūs*.

MS. (B) reads جَاءَ misqal which suits neither metre nor sense.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. (A) (B) read بَطِيبٌ for بَطَّا. A footnote variant to the text is بَصَّا.

And for that reason has bent the bow in order to string it!  
Moreover thy messenger has bound on his hells,<sup>2</sup> and has placed the feather of distinction on his head,

He is going from Rūm to bear tidings from Zanzibār

It must be borne in mind that this verse<sup>3</sup> *Khwesh rā dar silk : khuddam tu mīkhwahad falak* (The very heaven wishes to enrol itself among your servants) he has taken from a couplet of the *qasidah* of Nizam Astābādī, which runs thus,—

*Shab nujum az majma' : mardum nishān āwarda and*

*Waz mah : nau tāza harfe darmiyān āwarda and*

At night the stars have appeared like an assembly of men

And have brought into their midst a new idea in the shape of  
*the new moon*,

The Shāh of Zangbar has taken his seat upon the throne of 480  
Empire

And the stars have brought the bow as an offering to him

### Rubb'i:

The down which encircles thy cheek is the cause of my distraction,

Thy locks are the cause of my helplessness and distress,

That dusky ringlet is bent upon my undoing,

All these charms are the cause of my distraction

The following is also his

Come, for the sky has prepared for your pristine<sup>4</sup>

The sun as the golden gourd, and the crescent moon as the hook<sup>5</sup>

دھر دار گدار (Text) MS (A) reads دھر دار گدار MS (B) reads دھر دار گدار رستہ ریک : *Basta rang* The dark runners in the East carry a cluster of globular bells called *Zang* or *rang* tied to one end of the staff carried over their shoulders to the other end of which the mail bag is attached, as a signal to clear the way *Zang bastan* has the secondary meaning of acquiring importance MSS (A) (B) read ریک for ریک

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) reads اس بیت را کی

<sup>4</sup> قدق باری *qabaq bazi* *Qabaq* signifies in Turk a gourd, in ancient times the Turkomans used to hang up a wooden gourd as a mark for archery, but in later times a bowl was substituted for the gourd

<sup>5</sup> کچ کچ *kajak* The name given to the hook upon which the bowl is suspended in the game of *qabaq a dāz* (*Ghasat il għaq*)

Bairām Khān has a well-known *qaṣīdah* with this same rhyme, but in a different metre, of which the following is the opening couplet:—

*Verse.*

Thy shaft has carried away the loop of the *qabaq*<sup>1</sup> from its hook,

Thy meteor, by the help of the crescent-moon has erased the form of the Pleiades.

These two opening couplets are derived from the opening couplet of a *qaṣīdah* by the celebrated Niṣārī Tūnī. The death of Mullā Jāhī took place in the year 956 H. and was due to some poison which a servant introduced into his cup.

Another poet is Ḥaidar Tūniā'ī, a man of parts, and unequalled in the technicalities of harmony, he had a competent faculty for both poetry and music. He spent the greater part of his life in Hindustān. The lampoon upon the *Maliku-l-munajjimīn*<sup>2</sup> of the time of Humāyūn Pādshāh, which he wrote at Panjgāh, is one of the marvels of the age, and a rarity for all time.

The following opening couplet which he wrote for his threnody on the death of the saintly martyred Imām,<sup>3</sup> accepted of God, murdered by man, offspring of the Prophet, by descent from the pure<sup>4</sup> Fāṭimah, *upon them be peace*,<sup>5</sup> is read during the 'Āshūrā in the assemblies for the commemoration of the death of Husain.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The text reads كِبَك kabak and a footnote states that all three MSS. have the word written with kāf-i-kaliman (ك). MS. (A) however has قبّق qabaq. The crescent moon is compared to an erasing-knife (كُفَّةٌ).

<sup>2</sup> Prince of Astrologers.

<sup>3</sup> Hnsain, the second son of 'Alī by his wife Fāṭimah, daughter of Muḥammad, was slain at Karbalā, A. H. 61. See Hnges' Dict. of Islām.

<sup>4</sup> الْبَاتُولُ Al-Batūl. The word *batūl* literally means an offset of a palm-tree, cut from the parent tree and independent of it. With the article *Jt al*, in its application to Fāṭimah, it denotes her distinction from other women on the ground of chastity, excellence and religion. See Lane s. v.

<sup>5</sup> عَلَيْهِمُ السَّلَامُ 'alaihimas-salām. MS. (A) The text reads عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ, with a footnote variant عَلَيْهِ إِلَهٌ مُنِيبٌ, and stating that the expression in the text is not found either in the dual or plural in any MS. Clearly the editor had not MS. (A) before him.

<sup>6</sup> مَعَارِكٍ m'aārik lit., battle fields.

## Verse

The month of Muharram has come and our eycs are constrained  
to weop,  
We let fall tears of blood at the thought of Husain's parched  
lips<sup>1</sup>

## Rubā'

Tbon art he whom in onvy they call the sun and moon,  
Thy troops, both horse and foot, they call the moonfacod ones  
Thou art worthy of th<sup>is</sup>, with this graco and beauty of thine,  
That all the kings of tho ago shoald call theo sovereign lord

The following is also by him —

My heart thou hast no friend to compare with sorrow for him,  
Thou hast no comfort in life like sympathy for him

And this —

Every moment my heart's desire has some flesh allurement,  
To bear her coqutry costs my liso, what of that ? it is her  
life

How can I liken the lips of my love to the bud of the rose,  
The bud is tightly pursed it is true but is dumb and silent

The son of this man Haidai Tuai was an arrant coward and  
spitless,<sup>2</sup> accordingly in the months<sup>3</sup> of the year 985 H he had 482  
entered the service of Humayun, one day ho ws describing the  
cucamstances of a journey by boat and its teriois, in such a way  
that the effects of fear wero evident from his behaviour<sup>4</sup> I asked  
saying, May be you regiet having gone on the Hajj<sup>5</sup> and I  
repeated as appropriate to the occasion that verse which his rivals  
said to the poet Quds<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The pathetic story of the death of Husain slain in his attempts to quench  
his thirst forms the the ne of the annual ceremonies of the Muharram See  
Hughes *Dct of Islam* artt Muharram and Al Husain where a full account  
of Husain's death is given

<sup>2</sup> MS (A) reads پسرش MS (A) (B) omit دندل

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) omits شور

<sup>4</sup> Text ادھاش MS (A) MS (B) ادھاش

<sup>5</sup> حج Hajj or greater pilgrimage

<sup>6</sup> Mir Husain Quds<sup>i</sup> of Karbala see *Ain-i-Akkari* (B) I 602

## Verse.

From the hardships of the desert path, and its thorns,<sup>1</sup>  
Of the coming to the *Ka'bah* you are probably repentant.

He replied instantly, "Yea ! verily." The king said, why should he repent of having visited the *Ka'bah*, though he may indeed repent of sitting in a ship. At that same moment Mathin<sup>2</sup> *Khān*, the elegant and accomplished mime, in accordance with a hint from the king, made himself up<sup>3</sup> to represent a mad man bitten by a dog, and began to bark like a dog, and seized Haidar,<sup>4</sup> and dragged him forward with his turban flying one way and his shoes another. He began running in all directions,<sup>5</sup> till at last he rolled on the ground, and set them all laughing immoderately. When he learned the truth he was desperately ashamed. The king attempted to console him, but it ended by his being obliged to leave Hindustān. Another is *Shāh Tāhir Khwāndī*<sup>6</sup> Dakkanī, the younger brother of *Shāh Ja'far*; the *'Ulamā* of 'Irāq, however ridicule his pretensions to descent from *Khwāndī* stock, and have prepared a document bearing upon this question, to which both his opponents and supporters subscribed their signatures,<sup>7</sup> as is mentioned in the *Kāmilu-t-tawārīkh* of Ibn Aṣir Jazārī,<sup>8</sup> and also in the *Lubbu-t-tawārīkh*<sup>9</sup> of Qāzī Yahya Qazwīnī, and other works. He claimed to be intimately connected with *Shāh Tahmasp*, but

1 خار مغيلان *Khār-i-mughailān*. See ante, p. 550 n. 1.

2 MSS. (A) (B) مني. *Mathī*. 8 MS. (B) reads ساخته.

4 MS. (A) reads این حیدر را. 6 MS. (A) omits ورسو.

6 MS. (A) reads *Khondī*. *Shāh Tāhir Junaidī*, See Beale Dict. Or. Biog., p. 250. See also Briggs *Firishta*, vol. iii. reign of Burhān Niẓām *Shāh*.

7 MSS. (A) (B) خط نهادند. MS. (B) reads نباد طبا.

8 The author of this celebrated history which is also called *Al Kāmil fi-t-tawārīkh* (the perfect history) or more commonly *Al-Kāmil*, was Shaikh Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Abī-l-Karan Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu-l-Karīm ibn 'Abdu-l-Wāhid ash-Sharbānī commonly known as Ibnu-l-Āṣir.

He is called Al-Jazārī (the islander) from his birth-place the island of Ibn 'Umar, Jazīrat ibn 'Umar, an island of the Tigris above Mosul. He was born 555 H. (1160 A.D.) and died 630 H. (1232 A.D.). See Elliot and Dowson, II. 244, and Hājī *Khalīfah*, 9733.

9 أب التواریخ *Lubbu-t-Tawārīkh*. (Marrow of History). The author of this work was Yahya ibn 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf Qazwīnī (Dimishqī) who died 960 A.H. (1552 A.D.). See Elliot and Dowson IV. 293 and Hājī *Khalīfah*, 11076.

eventually he was led, by the abuse which was heaped upon him in connection with the aforesaid claim to relationship,<sup>1</sup> and the excessive annoyances caused him by Mir Jamālu-d-Din Ṣadr Astarābādi, to proceed to the Dakkan, which is famed as the 483 refuge for the oppressed, where he met with a favourable reception<sup>2</sup> from Nizām Shāh, the ruler of that country, and was rewarded with considerable advancement, and attaining the highest dignities<sup>3</sup> reached the rank of *Jumlatu-l-Mulk* (Chief finance-minister of the State). The Shi'ah tenets spread widely, in fact we may say they were really inaugurated in those regions through the instrumentality of Shāh Tāhir.<sup>4</sup> Nizām Shāh Bahri, who was afflicted with an incurable<sup>5</sup> malady of long standing, was cured by the virtue<sup>6</sup> of a charm pronounced over him by Shāh Ja'far, and that occurrence, which was in reality was of the nature of *Istidrāj*, he attributed to the miraculous powers (*kārāmāt*) of Shāh Ja'far,<sup>6</sup> and acting upon his instigation abandoned the religious

<sup>1</sup> MS (A) reads سب.

<sup>2</sup> MSS (A) (B) مشار الیه گردیدہ

<sup>3</sup> Shāh Tāhir, by prophesying the recovery of his son 'Abdu l-Qādir, who was dangerously ill, induced Nizām Shāh to reject the names of Abu Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uman, who are the three first *Khalifahs* of the Sunnis, from the *Khuṭbah*, and to substitute those of the Imams, thus proclaiming himself a Shi'ah. See *Firqa*, Bo. tort, II 220 et seqq. Briggs, (III 228) merely mentions the fact but does not give the story.

<sup>4</sup> Read علاج *al-y* MS. (A)

<sup>5</sup> بطفقیل فسون خوانی. *Batufail : fusūn khudāni*. This is a very strange expression, and although it occurs in the text and MSS. (A) (B), I would suggest we should read *lājū ba fāṣī*. The use of spells and charms for the cure of disease was permitted to Muslims provided there was in them no suspicion of شرک *shirk*, that is, of associating anything with God. We read in the *Mishkāt* that spells were permitted to be used "to counteract the ill-effects of a malignant eye; and on those bit by snakes or scorpions, and for sores in the side". They were also directed to be used for jaundice which was held to be an effect of the evil eye. See *Mishkātu-l-Masabih*, XXI. Part II.

MS. (B) reads داروں میں صنی

<sup>6</sup> اسے علاج. *Istidrāj*. In the *Kashshaf* this is defined as follows "A praeternatural occurrence brought about by the agency of an unbeliever or an impious man, and in conformity with his desires". Another definition is also given from the *Shama ilu l-Muhammadiyah*. "*Istidrāj* is a praeternatural occur-

tenets of *Sunnat*<sup>1</sup> and *Jamā'at*,<sup>2</sup> which he held as one of the *Mahdawīyah*,<sup>3</sup> and became a fanatical heretic.<sup>4</sup> What cruel and vexatious treatment as accursed and excommunicate did not these two ill-starred ones<sup>5</sup> inflict upon the 'Ulamā and Shaikhs of that land ! So that at last their disgraceful conduct led to the expulsion of the true Muslims, and heresy<sup>6</sup> from that day again became firmly rooted in that country.

Shāh Tāhir was in natural descriptive poetry comparable to Nizām Astarābādī in astronomical poetry. The following is from one of his *qaṣīdahs* written in eulogy of Humāyūn Pādshāh. In it he has imitated Anwārī.

Verse.

When the golden litter of the sun enters the resting-place of Hamal,<sup>7</sup>

The tulip lights its lamp, and the narcissus its torch ;

ronco brought about by the agency of infidels or evil-doers." It is generally understood that a miracle brought about by one who claims to be a prophet, if it be in accordance with his desires is called *mu'jiẓa*, while if it be contrary to his intention it is called *Iḥānat*. Again that which is brought about by any other than a prophet, if he be faithful, pious, and perfect in the knowledge of God, is called *karāmat*; that performed by the ordinary believer is called *ma'īnat*, but that which is performed by infidels is to be called *istidrāj*.

*Kashshāf* I. 463.

1 The word سُنَّة Sunnat means literally 'a path' and the Sunnis are known as أَهْلُ سُنَّة Ahl-i-Sunnat "the people of the path." The Sunnis have claimed for themselves this title in virtue of their acknowledging the first four Khalifahs to have been the rightful successors of Muḥammad, and receiving the "six books" of tradition.

2 جماعة *jama'at*, Assembly. It is here used in its technical sense of سُنَّة مُوَكَّدَة *sunnatun mu'akkadatun* an authenticated traditional practice. The Sunnis are commonly called *Ahl-i-sunnah wa jamā'ah*.

3 For an account of the Mahdawī sect, see *Aīn-i-Akbarī* (B.) I., pp. iii. iv.

4 مُتَرَفِّضٌ غَالِي mutaraffiz-i-ghāli. The meaning appears to be "became more of a Shī'ah than the Shī'ahs themselves." The form of the word *mutaraffiz* requires some such translation.

5 مشئوم *mash'uūm* MSS. (A) (B) read مُشَيْعَمْ.

6 رُفْضٌ *Rafz* lit. forsaking. The Sunnī Muslims call all Shī'ahs *Rāfi'i* or heretics.

7 حَمَلٌ *Hamal*, Aries. The sun enters Aries in Spring.

New the meontao is freed from the headache caused by  
Bahman and Dai,<sup>1</sup>

And the spring clend washes from its forehead the sandal <sup>2</sup>

The fellewing *Qasidah* in praise of the Prophet<sup>3</sup> is also  
his, althengh the *guriz gah*,<sup>4</sup> nay even the commencement of the  
*Qasidah* to its entirety, is not suitable to the dignity of the holy 484  
Commander (cf the Faithful) *on him be peace*<sup>5</sup>

### *Qasidah*

Once more the tims has come when to accordance with the  
summens of the sky

The rose spreads its crimson blanket on the ceneh of the  
garden,

The clouds of Nasau, with the keen blood hued dagger of  
the lightoig

Erases the word "ice"<sup>6</sup> from the pages of the earths  
surface

The close eyd darliogs the hndz, like an army of Ozbaks,<sup>7</sup>  
Maks a night attack at early dawn upon ths army of Dai,  
Beheld the forms of bud and of ross with the sky for a  
branch!

Ths conical shadew of ths earth is the hnd, the sun in  
heaven is the rose

<sup>1</sup> بهمن و دی Bahman o Dai. Dai is the tenth and Bahman the eleventh  
month of the Persian year they answer to December and January See  
Al Biruni Chronology p 52

<sup>2</sup> صد Sandal Santalum album N O Santalaceæ

The wood ground into powder is much used in Ind a made into a paste with  
water as an application to the forehead in headaches The *Makhrann l Adurya*  
recommends the addition of a little camphor and rose water See Ibu Baitar  
II, 138 See ante p 434 n 1, also Drury, *Useful Plants of India* p 383

<sup>3</sup> مانغات Manqabat This word is used to connote eulogy of either the  
Prophet or holy men (Wals)

<sup>4</sup> گریز gah Point of departure This name is given to that  
portion of a *qasidah* in which the poet leaves his original theme to descant  
upon the qualities of the person eulogised

<sup>5</sup> MS (A) omits حضرت also عالم also تعلی

<sup>6</sup> Text *harf + barf* MS (B) reads *harf + harf*

<sup>7</sup> The Turks are called *tang elashm* close eyed and the red petals tigl tly  
folded in the bud are likened to the *taj* or red caps of the *Qizilbash*

And for this reason that the assembly of the rose may not be without a minstrel,

The nightingale has become the Inter-player, the reed-branch with its buds are the Inter;

The garment of the rock would have become wet from the moisture distilled from the clouds

Had not the mountain covered its back with the woolen cloak<sup>1</sup> of verdure,

Had not the lightning smitten its goal upon the head of the elephant-like cloud

It would have laid in rains the stately edifice of the sky,

The garden became the table of 'Isā, and the dew lying on it<sup>2</sup> Looked like salt sprinkled here and there upon that table,

In order that the people may not receive base gold from the hand of the jasmine,

The tulip cambist carries hidden under his arm the touch-stone.

Every perfect thing which is not secure from the defects of decay,

Seems in the sight of the wise and noble but a small thing.

The beloved of the garden is of perfect beauty but it had been well

If this beauty and comeliness had not been separated from it.

Alas! for that moment when at the instigation of desire the army of Dai

Became emboldened<sup>3</sup> to lay waste the garden of roses.

The time is near at hand when the staff-bearer of the days of Autumn

Will knock with his staff at the gate of the rose-garden.

The crow will then hold in derision the impassioned<sup>4</sup> nightingale,

And the withered petals will lie blackened beneath the hundred petalled rose (the sun).

<sup>1</sup> Text reads کپنک. MSS. (A) (B) read کپانک *kapanak*, a felt garment which poor persons wear on their backs in winter. *Ghiāsu-l-lughāt*.

<sup>2</sup> Read وبروی شبنم MSS. (A) (B).

<sup>3</sup> Text reads شیرک but we should read شترک. MS. (A).

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) reads سوره for شوریده.

The wind has cast the diadem from the head of the garden-glory,<sup>1</sup>

While the Siparah<sup>2</sup> sets itself up in antagonism to the cheek of the rose

With a view to the construction of that courtyard of which Dai<sup>3</sup> has laid the foundation in the garden,

Everywhere thereto he scattered about bricks of ice and mortar of snow,

[For aged people who have experienced the tyranny of Autumn

The optician Dai makes spectacles of the crystal ice

[Soon will it happen that from fear of the staff of the watchman of Dai

The people of the sweet herbs will take to flight one after another]<sup>4</sup>

It is better for the wise man that he determine to make the tour of such a garden

Where the autumn cannot be persuaded to go even by force

That garden is the rose garden of the praise of a king of so high dignity

That the very angels descend from heaven to frequent his Court

Murtaza<sup>5</sup> the King, both of form and reality, inasmuch as he is the source of the union of shadow and substance

That one who, from the impetuosity of his royal falcon's talons,

<sup>1</sup> نوستار امروز *bustan efruz* A red flower without odour, called also *Taqi* or *Khurus* (Cockscomb) and *Gul-i-Yusuf* (Barhan-i-Qati) *Amaranthus cndatus* Love lies bleeding or *Celosia cristata* (Cockscomb) N O *Amaranthaceæ*

<sup>2</sup> سپرک *Siprah* a herb, which when boiled dyes yellow (Steingass) This line may also be translated, Measles has become opponent to the cheek of the rose

<sup>3</sup> MS (A) reads گل for دی

<sup>4</sup> This couplet is in MS (A), as follows —

زود ناشد که از نعم کنک شنیده دی  
گزبریده رعایتی روابحین نک نک

The text reads پیش از احمد instead of پیش از احمد

<sup>5</sup> مرتضی *Murtaza* The Chosen A title of 'Ali

Breaks the wing of the heavenly Eagle<sup>1</sup> as though it were a duck.

Such a king is he that, in the train of the attendants at his door,

Birjis<sup>2</sup> bears the name Sa'd, and 'Uṭārid<sup>3</sup> that of Zirak.

The table-steward of the sky, for the use of his lordly table,  
Has brought the Pleiades<sup>4</sup> in his hand as salt-cellar and salt.  
The moon has become the censer of his<sup>5</sup> assembly, and the rays of the moon,<sup>6</sup>

Are the smoke of the aloes-wood which issues from that censer,

From behind the mirror of the heavens, in accordance with the rules of approval,

Whatever he said, Fate repeated the same like a parrot.<sup>7</sup>

[Who else is there whom they can bring into his train,  
Wo recognise his other competitors, each one of them.

He bears no relation to tyranny-loving strangers,

The connoisseur perceives the difference between turquoise<sup>8</sup>  
and glass beads;

١ نسرین فلک Nasrain-i-salak. The constellations Eagle and Lyre.

٢ برجیس Birjis. The planet Jupiter, which is one of the اَنْدَان Sa'dān, or two auspicious planets, the other being Venus.

٣ عَطَارِد 'Uṭārid. The planet Mercury, which is held to rule over intelligence, hence it has the name ذِرَّاک Zirak, intelligent.

The names Sa'd and Zirak are commonly given to servants.

٤ سوریا Suraiyyā. The Pleiades; as being the most beneficial of the planets from its influence on the autumnal rains, is called by the Arabs

النَّجْم An-najm. The constellation, cf. Job. xxxviii. 31. The poet apparently draws his simile from the form of the constellation itself, and also from the nebula, which he compares to the salt grains. If this latter is really the case it would be interesting, as the nebula of the Pleiades is claimed to have been comparatively recently discovered, first by photography.

٥ MS. (A) reads تو وی.

٦ The expression جرم قمر jirm-i-qamar is not very clear, and properly would hardly bear the meaning given to it in the translation. The word جرم jirm is said to be used in the sense of the separate members of the body (see Lane s. v.) and on this analogy the word is here translated rays.

٧ The text has here a footnote saying that in two MSS. there follows here *In maqla'i ñ nîz mashhîr ast.* So MS. (B).

٨ To look each morning upon the turquoise is said to enhance the brilliancy of the eyes. It is also said that the wearer of a Turquoise so set that it

Virtual justice and the decrees of courts are mistakes,  
For this reason that this question was decided in the case of  
Uddak.<sup>1</sup>

The widow of time, since she was not meet for marriage,  
He divorced her openly and irrevocably, then he left her.]<sup>2</sup>

The following opening couplet of his<sup>3</sup> is also well known —

487.

*Verse*

In this grief populated world joy has departed from my  
sorrowful heart.<sup>4</sup>

We are quite accustomed to grief to such an extent has joy  
been forgotten

*Verse*

We have been defamed because of the crime of love, as the  
devotee is blamed for his hypocrisy,

Both of us are defamed, but what a vast difference there is  
between us?

The following is also his —

*Verse*

Come not out, for you will be the calamity<sup>5</sup> of the age,  
We shall be slain and you will be disgraced.

The following *qasidah* also<sup>6</sup> is a very happy production of his —

Every man who sets his heart upon worldly desires  
In the judgment of men of wisdom is not wise,

touches the skin may fall from any height without injury as the stone attracts  
to itself the whole force of the blow. *Mans Mird* I p 88 It is also sup-  
posed to change colour with the state of the wearer's health. The Turquoise  
is commonly worn set in an amulet

1 Faddak was a village which belonged to the prophet Muhammad. After  
his death, when his daughter Fatimah had assumed possession, the Khalifah  
took it from her by force, saying, 'I have heard the prophet say "we  
prophets will not leave legacies to our heirs but what is left at our death will  
be given in clarity"'

2 The verses in brackets are omitted from MS (A)

3 MS (A) omits او

4 Text reads آناد حمل عیش لا دل ناشاد رفت MSS (A) (B) read  
در عزم او لدت عشق از دل ناشاد رفت In grief for her the joy of love has left  
my sorrowful heart

5 MSS (A) (B) read دماس for شوره از دیوار قصده MS (A)

Thy form is straight like the letter Alif [may his shadow be lengthened],

And thine eyebrows are extended like the *madda* over the Alif.<sup>1</sup>

Thou hast cast the die of acceptance on the words of others,  
But through the words of lovers thou has drawn the line of refusal;

Thou endurest troubles, do not attempt to draw her, O painter of Chin,

Wert thou to draw a hundred, never would there come eyes and locks like her's.

Firāqī, be not over-desirous of the wealth of union with her,  
Thou hast suffered boundless tyranny and spite at the hands of thy beloved.<sup>2</sup>

The king, who has now taken refuge in God's pardon, in spite of that unseemly behaviour was excessively fond of the *Khwājah*.

Accordingly, so<sup>3</sup> desirous was he of his society that he joined him in the marriage-bond to one of the Begamis, in the hope<sup>4</sup> that he would adopt the manner of life of people of probity and rectitude, but the *Khwājah* was held so close a prisoner<sup>5</sup> by his evil habits, that he could not abide companionship with the king.

#### Verse.

When once evil habits have taken possession of the nature  
They will never leave it till the day of death.

490. He put forward various flimsy pretexts to that end, and not even contenting himself with this, one day while in the king's assembly he was guilty of a breach of decorum which one blushes to mention. The king, out of the exceeding kindness and goodness of his nature, overlooked his fault, and merely remarked, "My dear *Khwāja* what sort of manners are these!" The *Khwāja* sought permission to proceed to Makka the revered, the blessed,<sup>6</sup> and after duly setting in order the requisites for his journey and the

<sup>1</sup> An Alif *l* with a curved line written across it horizontally *l* is called *Alif māndāda*. This cross line was originally the word *مدد*, *mudd* which means lengthening or prolonging.

<sup>2</sup> MS. (B). transposes the two last lines. <sup>3</sup> MS. (A). از بس omits *لشی*.

<sup>4</sup> MS. (A) reads *کہ شاید* گ. <sup>5</sup> MS. (A) reads گرفتاری.

<sup>6</sup> MS. (A) omits مبارکہ معظمه MS. (B) omits معظمه.

requirements for a sea-voyage,<sup>1</sup> he bade him farewell. When he embarked he enquired of his companions, what<sup>2</sup> are the advantages of going thither? They replied, "Purification from past sins." He rejoined, "I will wait then till I have fulfilled the catalogue of sins, and then be purified, so that I may have no further desire to sin."<sup>3</sup> Thus he remained destitute of that grace, and abandoning himself to his desires, gave the rein to his passions. Saltān Bahādar of Gajrat in consideration of pleasant companionship and good-fellowship, appointed<sup>4</sup> him a daily allowance of one *ashrafi*<sup>5</sup> for his expenditure. One day when he was passing through the bazar of Ahmadābād, seeing the Khwāja in the Tirpanliya mosque,<sup>6</sup> he reined back and with great kindness and *empressement* asked "How is the Khwāja faring?" He replied "On the fare which you have allotted me, one of my limbs even cannot obtain sufficient sustenance, why do you ask such a question?" Solṭān Bahādar notwithstanding this rudeness doubled his allowance.<sup>7</sup>

Just at that time too Shāh Tahir Dakkani came to Gujrāt with all pomp and circumstance on the occasion of his embassy from Nizam Shāh Dakkani, and having heard such high praise of the Khwāja, arrived at his house, which had neither a mat nor a pitcher of water. A very pleasant colloquy followed, each reciting his own and hearing the other's verses, and on the next

١ سفر و حفاز MS. (A) The text reads مسافر و حفاز and adds a footnote saying that this is the reading of all three MSS and also suggests that we should perhaps read سفر حفاز MS (A) is however evidently correct here

٢ MS (A) reads چنگ است دے

٣ Read here اوصیی نماید G. MS (A), instead of the reading in the text از رو دلخی نماید G

٤ MS (A) فوجرد

٥ The *Ashrafi* is a gold coin weighing ten *mashas*, which first obtained currency in the reign of Ashraf Padshah (Ghiāzu'l-lughat)

٦ MS (A) reads طار for تپار The word تپار *tirpanliya* is a Sanskrit word meaning *having three doors*. It does not appear which mosque is meant, but Hunter in the *Gazetteer of India* Vol I, pp 97 98, speaking of the architecture of Ahmadābād, points out the compromise of form between Hindu or Jain and Muhammadan types. He says 'Even the mosques are Hindu or Jain in their details with a Saracenic arch thrown in occasionally, not from any constructive want, but as a symbol of Islam.'

٧ MS (A) omits ب



## Verse

The wicked sees all the vices of others,  
From the pitcher that distils which it contains<sup>1</sup>

God He is glorified and exalted, preserves all of us from that which is wrong and improper, and as at this time<sup>2</sup> the writer has not with him a selection from the anthologies of the eloquent and learned poets, accordingly he has found it necessary to restrict himself<sup>3</sup> to the brief mention of these few poets by way of an example.

Should this inconstant and transitory life give a few days respite, and should the days, in opposition to their usual habit afford assistance, and should Fate give its help, he will make mention of the poets of former times, and the contemporary poets of Hindūstān, especially of those whom he has seen or heard and appreciated in his own lifetime, together with extracts from their poems included in their biographies

Mine is the endeavour, its perfection is from God<sup>4</sup> Should this not come to pass, this much will suffice as a memorial of the author

*Qīṣā'h*

If I remain in life, I will repair  
The garment which exile has rent,  
If I should die,<sup>5</sup> accept this my excuse,  
Many are the hopes which crumble into dust

<sup>1</sup> This proverb in one form or another is well known. The Arabic proverb runs كُلُّ إِناءٍ يَنْدَعُ بِمَا يَحْمِلُ Every vessel exudes what it contains.

<sup>2</sup> اختصار واقتصر (A) (B) <sup>3</sup> MS. (A) دریں هنگام (B)

<sup>4</sup> تَعَالَى وَتَعَالَى من الله (A) (B) which omit

<sup>5</sup> بِهُرَيْم (A) (B)



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OF

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Elphinstone's *History of India*, 20 *n* 4, 27 *n* 4, 28 *n* 2, 29 *n* and *nn* 1 and 5.

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Ephesus, the seven sleepers of, 207 *n* 1.

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Etab, district and town of, 185 n 1, 218 n 3, 377 n 4, 410 n 4

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n 3, 378 385 n 3 See also under Itawa

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Euphrates, the, 205 n 1

Europas, an ancient name of the town of Rai in Persia, 30 n 1

Eve, the Mother of mankind, 200 n, 320 n 4

Evil eye, the, 102 and nn 2 and 3.

Exodus, Book of, 108 n 4

Ezekiel, Book of, 104 n 2

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Fadak, an estate north of Medina which had belonged to Muhammad, 150 and n 5, 157 n, 031 and n 1.

Faq̄, one of the Amirs of 'Abdu'l Maḥk ibn Nūb Samanī, King of Khurasan, 16 and n 2

Faizi, a poet of Basawar, contemporary of Shir Shih, 470 and n 5

Fakhr, chief of the Bazaar at Dihli, in the reign of Sultan Ghayṣūdīn Balhan, 184 [Humayun, 462]

Fakhr 'Ali, Mir, one of the Amirs of Fakhrī namah, popular name of the *Hadiqatu'l Haqiqat*, the most celebrated work of the famous poet Sanaī, 35 n 1, 56 n 2

Fakhrūdīn 'Amid Lumaki, the poet of Gilan, 128 See under 'Amid Lumaki

Fakhrūdīn Amur Dad, Maḥk, Governor of Baran under Sultan 'Alān dīn Khilji, 250

Fakhrūdīn Junūs, Maḥk, son of Ghazi Maḥk, one of the Maliks of the Khilji Sultans, 274 290, 291, 292, 293,—receives the title of Ulugh Khān 297 and n 4,—succeeds to the throne of Dihli under the style of Sultān Muḥammad 'Adilshah Tughlaq Shah (q.v.) See also under Ulugh Khān

Fakhrūdīn Kotwāl the Mahkāl Umarā or Amīr I Umarā one of the Amirs of Sultān Muizzūdīn Kaiqubād, of the Balhani dynasty, 220 nn 2 and 3, 227, 229, 238, 260 n 2

Fakhrūdīn Kuchi, Maḥk, one of the Amirs of Sultān Jalālu'dīn Khilji, 238 243

Fakhrūdīn Kuji, Maḥk, one of the Maliks of Sultan Shamsūdīn Iyātimshah 120 n 2

Fakhrūdīn Razi, Imām, a doctor

of the Shāfi'ite sect, contemporary of Sultān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn and Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām, 73 and *nn* 1 and 2.

Fakhrū-d-Dīn Silāhdār, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 308, 309.

Fakhrū-l-Mulk 'Amīd Lūmākī, Maliku-l-Kalām, 99 and *n* 4. See under 'Amīd Lūmākī.

Fakhrū-l-Mulk Khwājā 'Amīd-u-Dīn, 99 *n* 4, 138 *n* 1. Same as the above.

*Fa'l*, a good omen, 412 *n* 1.

Fallon's *Hindustānī Dictionary*, 528 *n* 1.

*Fals*, a coin of small value, from the Latin *follis*, 18 *n* 1.

*Fanak*, weasel or stoat, 158 *n* 4.

*Fanākatī*, the Historian, 16 *n* 1.

*Faqār*, vertebrae of the back, 74 *n* 2.

*Faqāra*, a vertebra of the back, 74 *n* 2.

*Faqāra*, a sort of waving ornament on the blade of a sword or else a notch on its edge, 75 *n*.

*Faqīrs*, various religious orders of, 510 *n* 4.

*Far'*, one of the two chief divisions of '*Ilmu-l-Fiqh*', 5 *n* 4. [and *n* 9.]

Farah, town of,—in Bīlchīstān, 420

Farah, a town at a distance of ten *krohs* from Agra, 542.

Farākhābād district, N.-W. P., 185 *n* 1. See also under Farukhābād.

Fara'ūn (*Fir'ann*), the Pharaoh of Egypt, 137, 501.

Farazdaq, Abū Firās Hammām ibn Ghālib, the celebrated Arab poet, 286, 287 and *nn* 1 and 2.

Farhād, the lover of Širīn, in the romance of Khusru-o-Širīn, 279 and *n* 3.

Farhang-i-Anandrūj, a Persian dictionary, 596 *n* 6.

Farhatu-l-Mulk, Malik Mufarrih Sulṭānī, Governor of Gujrāt, under Sultān Fīroz Shāh, 334 and *n* 3.

Farīd Ganj-i-Shakkār, Šaikh, the famous Muḥammadan Saint, 233, 460. See under Farīdn-d-Dīn.

Farīd Khān, son of Hasan Khān Sūr, original name of Šir Shāh, 461 and *n* 5, 466, 467 and *n* 5.

Farīd Khān, infant son of Sultān 'Alān-d-Dīn Khiljī, 289.

Farīd Khān ibn-i-Masnad-i-'Āli Khiżr Khān (*q. v.*), 395, 400 *n* 1.

Farīd Tārān, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh Sūr, 497.

Farīdu-d-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakkār, Šaikh, grandson of Farrukh Shāh of Kābul,—a famous Muḥammadan saint of Hindūstān, 132 and *n* 6, 133 *n*, 135 *n*, 355 *n* 1, 362 *n* 2. See also under Farīd.

Farīdn-d-Dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakkār, 132 *n* 6. Same as the above.

Farīdūn, an ancient King of Persia, 166 *n* 1, 435 *n* 2, 595.

Fārigī, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 616, 617. See under Abn-l-Wāhid.

Farmalī, Khān-i-Khānān, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Bnhūl and also of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 411 and *n* 7, 412 *n* 2, 414, 418.

Farmalī, Khān-i-Khānān, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 434.

Farrukhī, Ḥakīm, a famous Persian

poet, contemporary of 'As'jadi, Anson and Kirlaum, 17 n 3

**Farrukh** Slāh of Kabul, grandfather of Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakkar, 132 n 6

**Farrukh** Zīd, Sultan, ibn Mas'ud ibn Mahmud Ghaznawī, 61.

**Fashtur**, old name of Peshawar, 66 n 8

**Farukhshāh** district, N.-W. P., 377 n 3 See also under **Farukhshāh**

**Fāruq** or the *Discerner*, a name of 'Umar, the second Khulīfah, 59 and n 3.

**Faryab** a town of Sīwāsan n Nahr (Transoxiana), 339 n 4

**Fārs**, prayers enjoined in the Qārīn, 458 n 7 [Ālī, 537 n 6]

**Fāsiq**, immoral man, one who opposes

**Fatehgarh**, town in **Farukhshāh** district, N.-W. P., 377 n 3, 384 n 4

**Fatehpur**, 325 n 3 See under **Fathpur**.

**Fatepoor**, 80 n 5, for **Fathpur** (q. v.).

**Fath Khan**, son of A'yām Ibrāhim Shīrvāni, one of the Amirs of Sultan Ibrāhim Lodi, 433

**Fath Khāñ**, son of Sultan Bobbul Lodi, 418

**Fath Khan**, son of Sultan Firoz Slāh, of the Tughlaq dynasty, 324 and n 2, 328, 334.

**Fath Khan Harawi**, of the Amirs of Sultan Mahmud Sharqi of Jaunpur, 403 and nn 2, 3 and 4 See also the next

**Fath Khan**, of Herāt, Shahzada, of the Amirs of Sultan Mubarak Shah of Jaunpur, 361 Same as the above (q. 1).

**Fathābad**, founded by Sultan Mandūd Ghaznawī, 47 and n 1.

**Fathābad**, founded by Sultan Firoz Slāh, of the Tughlaq dynasty, 324 n 2, 325 n 3, 363.

**Fathpur**, otherwise known as Sikri, one of the dependencies of Multan, 80 n 5, 97, 325 n 5, 363, 365, 366, 375, 433, 442, 443, 446, 456, 508, 535 600

**Fathpur District**, N.-W. Provinces, 450 n 6

**Fatimah**, daughter of the Prophet Muhammad and wife of 'Alī, 151 n 5, 156 n 5, 303 n 4, 622 nn 3 and 4, 631 n 1.

**Fatwa**, legal decisions by a Mufti (q. v.), 317 n 6, religious or judicial rulings, 607 and n 7.

**Faqīhat**, *Qāzi*, or *Qāfi Ignominy*, 474 and n 6 See under *Qāzi Faqīlat*.

**Faqīlat**, *Qāzi*, the *Qāzi* of the army of Shir Shāh, popularly known as *Qāzi Faqīhat* (q. v.), 174 and n 4

**Faqīl Nāh Balkhi**, Malik, styled Qutlugh Khan, one of the Amirs of the Tughlaq Shah dynasty, 351 and n 2.

**Faqīl Nāh Khan's Turkish Persian Dictionary**, 482 n 2, 483 n 2, 497 n 1, 675 n 1, 680 n 5, 692 n 5, 696 n 6

**Fāz**, the first arrow in the game of *māsur*, 369 n 1

**Ferehtha** See under *Firashtha*.

**Fidais**, the—disciples of the chief of the Mālahidah heretics, 73 and n 2, 122 and n 3.

**Fibānd**, a stratagem in the game of chess, 114 n 2

*Figār*, vertebræ of the back, 74 n 2.

Fiqh, the two chief divisions of, 5 n 4.

Firangīs, the, 458 and n 6. See also under the Franks.

Firāqī, *takhallus* or poetical name of Khwājā Aiyūb ibn Khwājā Abū-l-Barakāt (*q. v.*), 633, 634.

*Firāqnāmah*, one of the poetical works of Salmān Sāwajī, 571 n 9.

Firdausī, the celebrated author of the *Šāh-nāmah*, 17 and nn 1 and 3, 32 and n 1, 88 n 2, 461 n 6.

Firdūsī, Hakīm, 17 n 3. See under Firdausī.

Firishta, 10 n, 13 n 1, 16 nn 1 and 2, 19 n and nn 1, 2 and 6, 20 nn 1, 2, 4 and 5, 21 n 3, 22 n 7, 23 nn 2 and 4, 24 nn 1, 2 and 5, 25 nn 2 and 4, 26 n and n 1, 27 nn 3 and 4, 28 nn 2 and 4, 29 nn 1 and 5, 33 n and n 2, 31 n and n 1, 33 nn 2 and 3, 34 nn 1 and 7, 36 nn 1 and 9, 37 nn 5 and 6, 43 nn 2, 5 and 7, 44 nn 1, 2, 6, 7 and 8, 47 nn 3 and 7, 48 nn 1, 2, 3 and 4, 49 n 1, 50 nn 1, 2 and 3, 51 nn 1 and 3, 52 nn 1, 2 and 4, 55 n 2, 56 n 1, 63 n 1, 66 nn 2, 4, 5 and 6, 67 n, 69 n 1, 72 n 2, 77 nn 1, 2 and 3, 95 n 8, 122 nn 2 and 3, 123 n 2, 133 n and n 2, 184 n 4, 185 nn 2 and 3, 186 n 3, 188 nn 1 and 5, 190 n 2, 205 n 2, 228 n 3, 230 n 1, 247 n and n 4, 248 n 2, 249 nn 5 and 7, 250 nn 1 and 10, 251 n 7, 257 n 7, 258 nn 4, 5 and 7, 259 n 5, 260 n 7, 261 n 5, 264 n 4, 265 nn 3, 4 and 6, 266 n 1, 273 n 4, 274 n 1, 298 n 8, 300 n 3, 302 n 1, 304 n 1, 306 nn 1, 2 and 3, 307 n and n 2, 308 n 2, 325 n 3, 326 n 2, 327 nn 1 and 3, 329 nn 5 and 9, 330 nn 6 and 7, 331 nn 8 and 9, 332 n, 333 n 11, 334 nn 3, 4, 5 and 7, 335 nn 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10, 336 n 7, 337 nn 2 and 3, 338 n 1, 339 n 2, 342 nn 1, 2 and 4, 343 n 3, 344 nn 1, 2 and 7, 345 n 2, 346 n 5, 347 n 2, 348 nn 1, 3, 6, 7, 9 and 10, 349 nn 3, 4, 10, 11 and 12, 350 nn 3 and 4, 351 nn 2, 6 and 7, 352 nn 6, 7 and 10, 353 nn 2, 3, 5, 8 and 9, 354 nn 1, 5 and 8, 355 nn 1, 3 and 4, 356 n 5, 357 n 2, 359 nn 2 and 3, 360 nn 3 and 5, 361 n 2, 363 n 2, 364 n 6, 365 nn 2, 4, 5, 6 and 7, 366 nn 4 and 5, 375 n 2, 379 nn 1 and 2, 380 nn 2, 3, 4 and 5, 381 nn 3 and 5, 382 nn 1, 2, 5 and 6, 383 nn 3, 6, 10 and 11, 384 nn 2 and 5, 385 nn 1 and 3, 386 nn 1, 3, 5 and 7, 387 nn 1, 2, 3 and 4, 388 nn 1, 2 and 3, 389 nn 3, 4 and 8, 390 n 4, 391 n 2, 392 n 5, 393 nn 1, 3, 5, 6 and 7, 395 n 3, 396 nn 1 and 2, 398 n, 399 nn 1, 3, 4 and 6, 400 n, 401 nn 2 and 4, 402 nn 1, 4 and 5, 403 nn 4, 5 and 8, 404 nn 2 and 5, 405 nn 1 and 4, 406 nn 1, 3, 5, 6, 9 and 13, 407 nn 1 and 4, 408 nn 2, 4, 6 and 7, 409 nn 2, 5, 7 and 8, 410 nn 1, 3, 4 and 6, 411 nn 2 and 3, 412 n 2, 413 nn 8, 13 and 15, 414 nn 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 11, 415 nn 2, 3, 7 and 9, 416 nn 3, 9 and 12, 417 nn 4, 5 and 9, 418 nn 9 and 11, 419 nn 4, 6 and 11, 420 nn 4 and 6, 421 nn 3 and 4, 422 nn 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6, 423 nn 2, 5, 6 and 11, 42

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Firozabad, a town on the banks of the Jamna, at ten miles from Dihli, built by Sultan Firoz Shah of the Tughlaq dynasty, 325 and n 3, 342, 343, 344, 345, 350, 351, 354, 356, 359, 366 Written also Firuz abād

Firozabad, a fortress at the village of Gawn on the banks of the Jamnā, built by Firoz Shah, 327 and n 5

Firozabād, later name of the town of Panduab, 325 n 3

Firoz 'Ali, Mahk, son of Mahk Tājū dīn, one of the Amirs of Firoz Shah, called also Khau i Jahan the Wazir, 342 and n 2

Firoz Khān, one of the Afghan Amirs under Babar, 444

Firoz Khan, son of Islem Shah Sur, succeeds his father under the title of Firoz Shah, 535, 537

Firoz Khan ibn Yaghrašh the Khilp, styled Shayista Khān (q.v.) eventually becomes Sultan Jalalud Dīn Khilji (q.v.), 225, 230.

Firoz Koh, capital of Ghur See under Firuz Koh

Firoz, Malik, son of Malik Rajab same person as Firoz Shah of the Tughlaq Shāhi dynasty (q.v.), 302, 315, 322

Firoz Nāib Barbak, Mahk, one of the Amirs of Sultan Muhammed Tughlaq Shah 312

Firoz, Rai, a contemporary of Sultan Mubārak Shāh, of the Saīyid dynasty, 382, 390 [535, 537]

Firoz Shah, son of Islem Shah Sur, Firoz Shāh, Sultan, ibn Malik Rajab, of the Tughlaq Shāhi dynasty of Dihli, 301, 302, 321, 322 and n 9, 323 and n 3, 324 n 6, 325 n 3, 326 n, 327, 328 n 6, 329 n 2, 331, 332, 338, 339 and n 1, 341 n 1, 344 and n 7, 347 n 3, 366, 376, 411, 412 n 2 Written also Firuz Shah

Firoz Shāb, canal of, 325 n 3, 326 n  
Firozshahi See under the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shah

Firuza, fortress of, 364 n 6, 375, 378. See under Hissar Firuzab

Firuzabad, on the Jamna See under Firozabad

Firuzi Amirs, the,—partisans of the House of Sultan Firoz Shah (q.v.), 337, 345, 350, 351, 352

Firuz Koh, capital of the country of Ghur, 60 n 2, 53 and n 1, 68, 78

Firuzpur, fortress of, built by Sultan Firoz Shah in Sibrind 331, 334, 378 489 Written also Firozpur.

Firuzpur, town of, 336 Called also Akhūrinpur as the last city built by Firoz Shah.

Firuz Shāb, Sultan See under Firoz Shah

*Fisq*, immorality, does not exclude *Īmān* (faith), 577 n.

*Follis*, a Roman coin, origin of the word *fals*, 18 n 1.

Forty Slaves of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 184.

Franks, the, 543. See also under the *Firangīs*.

Freytag, *Arabic Dictionary*, 509 n 5.

Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, 157 n 1, 458 n 3, 507 n 3, 580 n 1.

Freytag, *Hamārah*, 287 n 1.

Freytag, *Meid. Prov.*, 157 n 1. See also under *Arabum Proverbia*.

Fūlād, a Turkbacha slave, servant of

Saiyyid Sālim of Tabarhindah (q. v.), 388 and n 2, 389, 390, 391, 393.

*Fu-mā*, in Chinese, equivalent to the Mongol *Gurgān*, which means "Son-in-law," when applied to princes, 353 n 1.

Furruckābād, N.-W. Provinces, 218 n 3. Properly Farrukhābād.

*Furū'*, one of the two chief divisions of 'Ilm-i-Fiqh, 5 n 4.

*Futūḥu-l-Buldān* of al-Bilāzurī, 11 n 3.

*Futūḥu-s-Salāṭīn*, an historical work, 314 and n 9.

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Gabriel, the Angel, 58 and n 2, 93, 106 n 5, 111 n, 151 n 6, 374 n 5, 614.

Gajpatis, or "the Lords of Elephants," title of the Lion Dynasty of Jājnagar, 125 n 3.

Gakkhars, the,—a tribe of the Hindūs, probably the same tribe as the Khūkhars, 67 and n 3.

Gandaba, fortress of, 28 n 4, 29 n. Called also Kandama.

Gandak river, the,—in the Gorakh-pūr District, 409 n 5.

Ganes, Rāī,—or

Ganeshī, Rāī, the Rājā of Patiālī, contemporary of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 413 and n 8, 419.

Ganges, the, 70 n 1, 71 n 2, 81, 82 n 1, 84 and n, 125 n 1, 130, 132 n 3, 185, 218 and n 3, 221 n 3, 231, 241,

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Ganj-Bakhsh, surname of Shaikh Alīmad Khaṇṭu, contemporary of Sultān Alīmad Gujrātī, 357 n 3.

Ganj-i-Shakkar, Shaikh Farīdu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd, a famous Muḥammadan Saint of Hindūstān, 132 and n 6, 133 n, 135 n, 233, 362 n 2, 416 n 13.

Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et Prosodie des langues de l'Orient Musulman*, 428 n 2, 605 nn 8 and 9, 606 n 2, 607 n 4, 608 n 3.

Gardaiz, a district lying between Ghazna and Hindūstān, 66 n 1. Called also Kardiz.

Garha Katanga, name of a country north of the Dakhan, 433 n 3

Garhi, a narrow pass separating the countries of Bihar and Bangala, 457 and n 5

Garmir, a province of Khorasan, 49, 65 and n 1, 81, 86 573

Garsasp, Shah of the first dynasty of Persian Kings, 84 and n 2 85

Gaster's translation of the "Sword of Moses," 141 n 4

Gat of Paradise, a narrow opening in a wall near the shrine of Slaikh Farida d Din Ganj i Shakkar at Pakpattan, 361 n 2

Gatilā, Sanskrit name of the Indian Spikenard or nard, 374 n

Gāñvaras the,—a tribe of the Jats, 122 n 1

Gaur, old capital of Bengal 82 nn 3 and 4 83 and n 2 458. Name changed to Jannatabad by Humayun

Gauria See under Muhammad Khan Gauria and also Khizr Khan Gauria

Gaus Ahmad, of Guzarate, 357 n 4 Same as Suljan Ahmad Shah, the ruler of Gujarat

Gawara, the — a race of gypsies in India, 312 and n 7

Gāwīn, village of,—on the bank of the Jumna, 327 n 5

Gayōmarth, the Adam of the Persians, 280 n 3 [cf. 330 n 8]

Gaz, a measure of length, three kinds

Gaz, tenth son of Japhet, son of Noah, 61 n 5

Gazetteer of the Countries on the North West of India, Thornton s., 567 nn 1 and 9

Golereddin, 91 n 2, for Jalālu d Dīn Mangburni (q. v.)

Gemini, the, 39

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Geo, one of the heroes of the Shah-nāmeh 116 n 5

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Gerswāz, one of the attendants of Afrasiyab, in the Shah-nāmeh of Firdausi, 180 n 2

Gesenius Thesaurus of the Hebrew Language 104 n 2, 394 n 5.

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Ghāgra river, the, 135 n, 223 n See under the Ghaghar

Ghakiars, the,—a Hindu tribe, 491, 498, 500, 500

Ghālib Khan, Governor of Sīmāna under the Toghlaq Shahī dynasty, 338, 352, 360 [465 n 6]

Ghalla + jawari, the smaller millet,

Ghānum ibn 'Ulwan one of the three chief lords of Shaddad ibn 'Ad, 262 n

Ghari Ju, village of, 503 n 5. Called also Ghari Khu (q. v.)

Ghari Khu, village of on the bank of the river Behat, 503 and n 5

Gharjistan a country between Herāt, Ghor and Ghazni 13 n 1 22 n 2, 63 n 1 Called also Gharshistān

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Ghāt-i-Sākūn, name of a place, 283 n 5. Called also Budra-i-Sakūn.

Ghaur, a province lying between Herāt and Gharjistān, 43 and n 4. See also under Ghur and Ghor.

Ghāzī-l-Ālam Hāvrat Shāikh Bahār-d-Dīn Zakariyā, the Mūl-tāmī, 133 and n 2. See under Bahār-d-Dīn Zakariyā. [6 n 4.]

Al-Ghāyatū fi-l-Fiqh of Qāzī Baiżāwī, Għazal, ode, 612 and n 2.

Għażi Khān, son of Daulat Khān Lodi, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodi, 435 n 9, 436, 437, 438 and n 5.

Għażi Khān Sūr, one of the Amīrs of the Sūr dynasty of Afghāns, 549, 550, 553, 558, 597, 598.

Għażi Mahallī, one of the confidential servants of Islem Shāh Sūr, 487, 488.

Għażi Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sultān ‘Alān-d-Dīn Khilji, succeeds to the throne of Dihlī under the style of Sultān Għiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 291, 292, 293, 294 and n 4, 295, 296 and n 3. See Għiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh and also Tughlaq Khān.

Għażi, one who fights in the cause of Islām, 356 n 4.

Għażijs, the, 18. See under Għażi.

Għażiū-l-Mulk, Malik Chaman of Badāon, one of the Amīrs of Muḥammad Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 396 and n 1, 398.

Għażna. See under Għażni.

Għażnavide dynasty, the. See under the Għażnivide dynasty.

Għażni, House of, 13 n 1. See under the Għażnivide dynasty.

Għażni, town of, 13 n 1. See under Għażni.

Għażni, 14 nn 1, 2 and 3, 15 and n and nn 1 and 2, 16 and nn 1, 2 and 3, 17, 19, 21, 22 and n 2, 23, 25 and n 4, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34 and nn 4 and 5, 35 and n 1, 36, 37, 43, 44, 45 and n 2, 46 and n 1, 47, 48, 49, 50 and n 1, 51, 52, 53 n, 56, 60 and n 2, 61, 62 and n 3, 63, 64, 65, 66 and n 1, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72 and n 2, 74 n 1, 77 n 1, 78 and n 3, 79, 80, 81, 83 n 1, 89, 90, 167 n 3, 187, 256, 280, 312, 328, 464 and n 5, 567, 579, 580, 587. See Għażni and Għażna.

Għażnivide dynasty, the,—founded by Nāṣir-d-Dīn Sabuktigħi, 13 n 1, 14, 62 and n 4, 63, 64 and n 1.

Għeins-oed-Deen, grandson of Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 338 n 1. See under Għiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh II.

Għibla, unusual use of the word by Badāonī, 508 n 3, 543 n 4.

Għilz'ni Afghāns, the, 542, 544, 546.

Għiās Vazīr, Khwāja,—Salmān Sāwaji's Qaṣidah in his honour, 605.

Għiyāṣi Amīrs, the,—of Sultān Għiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 223, 224, 231, 232, 233. [Mugħlupur, 236.]

Għiyāṣu, commonly known as Għiyāṣu-d-Dīn Abu-l-Fath Muham-mad ibn Sām Għorri, Sultān of Għor and Għażni, 62, 63 and n 1, 64 and nn 2 and 3, 65, 68, 71, 73 and n 1, 77 and n 1.

Ghiyāṣud-Dīn Ballūn, Sultān, of the Slave dynasty of Dihlī, 97, 121 and n 7, 124 and n 4, 126, 127, 128, 163, 184 and nn 1 and 4, 186, 187, 192 n 1, 210, 220 n 2, 221 and n 1, 222, 223, 224, 227, 228, 231, 232, 233. Before his accession he was called Ulegh Ḫān (q. v.)

Ghiyāṣud-Dīn Hasan Chīlī, father of the famous saint Ḫāṣib Ḥāfi, and Dīn Chīlī, 70 n 2.

Ghiyāṣud-Dīn Iwās, the Khalī, Sultān of Laknau and the last of the Mālikī Sultāns (q. v.), 86, 87 and n 4. See also the next and under Husainud-Dīn Iwās.

Ghiyāṣud-Dīn Ḫīlī, Sultān, 91. Same as the above.

Ghiyāṣud-Dīn Maḥmūd, son of Ghiyāṣud-Dīn Muhammed. See Ḥārī, Sultān of Ghārānd Ghāzīn, 77 and n 1.

Ghiyāṣud-Dīn, son of Sultān Maḥyuddī Khilji of Mālwā, 370.

Ghiyāṣud-Dīn Maḥmūd Shīh, son of Sultān Muhammed Tughlaq Shīh, 321.

Ghiyāṣud-Dīn Muhammed, Ghārī, Sultān. See under Ghiyāṣud-Dīn Abu-J-Fath.

Ghiyāṣud-Dīn Muhammed, the Maḥdūmāt-i-Baghīdālī, a prince of the House of 'Abīs, the Khalīfs of Baghīdāl, 311 and n 4.

Ghiyāṣud-Dīn Muhammed Shīh, the ruler of Oudh, son of Sultān Shamānud-Dīn Iyal-timīsh, 98

Ghiyāṣud-Dīn Tughlaq Shīh, Sultān, first of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty of Dihlī, 298, 299, 300, 301, 303, 321. Before his accession he was called Ghiyāṣud-Dīn (q. v.)

Ghiyāṣud-Dīn Tughlaq Shīh, Sultān Fath Ḫān Shāhī Sultan Firdūs Shīh, 324 n 1, 341

Ghiyāṣud-Dīn, a lexicographical work, 60 n 3, 108 n 4, 142 n 1, 145 n 1, 152 n 2, 163 n 1, 321 n 3, 617 n 1, 621 n 3, 624 n 1, 635 n 2

Ghor, country of, 13 n 1, 22 n 2, 61, 62 n 4, 63, 64 and n 2, 65 n 2, 66, 71, 77 n 1, 81 and n 2. The name is also written Ghor and Gur

Ghor, Kriegs-, 61, 62 n 4, 63. See also under the Ghor dynasty.

Ghorī, fortress of,—in Ghazīn, 21 and n 3.

Ghorī dynasty of Dihlī, 64, 68, 228. See under Kings of Ghor.

Ghol, centre of a Turkish army, 439 n 4. Also called Qol.

Ghūr. See under Ghor.

Ghurjistān, name as Gharjistān (q. v.), 22 and n 2, 63 n 1, 68.

Gherrode-Kemal of Mir Khaṣrū, the famous poet of Dihlī, 134, 197 and n 1, 216.

Ghorī, tribe of,—a tribe of Turks 61 and n 5, 63, 107 n 3, 291.

Gillī, a province of Persia, 90 n 4.

Gīārī, note on, 303 n.

Gīlī, town, 250 and n 4. Called also Kīlī.

Gīr, Malik, son of Malik Qabūl Ḫālīfātī, one of the Amirs of Sultān Muhammed Tughlaq Shīh, 316.

Gīrāl, one of the poets of the time of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khilji, 266.

Girat Singh, Rāī, Governor of Gwālīār, contemporary of Sultān Bahlūl Lodi, 408.

Girgīn-i-Milād, one of the chief warriors of Rāī Khusrāu in the Shāhnāmeh of Firdausī, 116 and nn 4 and 5, 180 n 2.

Gisi, a place, 548 n 3.

Gladwin's *Dissertations*, 608 n 3.

*Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words*, Yule and Burnett's, 495 n, 543 n 3.

*Glossary on Muqaddasī*, De Goeje's, 217 n 2.

Gobind Chand, Rūjā,—one of the Rājās of Hindūstān at the time of Sultān Māhmud of Ghaznī, 25.

Godī river, the, 222 n 3. Called also the Guntī and the Kowah (q. v.).

Goeje, de, *Glossary on Muqaddasī*, 217 n 2.

Gog and Magog, Wall of, 191 n 2. Commonly known as the rampart of Sikandar.

Gogra, the, 222 n 3. Called also the Ghāghar and Ghāgra.

Gohana, a district of the N.-W. Provinces, 122 n 1.

Gokultāsh, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 441.

Golius, Dictionary of the Arabic Language, 509 n 5.

Gonds, tho,—a tribe of Hindūs, 433 and n 4.

Gonor, a place at 24 miles from Dihlī, 21 n 4.

Gorakhpūr District, 409 n 5.

Gorgang, the capital of Khwārazm, called Jurjān by the Arabs, 23 n 1. See under Gurgān.

Gonr, country of, 456 Read Gaur, a name of Bengal from its capital.

Goyā, or Kanhaiyā, minister and agent of Rāī Māldeo, contemporary of Shīr Shāh, 478 and n 7. See also under Kanhaiyā.

Grand Trunk Road, the, 356 n 3.

Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, 265 n 4.

Great Larās, town, 326 n, 327 n 1. Called Rās by Badāoni.

Grecian Emperor, the, 18 n 1.

Greece, 119 n 5.

Greeks, the, 18 n 1, 41 n 2, 75 n 2, 76 n 1, 104 n 2, 182 n 1.

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Griffith's *Yūsuf and Zulcīkha*, 272 n 1.

Gūgird-i-Aḥmar or Sulphur, notes on, 340 and n 2.

Gujarāt. See under Gujrāt.

Gujerāt. See under Gujrāt.

Gujrāt, 9 n 2, 12, 17 n 4, 27 n 4, 28, 66, 71, 89, 255, 256 n 4, 257, 267, 274, 282, 283, 284, 285, 287, 313, 314, 315, 324, 333, 334, 337, 346, 354, 357 and nn 3 and 4, 379, 389, 450, 452, 454, 456, 472, 533, 534, 559 and n 8, 567, 597, 635. The name is also written Gujarāt, Gujerāt and Guzerāt.

Gulangabīn, confection of rose and honey, 148 and n 4.

Gulbarga, town, 311 and n 6.

Gulistān of Shaikh Sa'dī of Shīrāz, 187 n 2, 467.

Gulistānī Saiyyids, tho,—a family of Saiyyids, 584 n 3.

Gul-i-Yūsuf, a red flower without odour, 629 n 1.

*Gulnār* tree, called also *Nānān*, 172 n 3

*Gulgand*, confection of roses, 452 and n 2

*Gulruk̤h*, the pseudonym of Sūlān Sikandar Lodi, 126

*Gumti*, the, 222 n 3, 329 n 2. Called also the Godi and the Kowah

*Gangūna*, fortress of, one of the dependencies of Malot, 437 and n 7.

*Gordaspur*, town, 353 n 8

*Gurgān*, town of,—the Jurjān of the Arabs, 37 n 7, 39, 117. See under *Gorgang*

*Gürgān*, a surname of the great Timār and a title applied to the sons in-law of a Mughal Emperor, 103 n 3, 353 and n 1.

*Gargān*, a district of Miwāt, 134 n 1, 366 n. ❸

*Gargin* : *Milād*, one of the chief warriors of Kui *Khusrau* in the *Shah namah* of Firdausī, 116 and nn 4 and 5, 180 n 2

*Guriz gah*, a term of Prosody, 627 and n 4.

*Gurjistan*, 43 n 4, for *Gharjistan* (*q. v.*)

*Gurkan*, a Mongol title, 103 n 3. See under *Gurgān*

*Gürk̤hāo*, or universal king, hereditary title of the Kings of Kara Khitā, 103 n 3.

*Gürkhān* of Qarā Khitā, the contemporary of Sūlān Muhammad Khwārazm Shāh, 71 n 7.

*Guz̤tāsp*, an ancient King of Irān, 35 n 2

*Gūghicāra*, a term of Prosody, 609 and n 1.

*Guzarato*. See under *Gujrāt*.

*Gozorat*, town of, 28 n 2, 71 n 3

*Guzerāt*, province of. See under *Gujrāt*.

*Guzerāt*, peninsula of, 27 n 4

*Guzida*. See under the *Tārikh-i-Guzida*

*Guzr i Ganjīnā*, a ford on the Jamna, 406 n 6

*Gwāliār*, 26, 81, 89, 94, 120, 238, 239, 246, 248, 268, 272, 273, 275, 277, 283, 349, 361, 362, 377 and n 4, 378, 379, 381, 384, 385, 386, 387 and n 3, 391, 398, 408, 410, 414 and n 5, 419 and nn 3 and 6, 422 nn 2 and 3, 423 n 5, 427, 432, 433, 443, 445, 453, 474, 489, 490, 491, 493, 498, 499, 512, 529, 530, 538, 540 542. The fortress of Gwāliār is called also *Kalewar*

## H.

*Habib Badāon*, *Shaikh*, one of the notable men of Badāon at the time of Hamīyūn, 600

*Habib Khan Tughūjī* or *Taghūchī*, one of the Afghan Amirs under Sikandar Khān Sur (*q. v.*), 542, 593

*Habību llah*, Mir, grandson of Mir Sayyid Jamālu d Dīn the traditionist, 589.

*Habīshī*, original name of Sultan Ghayāsu d Dīn Muhammad Sam Ghuri, 65 n 2.

Habūlī, Rāī, of the Amīrs of Sultān Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 388 n 3.

Hadah, Shaikh, a learned physician of Bihār in the time of Sher Shāh and Islem Shāh, 521 n 4.

*Hadāyan*, a Maṣnawī in Hindī relating the loves of Līrak and Chaudū, 333 n 6.

Hādī, son of al-Mahdī, the 'Abbāside Khalifah of Baghdād, 75 n.

Hādī Sabzwārī, Hājī Mullā, author of the Sharḥ-i-Manzūma, 181 n 2.

*Hadīqatū-l-Haqīqat wa Sharī'atū-l-Tarīqat*, otherwiso known as Fakhrī-nāmah, the most celebrated work of the famous poet Sanūī, 35 n 1, 56 n 2, 57 and n 1, 60.

Hāfiẓ, the famons Persian poet, 100 n 5, 101 n 1, 121 n 3, 151 n 6, 412 n 1, 487 n 6.

Hāfiẓ Niẓāmī of Badān, *Imām* of Islem Shāh, 535.

*Haft andām*, the seven members of the body, 165 n 2.

*Haft Aurang*, a series of seven poems by Manlānā 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Jāmī, 272 n 1.

*Haft Jūsh*, seven metals melted together, 321 and n 2.

*Haft Khwān*, the seven great labours of Isfandiyār in the Shāh-nāmāh of Firdausī, 116 n 3, 321 and n 1.

*Haft Paikar*, a poem of Shaikh Niẓāmī Ganjāwī, 298 n 4.

*Haft rang*, a variety of the Khīrī flower, 173 n 3.

*Haiātu-l-Haiwān*, a work on natural history, 108 n 1, 157 n 1, 171 n 2, 178 n 4, 191 n 3, 352 n 1.

*Haiātu-l-Qulūb* of Āghā Muḥammad Bāqir Majlīsī, 110 nn 3 and 4, 149 n.

Haibat Khān A'zam Humāyūn of Lāhor, 490. See under A'zam Humāyūn Haibat Khān.

Haibat Khān Jilwānī, a subordinate of Sultān Sharq of Baiāna, 414.

Haidarābād, town,—capital of Haidarābād Deccan, the Niẓām's dominions, 299 n 3.

Haidarābād Deccan, the Niẓām's dominions, 299 n 3.

Haidar 'Alī, a common name among the Shī'ah, 604.

Haidar-i-Karrār, a name of 'Alī ibn-Abī Tālib, 93 n 4, 207.

Haidar Khān Chaghta, 553. Same as Haidar Muḥammad Khān Akhta Begī (q. v.).

Haidar Khān the Amīr of Ondh, one of the Maliks of Sultān Ghiyāṣū-d-Dīn Balban, 184 n 4.

Haidar, Mīrzā, the Mughūl, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 463, 465.

Haidar Muḥammad Khān Akhta Begī, an old servent of Humāyūn, 597 and n 5, 598. See under Haidar Khān Chaghta.

Haidar Sultān Osbak-i-Shaibānī, 592 n 9.

Haidar Tūmī,—or

Haidar Tūniī'i, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 622, 623, 624.

Haimūc Baqqāl, 500 n 11. See under Hīmūn Baqqāl.

Haimūn Baqqāl, 500 n 11. See under Hīmūn Baqqāl.

Haiyāra, 532 n 2, for Daulat Khān Ajyāra (q. v.).

*Haiyatu l Haicwanat* See under the *Haiatu l Haicwan*

*Hajaru l Haicyah*, the Bezoar stone, 117 n 4, 118 n

*Haj: Barqa* i, a court officer of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq Shah, of Dihli, 311, 315

*Haj: Ilyās*, ruler of Lakbnanti, contemporary of Sultan Muhammad and Sultan Firoz Tughlaq, assumes the title of Sultan Shamsu d Din, 309, 321, 327.

*Haj: Khalifa*,—or

*Haj: Khalifa*, author of the *Kashf u Zunun fi Asma i Kutub u wa l Funun*, 5 n 4 33 n 1, 34 n 9, 35 n 1, 49 n 3 58 n 2 73 n 1, 181 n 2, 197 n 1 221 n 2, 222 n 1, 270 nn 1 and 4, 272 n 1 427 n 1, 428 nn 2, 3, 5 and 6, 467 n 2, 521 n 5, 533 n 1, 571 n 9, 624 nn 8 and 9

*Haj: Khan Alwāri*, 553. Same as *Haj: Khan Soljāni*, Governor of Alwar (*q v*)

*Haj: Khan Salīmī*, Governor of Alwar, one of the Amirs of Shir Shah and his successors, 475, 542, 543 546, 547 See under *Haj: Khan Alwāri*

*Haj: Khwāja*, a general of Sultan 'Alāu d Dīn Khilji, 263 n 6

*Haj: Maulā*, one of the slaves of Mahiku l Umara Kotwal (*q v*), 260 and n 2 261

*Haj: Mulla Hadi Sabzwāri* author of the *Sharh u Manzuma*, 181 n 2

*Haj: Naib Malik*, one of the Amirs of Sultan Qoqbu d Din Khilji, 286

*Haj: Said Sarṣam*, the envy of the Egyptian Khalifah to Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq Shah, of Dihli, 310 and n 1

*Hajib: Buzurg*, one of the Amirs of Sultan Mas'ud Ghaznavi, 43 and n 5

*Hajib Shābibī*, one of the Amirs of Sultan Mas'ud Ghaznavi, 43 n 5

*Hajipur*, a district of Bangāla, 469

*Hajj*, the Pilgrimage to Mecca, 175, 176 n, 480 n 5, 623 and n 5

*Hajjaj ibn Yusuf aṣ Saqafī*, Governor of 'Iraq and Khurasan under the Umayyad Khalifahs, 12 and nn 1 and 2, 490 and n 8

*Hakim Abu Nasr 'Abdu l 'Aziz ibn Mansur*, the celebrated poet 'Asjndi, 17 n 3

*Hakim Ansuri*, a famous Persian poet, contemporary of Firdausi, 17 n 3

*Hakim Firdausi*, a famous Persian poet, the celebrated author of the *Shāh-nama*, 17 n 3  
See under Firdausi.

*Hakim Khāsqāni Shirwāni*, the famous Persian poet, 339 n 4

*Hakim Sanāi*, a celebrated poet of Ghazni, 35 n 1, 56 57

*Hakim b. amri llah*, Abu l 'Abbas Ahmad ibnu l Maṣṭakī billah, Egyptian Khalifah of the House of 'Abbas, 310 and n 2 See the next

*Hakim b. amri llah*, Abu l Fath Abu Bakr ibn Abil Rabi Suleimān, sixth of the Egyptian Khalifahs of the House of 'Abbas, 327 and n 8.  
See the above

*Halajun*, one of the Maliks of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq Shah, 309

Halākū Khān, grandson of the Chingiz Khān, 145 and n 2, 236.

Haldī, township of, 409 and n 7.

Halghāt, a place, 387 n 3.

Halīn, the,—a river of the Panjāb, 356 n 1.

Halka of elephants, or a hundred elephants, 541.

Halkhāyat, town, 423 n 6.

Hamadān, a city of Persian 'Irāq, anciently called Ecbatana, 30 n 1, 533 n 1.

Hamadān, a district of Persian 'Irāq, 30 n 1.

Hamal, the sign Aries, 195 n 3, 626 and n 7.

Hamāsah, Freytag's, 287 n 1.

Hāmī Tambāu, or Jāhī Yatmām of Bukhārā, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 618 and n 5.

Hamīd ibn 'Abdu-r-Rahmān, a Traditionist, 139 n 5.

Hamīd of Balkh, Qāzī, a celebrated writer and poet, contemporary of Sultān Mu'izza-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī, 76 and n 1.

Hamīd Khān, the Khāss-i-Khail of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 439.

Hamīd Khān, Vazīr-i-Mamlakat of Dihlī, under the Saiyyid dynasty, 401 and nn 2 and 4, 402 and n 4.

Hamīd Lawīkī, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 302.

Hamīd Lodī, Shaikh, first ruler of Multān, 19 n 5.

Hamīd of Sanbal, Shaikh, the commentator, contemporary of Humāyūn, 604.

Hamīda Bānū Begam, the Queen-consort of Humāyūn and mother of Akbar, 560, 566, 568.

Hamīd-n-d-Dīn, the Amīr of Koh, one of the Maliks of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 261.

Hamīd-n-d-Dīn 'Umar ibn Maḥmūd Balkhī, 76 n 1. See Qāzī Hamīd of Balkh.

Hamīn, Malik, Governor of Badāon under the Saiyyid dynasty, 396 n 1.

Hamīr Dev, Rāī of Rantambhor, grandson of Rāī Pithora and contemporary of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 257 and nn 3 and 7, 263.

Hamra, Malik, Governor of Rāparī under Masnad-i-Ālī Khizr Khān (q. v.), 377.

Hamza of *iżāfat*, remarks on, 545 and n 10, 546 n.

Hamza, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 387.

Hamzah, son of 'Abdu-l-lah ibnu-z-Zubair, 287 n 2.

Handā, a Hindū Masnavī, 333 n 6. See Chandāban.

Handāl, Mīrzā. See under Hindāl.

Handīya, a town on the Narbadā in the Central Provinces, 517 and n 9, 521. Called also Hindiya.

Hanīfite sect of Sunnī Muslims, founded by Abū Hanīfah, 57 n 1, 514.

Hankāyat, town, 423 n 6.

Hānsī, district and town of, 37 and n 2, 70 and n 1, 98 and n 2, 248, 322, 323, 324, 326, 364 n 5, fortress of, 431, 433.

Hansū Bhatī, Rāī, one of the Amirs of Mubārak Shāh of the Saīyid dynasty, 388 and n 3

Hawantgāf, fortress of, 422 n 6, 424 n 2

Haqqiqī, *takhallus* or poetical name of the poet Khāqānī, 583 n 4.

Haramain : Sharifnān, the two sacred cities of Mecca and Medina, 583 n 6

Harān ibn Muhammād al Khākī neh Shīrāzī, author of a *Muntakhabu t-Tawarīkh*, 11 n 1.

Harānd, a country of Hindustān, 415 and n 10

Harāwi, a native of Harat, 35 n 2

Hurcuran, a Hindu Prince, founder of Daṅghar, 71 n 2

Hardat, Governor of the fortress of Mirāt at the time of Sultan Maḥmud Ghaznawī's invasion, 24 n 1

Hurdwar, city of, 28, 344 n 7

Hari, another name of the city of Harat or Herāt in Khurasan, 35 and n 2

Hārid, a country of Hindustān, 415 n 10

Hirīrī, the celebrated author of the *Maqamat*, 348

Harpāl Deo, Rāī of Deogir, contemporary of Sultan Quṣba d-Din Khilji, 283, 286 n 1

Harsana, a town in the province of Miwāt, 320 n 2

Har Singh Dov,—or

Harsingh Rāī, Raja of Itāwa and Kaithar, contemporary of Khizr Khan of the Saīyid dynasty, 316 and n 4, 359 and n 4, 361 and nn 2 and 3, 377, 379

Harūmān, a fortress on the frontier of Egypt, 321 and n 4

Hārun or Rashīd, the 'Abbāsi Khalīfah, 74 n 2, 75 n, 286

Hasan, son of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭalib, second of the twelve Imams of the Shī'ah, 151 n 5

Hasan 'Alī Kharās, Maṇlānā, a poet of the time of Hamayun, 587.

Hasan of Bangāla, Shaikh, father of Shaikh 'Alā' Mahdi of Baiana, 607.

Hasan Barāwar bāchā, favorite of Suhān Quṣba d-Din Khilji who gives him the title of Khusrū Khan, 274, 290 See under Khusrū Khan.

Hasan Burwabachā, 290 Same as the above (q. v.)

Hasan Dihlāvī, Mir, a famous poet of Dihli, contemporary of Mir Khusrū, 115 n, 187, 188, 245, 269, 270 and n 6.

Hasan Ghaznāvī, Saīyid, a poet of the time of Sultan Bahram Shāh Ghaznawī, 56 and n 3.

Hasan Jalāyer, Shaikh, King of Khurasān, 633 n 1

Hasan Kaiṭhal, Saīyid, generally known as Hasan Kāngū, afterwards 'Alā' d-Din Bahman Shah, Sultan of the Deccan, 309 See under Hasan Kangū

Hasan Kangū, contemporary of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq Shah, 309, 310, 314, 327 See under Hasan Kaiṭhal

Hasan Kangū, 310 Same as Hasan Kangū (q. v.)

Hasan Khān Miwātī, of the Khān zādās of Miwāt, one of the Amirs

of the Lodi dynasty, 398, 443, 444, **447**, 470.

Hasan Khān, an impostor of Mīwāt who pretended to be the Hasanu Khān Mīwātī mentioned above, 447.

Hasan Khān, Governor of Rāparī under Masnad-i-‘Alī Khizr Khān (*q. v.*), 377, 387.

Hasan Khān Sūr, father of Shīr Shāh, 461 and *n* 5, **466** and *n* 7, 467.

Hasan, Kotwāl of Ghaznīn under Sultān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 48. See also under Abū ‘Alī Hasan.

Hasan Maimandī, Vazīr of the Ghaznavides, 35, **47** *n* 6.

Hasan, Maulānā, a learned man of the time of Bābar, 449.

Hasan, Mīr, sou-in-law of Sultān Firoz Tughlaq Shāh, 338.

Hasan, Shaikh, a famous surgeon of Pānipat, 366 *n* 3.

Hasan Ziujānī, Shaikh, Shaikhu-l-Mashāikh, a famous Saint of Lāhor, 383 and *n* 6.

Hashf, the last and most severe stage of the fever called Diqq, 320 *n*.

Hasht Bihisht of Mīr Khusrū Dehlavī, the famous poet, the first poem in his Khamsa, 134 and *n* 3, **142** *n* 3, 269 *n* 5.

Hashw, a term of Prosody, 606 *n* 4.

Hastināwar, town, 266 *n* 4.

Hatānpūr, district, 267 *n* 1.

Hātim Khān, Malik I<sup>kh</sup>tiyārn-d-Dīn Sanbal, one of the Amīrs of the Khiljī dynasty, 272, 291.

Hātim Sanbalī or Sambhalī, Miyān, a learned Doctor, 428, 506, 545.

Hātim of Taiy, the type of Arab generosity, 127.

Hatkān, town, 423 *n* 6.

Hatkānt,—or

Hatkānth, chief town of the Bhadāwar district, 408 *n* 1, 423 and *n* 6.

Hatkānt, tribes of, a clan of the Bhadanris, 408 and *n* 1.

Hatnāpūr, town, 266 and *n* 4, 267 and *n* 1.

Hatnāwar, town, 266 *n* 4, 267 *n* 1.

Hauz-i-‘Alāī, an artificial lake at Dihlī, constructed by Sultān ‘Alā-u-d-Dīn Khiljī, 294 *n* 3.

Hauz-i-Khāss, a reservoir at Dihlī constructed by Sultān Firūz Tughlaq Shāh, 294, 339, 344, 347 and *nn* 2 and 3, 348 *n* 1, 356 and *n* 5.

Hazaj-i-Musamman, a kind of metre, 606 *nn* 4 and 5.

Hazār Dīnārī, a name of Malik Mānik, the slave of Sultān ‘Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 251 and *nn* 3 and 7, 256. Called also Kāft Nāib.

Hazār Sutūn palace, at Dihlī, 273, 285, 288, 289, 290.

Hazīra, Mausoleum, 397 and *n* 4.

Hazramānt, a province of Arabia, 262 *n*.

Hazrat A’lā, Tāj Khān Karrānī, ruler of Bengal, 540. See under Tāj Khān Karrānī.

Hazrat-i-‘Alī, a title assumed by Shīr Shāh, 461 *n* 10.

Hazrat-i-Mnqaddas Saiyyid Rafī‘u-d-Dīn Ṣafwī, of Balkh, 445.

Heavens, Nine, 142 *n* 1.

Helmund, called also the Hendmand, a river of Sijistān, 15 *n*.

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Ribā' Amir, name of a place in Seistan, 48 and n 1.

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Ridā, a letter of prologue before the rati of a rhyme, 607 n 4.

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Rue, its efficacy in exorcism, 617 n 1.

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Rūhānī, a learned man of the time of Sultān Shamsa-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 93 and n 2.

Rūn, a village of the dependencies of Lahoro, 54 and n 2.

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Rukh, the cheek and also the castle at chess, 505 n 2.

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Rukn-i-Yamīnī, the south corner of the Ka'bah, 97 and n 4.

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Shatidar, name of the Sintej in Sanskrit, 23 n 3

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Sidratul Muntahā, the lote tree of Paradise in the seventh heaven, 58 n 3, 150 and n 2

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*Sipar*, Rai, Governor of Itawa, contemporary of Khiżr Khīn of the dynasty of the Sayyids, 380 and n 5, 381.

*Siparak*, a herb, 620 and n 2

*Sipra* river, the,—in Mālwā, 93 n 4

*Siprak*, a herb, 620 n 2

*Siqlat*, a silken stuff brocaded with gold, 543 n 3

*Sir*, Rai, ruler of Baitāl, contemporary of the Firuz Shāhi dynasty, 360 and n 3

*Sirāj 'Afīf*, the Historian See under Slams; *Siraj 'Afīf*,

*Sirāj d Dīn Abu 'In'qub Iusuf ibn Abi Muhammed ibn 'Alī as Sikkāl*, author of the *Miftāḥ al-Ulūm*, 428 n 2

*Sirāj*, bridge across the fire of Hell, 113 n 1 See also the next

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*Sirhind*, town of, 331 n 3 401, 520, 592 and n 6 594 See also under *Sibrind*

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*Sirmur*, hilly country of, 120 and nn 1 and 3, 181 251, 324 337, 338 341

*Sirmur*, town of, 326 n 2

*Sirmur Bardar*, hills of, 120 n 1

*Sissoo* tree, the, *Dalbergia sissoo*, 129 n 2

*Sistan*, province of, 569 See also under *Seistan*, *Sīwistān* and *Sījs tan*

*Siwalik* hill-range, to the north of Hindustan, 70, 93, 132 n 4, 358 and n 6, 438, 595

*Siwī* Siyupur, province of, 425 and n 2.

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*Soane*, the,—or the Son, a tributary of the Ganges, 82 n 1

Sobha Nath, or *Lord of Beauty*, name of the idol of Sūnnāt, 28.

Soghdī, the, name of an ancient people of Central Asia, 23 n 1.

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Solomon, King of Israel, 108, 112, 136, 148 and n 1, 205 and n 3, 206 n, 485, 505 n 6.

Solomon, ring of, possessed of magical properties, 205 n 3, 505 n 6, 559 and n 2.

Soma, name of the moon in Sanskrit, 79 n 2.

Somagraha, lucky things, 79 n 2.

Somanāth,—or

Somanātha, south-west of the Peninsula of Gujārāt on the sea-shore, 17 n 4, 27 n 4. See also the next.

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Śrāvana, a Hindu month, 27 n 4.

Stag, notes on the, 171 n 2.

Stambhatirth, the pool of Mahādeva under the form of the pillar God, 256 n 4, 454 n 6.

Stateira, wife of Alexander the Great, 332 n.

*Statistical Account of Bengal*, Hunter's, 125 n 3, 299 n 2.

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Sthānu, a name of Mahādeva, 293 n 6.

Strabo, the Greek geographer, 23 nn 1 and 3.

Sūbhāl of Agra, 410 n 4.

Subhān-Allah, to express surprise or astonishment, 515 n 7.

Subḥatu-l-Abrār, one of the poetical works of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Jāmī, 272 n 1.

Subḥ-i-Kāzīb, the false dawn, 115 n 3.

Subuktigīn, Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, ruler of Kābul and Ghaznīn, 13 and n 1, 14 and nn 1 and 2, 15, 16 and n 1.

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 Sūghma or Sūqmd, a Turki word  
 meaning a pole, 437 n 1  
 Suhd, a small obscure star in the  
 Lesser Bear, 182 and n 2, 371 and  
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Zakkīma, the plectrum with which the *chang* was played, 146 n 1.

Zāl, father of Rustam, one of the heroes of the *Shāh-Nāma*, 178 n 2.

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Zāng, a cluster of globular bells carried by dāk-runnérs, 621 n 2.

Zāng-bastan, to acquire importance, 621 n 2.

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Žard īchoba, turmeric, 173 n 2.

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Zu l Fiqār Shirwani, Mir Sayyid, a famous poet of Persia 605

Zunnar, the belt or girdle worn by Christians or Magians also the Brahmanical thread 609 and n 5

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